S.-H. Gyemyong Ahn
Mun Woo Lee

English Classes in Slumber

Why Korean Students Sleep in Language Education

Springer

English Classes in Slumber

S.-H. Gyemyong Ahn · Mun Woo Lee

English Classes in Slumber

Why Korean Students Sleep in Language Education

Springer

S.-H. Gyemyong Ahn
Department of English Education
Hanyang University
Seoul, Korea (Republic of)

Mun Woo Lee
Department of English Education
Hanyang University
Seoul, Korea (Republic of)

ISBN 978-981-15-1009-0 ISBN 978-981-15-1010-6 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-1010-6

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.
The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

Dedicated to Ms. Heesuk Kim,
a devout thinker who cares for those in need

Preface

Sleeping in class is a combination of two apparently conflicting sociocultural elements. Sleeping is typically done in a bedroom at home. It requires losing our consciousness and blurring our attention. Class, however, is for teaching and learning in school, which generally requires a widely awakened consciousness and focused attention. How can these two be united? In Korea, however, the two have been combined to create an unusual scenery of discordance in public high schools: The teacher teaches at the front, sometimes up to 80% of the students fall asleep. Why do we have such an absurd phenomenon? What can we do about it? These two are the leading questions of this book.

This book is based on three core ideas. The first is that all students should have *fully meaningful* experiences in school; otherwise, something is wrong and must be remedied. This idea grew in my heart mostly clearly through Dr. Lee's and my partially overlapping participation in two Korea Research Foundation-sponsored research projects that were performed centering at Hanyang University, Seoul (the Republic of) Korea: (1) A Study of Curriculum Development for Multicultural Teacher Education in the Global Age (2007. 12.–2010. 11.) and (2) Research on Glocal Education Model for Improving the National Competitiveness in the twenty-first century (2011. 9.–2017. 8.). Doing the 3-year Project (1), I opened our eyes toward minority groups of students with multicultural family backgrounds and came to believe that their school life should be meaningful as fully as the majority group's.

The second core idea of this book is about the meaningfulness of educational research: Qualitative research can reveal a tremendously important dimension of education. The main data of this book was collected through interviews of students and teachers for their emic perspectives on the schooling practices. A qualitative turn has been conspicuously being made in Korea from around the turn of the millennium. Its influence was outstanding in the two research projects we participated in.

The third core idea is that educational research should contribute to the transformation of educational practices. Scholars should participate in the betterment of the reality of this world. The last two core ideas, I constructed doing Project (2).

For my scholarly growth, I was thankfully indebted to all the participants in these research projects, particularly those who wrote a paper or a book together: Yun-Kyung Cha, Soo-Bin Choi, Seung-Hwan Ham, Seyoung Hwang, Su-Yong Jeong, Mi-Kyung Ju, Si-Jung Kim, Seon-Jin Kim, Sunah Kim, Hara Ku, Eun-Yeon Lee, Kyung-Yoon Lee, Mun Woo Lee, Sam-Hyung Lee, Sun-Kyung Lee, Seung-Hee Lee, Jong-Eun Moon, Joo-Ho Park, Mi-Yeong Park, Young-Serk Park, Soo-Jin Shim, Hye-Won Shin, Ryun-Jin Song, Byung-Gyu Yoo, and Geum-Bok Yoo (in the alphabetic order of last names, and with titles omitted), among others. Particularly, I benefited impressively from closely co-working with Drs. Cha, Ju, and Ham, who shared with me their worlds of institutionalism, situated learning, and educational policy studies; together, we aspired for and constructed a new *yungbokhap* model of education. Most members of the research team immediately noticed the seriousness of the problem of in-class sleeping and encouraged us to pursue it.

In the Department of English Education, I learned a lot co-working with Dr. Mun Woo Lee, the co-author of this book, on a number of sociolinguistic topics. I have been superbly heartened by her warm and thoughtful encouragement; I was deeply impressed by her insightful analyses and intellectual interpretations. That is, I have been most heavily indebted to her in the process of writing this book. She has been a wonderful colleague to work with. She wrote Chap. 3, and I wrote Chaps. 2 and 7; the other chapters, we wrote together; in particular, she wrote the analysis sections of Chaps. 4–6, and I, the interpretation and cultural action sections. We read the chapters or subsections that our co-authors wrote and had discussions on matters of dissent. Our colleagues, Drs. Moon-Sub Han, Sung Yeon Kim, and Yuah Chon, always had an interest in our research topics and emotionally encouraged us to work hard. Dr. Lee and I are grateful to all of them for their kindness and support.

I am warm-heartedly indebted also to our former and current assistants: Mss. Seon-Jin Kim, Seona Kim, Mina Kim, Shinil Kim, and Haekyung Choi for their devoted assistance in transcribing the interview recordings and preparing the manuscript files.

I also want to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Dongsik Kim for his insightful critical comments on educational practices in Korea over our lunch outings. His critiques always stripped scales of my ignorance bit by bit. I also heavily indebted to two research groups: One was the Multicultural Education Theory Research Group (2011–2015) under the Korean Association for Multicultural Education, and I particularly owed a lot to Drs. Seung Ryul Lee, Hangsuk Bu, and Kyung-Hye Kim for their scholarly lessons and companionship; Dr. Lee, in particular, led us all to the new world of hermeneutics. The second group was the 23 members of the Critical Pedagogy Group of the Korean Association of Teachers of English. My orientation toward critical multiculturalism drew me to the group, through which I could meet Dr. Graham V. Crookes, who led me to Dr. Linda M. Crawford (-Lange)'s valuable work. In our monthly gatherings with about ten members present, we have had wonderful time together agonizing on how critical English language teaching can take root in Korea and help teachers and

learners become more sensitive to the issues of power relations in texts, classrooms, and the society. I have been comforted by their mere existence in this country.

Dr. Lee and I partially presented results from the analysis of the data collected in 2014 from School A on a couple of occasions: The 2016 Fall KASELL Conference (Kwangwoon University, Seoul, 2016. 10. 15.), the first Social Science Korea Symposium (LG Convention, Seoul, 2016. 11. 25.), and the 2017 Fall KASELL/KICE Joint Conference (Hanyang University, Seoul, 2017. 10. 21). And as an interim report we published a paper which is titled "Sleeping Beauties in English Classrooms: The English Divestment of Korean High School Students" on *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics* (Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 547–579). In relation to these, we are grateful to Drs. Kyungsook Paik and James F. D'Angelo for their interests and encouragements, and to the anonymous *KJELL* reviewers for their constructive comments, suggestions, and critiques. After this, we have continued to pursue a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon in question. We expanded the scope of research onto another high school site, and also recruited teachers to interview. In the process of publishing this book, we have been gratefully indebted to anonymous Springer reviewers and the production team. Their positive comments and constructive suggestions were immensely encouraging and helped us to put the proposal and the manuscript alike in a much better shape. Outside the professional circle of colleagues, I am grateful to Ms. Heesuk Kim for being my spouse, lifelong companion, and regular co-walker after supper. I always enjoyed talks and discussions with her on various topics. She has been a good discussant and sometimes the harshest critic of my ideas; this systematic thinker has been a greatest heavenly blessing to me.

Once in a high school site with *unveiled* eyes, nobody can miss the scenes of students sleeping in class. What do you think we should do about the English classes in slumber? Will something similar arise in your cultures? We don't know, but we hope our book will come to you readers as awakening voices from the land of morning calm: Wake up, Korea! Wake up, World!

Seoul, Korea (Republic of) S.-H. Gyemyong Ahn

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1
Why Sleeping Students?

Abstract This book focuses on why some Korean high school students sleep in English classes despite the emphasis placed on English in Korean society. More specifically, this *sleeping-in-class phenomenon* is examined by means of marginalized students' and relevant teachers' emic outlooks on themselves, teachers, schools, and society/culture, and practical and healthy suggestions are made about how to renovate the educational system and culture by taking a humanistic/existential approach to education. In this chapter, we first discuss how we became interested in this topic, how it can be related to the various educational, social, and national contexts, and how this phenomenon can be explored with theoretical lenses and mitigated with actual practices, and then proceed to outline the purpose of the study along with the research questions.

1.1 Our Interest in Sleeping Students in Korean English Classrooms

We were drawn to the research in sleeping-in-class students through different paths of life and research. Beginning his third sabbatical leave in 2014, Dr. Ahn, who had done research for 6 years into multicultural education and for the twenty-first-century educational model, decided to *walk into* local secondary school classrooms for closer interactions with people there instead of flying overseas for exposure to higher educational academia. In an autumn education-related meeting, he met a teacher named Ms. Chung-Shil Park,[1] who had been working as a secondary school English teacher for more than 10 years. She was very energetic and truly cared about the future of education in Korea. Dr. Ahn was invited to her class; she had in fact been opening her classes for some time to any English teachers in her school or from outside.

[1]We use a pseudonym here in consideration of privacy protection.

S.-H. G. Ahn and M. W. Lee, *English Classes in Slumber*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-1010-6_1

In his pleasant trips to Ms. Park's lively classes, he observed *many* dormant students lying face down on their desks in *other* classrooms with the teacher continuing to talk on the platform. Even though he had heard about *sleeping-in-class* students from newspaper reports, he was stricken much harder by sighting the scene: Why do teachers let them fall asleep? Why do educators, educational policy-makers, and scholars *allow* it to happen? Is this a symptom of democratization? Is Korea bringing forth a new, *horrible* generation? With Ms. Park's help, he had to interview a number of such sleeping-in-class students, in order to understand and eventually be able to help them.

Dr. Lee joined Dr. Ahn after she talked with him about the issue of sleeping students in Korean English classrooms during a casual coffee break. Before becoming a professor in the department of English Education at Hanyang University, she worked as an English teacher at a public high school, and she remembered how hard it was to wake up the sleeping students in her own class. She still remembered vividly how she was frustrated as a novice teacher in front of these students. She first tried to scold them, but they never seemed to listen to her. She then tried to persuade them to study English mentioning how English was important for their future, but they never agreed with her stating that they wanted to get a job that they did not need to meet foreigners or they would not go to college. The common reasons that made many Koreans struggle with studying English did not seem to appeal to them at all.

She was also very frightened when she noticed that this was happening in almost all classes regardless of the teachers. When the teachers gathered in a teacher's room, they talked about the same students who usually slept their classes. It seemed that *sleeping in class* was some kind of strategy for these students to survive in their marginalized school lives. Since other teachers shared the same problem, she thought she could find out some *collaborative* answers to this problem. However, the answers from other teachers who had long teaching experiences were even more frustrating. Most of them advised her to *ignore* those sleeping students because they were not the ones who could contribute to the school's reputation by entering the top-tier universities. She was deeply shocked and if she could do something to solve this seemingly permanent issue in Korean education, there was no reason for her to hesitate.

Dr. Ahn and Dr. Lee interviewed more students and teachers as well with the help of Ms. Park and other open-minded teachers to examine this longstanding sleeping-in-class phenomenon more thoroughly from practical and critical perspectives. We believe that a school should be a fortress that is impermeable to all kinds of vice, such as violence and marginalization. We think that this extreme phenomenon in which the majority of students become marginalized into nonparticipation in class should be scrutinized, starting with the students but not limited to their stories. That is why we conducted this research in pursuit of a broader understanding of, and potential solutions to, this sleeping-in-class problem.

1.2 Your Interest in Sleeping Students in Language Classrooms

The sleeping-in-class phenomenon would not be easily comprehended by readers who are unfamiliar with the Korean educational context. It may be difficult for them to imagine situations in which students in language classrooms fall asleep even though they are not tired. This phenomenon of pseudo- or non-physiologically motivated sleeping in Korean English classrooms should be understood in its historical and cultural context, as a type of culturally accepted practice by disengaged and demotivated students.

The sleeping-in-class phenomenon is generally regarded as a facet of *gyosil bunggoe* (교실 붕괴, "classroom collapse"), which Kim (2000) has conceptualized as meaning "the phenomenon of the total destruction of human relationships between teachers and learners in classroom situations" (p. 10), and as coming between *sueop bunggoe* (수업붕괴, "class collapse"), "the state of the inability of the teaching-learning process in classroom" (p. 9), and *haggyo bunggoe* (학교붕괴, 'school collapse'), "the limitations of functional utility of school education and the distrust of public education resulting from these limitations" (p. 10).

The *gyosil bunggoe* phenomenon began to be reported on mass media from 1999 on in Korea. Kim (1999), for example, describes a high school first-year classroom in Seoul as follows: "Few students have opened their textbooks even though the class bell rang and the teacher entered the classroom. When the teacher stands at the teacher desk, the students finally trudge along to the locker behind the classroom and take out their notebooks. *Five children still sleep on their desks*, and the teacher asks their classroom mates to wake them up. They wake up slowly but don't even show a hint of feeling sorry." The same article conveys the atmosphere of the class that another teacher teaching in Seoul depicts: "Three students are focused. *Five sleep straight*. Ten chatter and play. Thirty other kids think about something else. […] During class, six or seven often cut the flow by saying, 'I go to the bathroom.'" Sleeping in class was a typical symptom of *classroom collapse*.

In the 1990s, Korean society began to lose its trust in schools, parents became very protective of their children, and corporal punishment became legally banned in school. Around the turn of the millennium, especially in public education, many students began to behave at will in classroom. Teachers felt a novel human race had sprung up! They were frustrated being unable to understand their new students.

It is not the case, however, that students go asleep in class from the beginning of a school year. Students sometimes *taste* the disposition and classes of the teacher. If they feel that the teacher's class is boring or incomprehensible and he/she is *soft* or has friable mentality, they go asleep during his/her class. If the teacher doesn't allow in-class sleeping at all, his/her students won't sleep; otherwise, their relationships would get tense. Alternatively, a teacher may want to maintain a personal humane relationship or rapport with his/her students. For instance, the teacher manages to address each of them by first name and/or recognizes and has a small

talk or chat with them outside of classroom. He/she doesn't suffer from the epidemic of in-class sleeping (Hwang et al. 2001).

In any case, in-class sleeping becomes more common as school years go up and student competition gets tenser. However, English seems to be one of the last classes for students to sleep in, which reflects the ideology of the high value of the English language in Korea (see the next section for more details).

From a more global perspective, further, this reflects limitations of modernity itself with "instrumental rationality, the conflict between man and nature, and practical value orientation," so it is "a phenomenon that is in line with the limitations of modern school systems as experienced in many countries around the world" (Hwang et al. 2001, p. 249). In fact, Japan had been experiencing the phenomenon before Korea did (Asahi Shimbunsa 1999). If the root of the sleeping-in-class phenomenon is that fundamental, as an anonymous reviewer suggests, its understanding will even provide insights into cultural phenomena like *hikikomori* involving an extreme form of social disengagement. Thus, the sleeping-in-class phenomenon, which appears to be a localized issue in Korea, may actually be a global issue relevant to many countries that have to cope with the problems of students' disengagement and demotivation.

Thus, studies regarding the disengagement and demotivation illustrated by sleeping students in language classrooms should be both globalized and contextualized. A number of studies conducted in South Korea (or simply Korea from now on) regarding the issue of students' demotivation have also reported common *demotivators* (Kim and Kim 2016, p. 136), at the individual level (e.g., indifference of parents, heavy dependence on private education, and wrong advice from siblings), institutional level (e.g., grammar and reading-based curriculum, conflicts with an English teacher), and cultural level (e.g., dislike of American culture) (Hwang 2013; Kim 2009; Kim and Lee 2014; Kwak 2004; Yeo and Lee 2015). Although the number is limited, studies regarding this type of students in China, Japan, Vietnam, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, (Al-Khairy 2013; Alavinia and Seaht 2012; Baldauf et al. 2011; Trang and Baldauf 2007; Zhang and Kim 2013), mainly focus on *what hinders them from concentrating on studying*. These studies commonly emphasize that students' motivation can be enhanced by simply removing or preventing these demotivators.

The (de)motivation theory has contributed significantly to understanding schooling and learning. Although the traditional mainstream view of education has been that knowledge is transmitted unilaterally from teacher to student, motivational studies intuited that learners' motivation can make a big difference in educational results. However, student engagement in L2 learning needs to be understood from a more holistic and organic perspective because it is a dynamic phenomenon influenced also by factors such as their history of language learning, classroom environments, peer groups, language identity, language aptitude, invisible ideology, and power relations among people (Block 2007; Gordon 2004; Kramsch 2013; Menard-Warwick 2007; Skilton-Sylvester 2002).

From this perspective, previous studies focusing on demotivation have only touched upon *what* makes Korean students end up not studying English, and how

some *successful* learners were remotivated and escaped their learning slump. However, they have not sufficiently explained *how* these factors function as demotivators in an integrative way within the given sociocultural context. Furthermore, these studies have mainly relied on surveys for data collection and have not focused on the *emic* perspectives of those who *give up* studying English at the high school level. They have not provided concrete ways to help L2 learners trapped in more chronic obstacles to free themselves on to roads of self-directed learning. In view of the fact that we have faced a new problem-making educators' feel at their wit's end, we need to take a multidisciplinary approach to assemble more appropriate comprehensive perspectives for the problematic phenomena in question.

1.3 Sleeping Students as an Individual and Sociocultural Issue

To understand the specific sleeping-in-English-class phenomenon in Korea, more detailed and contextual information is required. In Korea, English is considered one of the most important school subjects, along with Korean and Mathematics, for entering prestigious universities, and this perceived importance is directly related to the large amount of time devoted to it in Korea (Bang and Chon 2011). As the term *English fever* (Krashen 2003) shows, English in Korea, like in many other non-English-speaking countries, has become an obvious linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991) that is considered a competitive skill in the neoliberal markets. Because English is not an everyday language for communication in Korea, it is something special that one can acquire only with a considerable amount of invested time and effort. It is a distinguished skill that not everyone can have and a good indicator that can judge one's capacity in Korean society, and this subsequently results in Koreans' extreme dedication in English learning regardless of age (Ahn and Lee 2017; Lee 2011; Song 2017). The Korean Statistical Information Service (2016) reported that the amount of money spent in 2015 on English education in the private education sector, especially for the school-age population, was approximately US$ 5,183,000,000. Furthermore, the pressure to learn English does not end at school but continues during adulthood, as the estimated size of the English education market for adults in the private education sector is US$ 280,000,000. Taken together, English Education amounted to approximately 0.38% of national GDP in 2015.

However, not all students become good at English. According to the results of the 2015 national college entrance examination (Ministry of Education 2016), only 11.6% of students (N = 594,835) were classified as high achievers with either grade 1 or 2 out of 9. Among those who were not in the top student group, about 130,000 (21.9%) received either grade 7, 8, or 9, which effectively labeled them *serious underachievers.* This number is surprising in that it is as large as the number of low-achieving students in Mathematics, which is traditionally thought to be the

most difficult subject. The number also reveals how many students are considered *backwards* in Korean English language classrooms.

Not surprisingly, students who are labeled *deficient*, *left-behind*, and *at-risk* do not concentrate on studying English in the classroom. They often become distracted, chat with other students, do other things, and in the worst cases put their faces down on their desks, and fall asleep in the presence of their teachers (Kwak 2004). This sleeping-in-class phenomenon in Korea has long been regarded as serious educational and social problems and it is still presented as a painful symptom of the bigger, across-the-board educational catastrophe dubbed *school collapse* in the news (Choi 2018), and in scholarly work (Eom 2013; Noh et al. 2016; Sung 2015; Sung and Lee 2014). However, few reports or studies have gone beyond the level of presenting and diagnosing the phenomenon per se. The phenomenon has been recognized in the educational field for years and many have agreed that it *is* a problem, but no *comprehensive enough* suggestions or attempts have been made to improve this disturbing reality. Increasingly, more Korean students have become trapped in this detrimental sleeping-in-English-class phenomenon. Therefore, we not only attempt to describe the phenomenon in detail but also conduct in-depth analyses and suggest possible cultural measures that can realistically improve Korean English education.

1.4 Humanistic/Existential Perspectives

The *sleeping-in-class* phenomena lead us to reexamine significant aspects of the education in Korea from its philosophical foundation to appropriate pedagogy. First of all, we will explore three spurts of humanistic/existential perspectives that came separately into being in Korea, in South America, and in North America. Then, we will discuss how these perspectives need to combine with multidisciplinary insights on human psychology and sociocultural nature of learning in Sect. 1.4.2, and how they require actions that will improve or renovate existing cultures in Sect. 1.4.3.

1.4.1 Separate Spurts of Humanistic/Existential Perspectives

The Korean Framework Act on Education declares in Article 2 ("The Ideal of Education"): "The purpose of education is to enable every citizen to *lead a life worthy of human* and to contribute to the development of a democratic country and realization of an ideal of *human co-prosperity* by ensuring cultivation of character, development of abilities for independent life and *necessary qualities as a democratic citizen* under the *humanitarian ideal*." "The humanitarian ideal" is worded in *Hongikingan* (홍익인간, 弘益人間, "We Widely Benefit People"), which Korea

inherited from the Ideal of Governance of the first-ever nation that was founded on the Korean peninsula five thousand years ago. This shows that by law the Korean education must pursue humanism/humanitarianism and democracy (Park 2012).

In this light, the sleeping-in-class phenomena in question indicates that there must be a loose coupling in the Korean education system that blocks the Ideal of Education from being realized in English (and other) classes.

From the mid-twentieth century, Paulo Freire pursued a similar humanistic/existential ideal in Brazil and Chile, South America. He nourished himself from currents of philosophical ideas like critical theory, phenomenology, existentialism, and Christianity; he developed a pedagogy of literacy helping the economically oppressed peasants there.

According to Freire (1970/2000, 1974/2013), human history is either a process of *humanization* or of *dehumanization*; the human being's vocation is to become fully human. The institution of education in any country should contribute to the humanization of students. However, their dehumanization can take place when they are *oppressed* in the name of education. In this respect, Freire's approach to education is very *humanistic*.

Students tend to be oppressed in the traditional *banking-type* education, where knowledge is believed to be transmitted from the teacher to students. To promote student humanization, Freire (1970/2000) advocates the *problem-posing* type of education. In the problem-posing education, the teacher poses problems which are taken from the *existential* situations of the learners. The learners are to become critically aware of the problems, create their own solutions, and make decisions to improve their own situations. In this sense Freire's approach is *existential*. This existential dimension can perhaps provide fresh sinews and muscles for and invigorate the flagging education of humanitarianism in Korea.

Even though formulated independently, Fuller's (2004, 2006) thesis is amazingly analogous to Freire's. As a student, a faculty member, and later a former president of Oberlin College in early 1970s, he personally experienced and went through human rights movement, women's liberation movement, and anti-war movement; most of all, he acutely experienced what he characterized as *abuse of rank* in North America, outwardly a very democratized, prosperous, capitalist society. This widespread practice of rank abuse, he has named *rankism*; he constructed a "substantive theory" (Mills et al. 2010) and has stood on it for a movement toward *fuller democratization*, to historically complete the task of humanization. What snatched our attention firmly was his following statement:

> [T]he reason so many students — regardless of color — withhold their hearts and minds from learning can be traced to the fact that their top priority and constant concern is to shield themselves from the rankism that permeates education from kindergarten to graduate school (p. 2).

He intuits that most ranking processes "stigmatize those who rank low and exalt those who rank high, and these rankings then become self-fulfilling prophecies" (p. 34). Consequent discrimination then causes pupils to close their minds to

learning and resist and rebel, and teachers to hector and discipline. This account of his is seemingly applicable directly to the scene of sleeping in class in Korea.

In Freire's (1970/2000, 1974/2013) view, the banking type of education serves the oppressor, but problem-posing type liberates and serves the oppressed. His *class*-originated concern finds in Fuller (2004) a completely generalized version about problems related to any type of hierarchy or ranking. His ideal of *full humanization* coalesces with that of respect for dignity to realize *fuller democratization*. The whole point is that whether in school or in society, democracy's next step will be achieved by driving oppression and/or rankism out completely.

The three exemplary humanistic/existential perspectives have spurted from different cultural soils in separate continents. In a sense, their independence vindicates their common perspectives furthermore.

The *Hongikingan*–Freire–Fuller *humanistic/existential* perspectives dictate us to recognize in-class sleepers as *persons in relation to their environment* (Crawford 1978; Crawford-Lange 1981). Their educational implementation will be related to many dimensions of human existence, so it must borrow and integrate multidisciplinary insights on themes including humans' psychological development and needs, student experiences in schooling, group dynamics, sociocultural aspects of learning, school–home collaboration, schooling policies and administration, digital and media literacy, to name a few. Let us take a brief look at their major features and their relatedness with the task of waking up students in slumber.

1.4.2 Insights on Human Psychology and Language Learning

1.4.2.1 Humans' Psychological Development and Needs

To understand the phenomenon of in-class sleeping, we will need insights from human psychology on the phases of psychological development human babies undergo (Erikson 1950, 1963), and on their psychological needs that must be satisfied for their psychological well-being and growth (Deci and Ryan 2000; Dweck 2017). Furthermore, we have to draw on studies on students' experiences in schooling because such experiences, when undesirable as with school dropouts, undermine their self-esteem and self-confidence and influence their academic achievements negatively (Dei et al. 1997; Smyth and Hattam 2004). Their selves and identities are positioned through social interactions, by prevalent ideologies, and/or by the educational system itself (Brewer and Chen 2007; Darvin and Norton 2015). Accepting or rejecting such sociocultural influences, they eventually position themselves differently in different sociolinguistic spaces (Blommaert 2010), so their identities are fluid, multiple, and subject to change (Norton 2013; Norton Peirce 1995; Park 2012).

This means that a good understanding of in-class sleeping will need insights regarding group dynamics between students and between them and teachers (Agazarian and Peters 1981; Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998), which is closely tied not only to their motivation and desire to learn a second language, but also to agency to decide on where and when to invest their time and energy in second language learning (Norton 2013). It is also significant to understand that students' motivation and desire are a socioculturally mediated process (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2009; Motha and Lin 2014); hence, their agency is understood as *the socioculturally mediated capacity to act* (Ahearn 2001, p. 112) and is indeed significantly shaped by culture (Ratner 2000a). This leads us to shift our focus on to their sociocultural environment: society and culture, i.e., their existential dimension.

1.4.2.2 Sociocultural Understanding of Learning

Since being concerned with *persons in their environments*, the humanistic/existential approach will require a type of sociocultural framework, a well-developed version of which is provided by the sociocultural theorists of learning (Kim 2014; Lantolf and Thorne 2006; Panofsky 2003; Vygotsky 1978, 1986), who point out that tools, signs/symbols, and social interaction *mediate* the learning process positively or negatively. Another set of related insights can be drawn from Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of learning as social practice, which highlights the inter-constitutionality of the learner and the community through his/her legitimate peripheral participation in the latter (Wenger 1998).

Insights from such learning theories are to combine with those from cultural psychology that psychological phenomena such as emotions, perception, motivation, logical reasoning, intelligence, memory, mental illness, imagination, language, and personality are collectively created and distributed, and that existent cultural phenomena and humans construct and reconstruct one another (Ratner 2000a, b).

Noteworthy in this model of cultural phenomena is that motivation, as part of psychology, is clarified as being located in the community and in the individual, and that they originate in, reflect, and function to facilitate each other and the others: activities, meanings, and artifacts. The close correlation between the two loci of motivation should be observable and manageable in classroom situations (Panofsky 2003; Ushioda 2003). This should be relevant to collectively sleeping in class in Korea.

Critical Literacy The phenomenon of sleeping in English classes may be related to the nature of English as a social practice correlating with the social power relations and ideologies found in the community where it is spoken or learned (Fairclough 2003, 2010, 2015; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014; Lee 2011). Unless the language is approached as such, its learners may be put at risk for alienation and boredom. The learning practice should be understood by means of workings of power positioning identities, providing/prohibiting access to chances, etc. (Janks 2010).

In-class sleepers will badly need critical media/digital literacy if their antisocial practice is related to a reckless consumption of digital media contents like computer games (Hobbs 2007; Kwak 2004). They are to understand the media to deal with them more autonomously.

1.4.2.3 Sociocultural Understanding of Schooling

The humanistic/existential perspectives this research takes are also advocated when Cha et al. (2016) proposed an ABCD model for *Yungbokhap* Education: Here, *ABCD* stands for Principles of Autonomy, Bridgeability, Contextuality, and Diversity, and *yungbokhap* (融/複合) roughly means *convergence & compounding*. Its educational purpose is to foster competencies such as creativity, criticality, communication, collaboration, and personal and social reformative actions, in addition to subject contents. Approaching the entire system of education, further, this model demands that the ABCD principles should be satisfied at all the levels engaging students, teachers, school administrators, and educational policy-makers. For example, Autonomy and Diversity demand that the policy-makers respect the autonomy and diversity of local schools, and that principals respect those of students and teachers (Buske 2018; Ham and Kim 2015; White 1992), in which sense the education administration should be humanistic; Bridgeability and Contextuality demand that school collaborate with students' families and community (Epstein and Dauber 1991; Tran 2014) and that educational content be linked to learners' individual, community, and national context situations (Lave and Wenger 1991), in which sense it is existential.

1.4.3 Cultural Action

Korean in-class sleepers must be restored back to their *normal* day light learning life. To do this, their marginalization, alienation, and oppression must be understood and overcome in their particular existential contexts in the Korean culture. Waking them up can be done with cultural actions as advocated in critical pedagogy (Darder et al. 2003; Freire 1970/2000, 1974/2013).

Cultural actions will require examining whether such dehumanizing processes have been exerted by peers or peer groups, teachers, administrators, the school system itself, their parents, the educational institution, and/or the society/culture. And in-class sleepers should be helped with critical language pedagogy (Crookes 2013), which is concerned with helping learners and their teachers to become conscious of their problematic existential situations and exert their agency in redesigning and transforming them (New London Group 1996).

Elaborating Paulo Freire's initiation, critical language pedagogy focuses on the role of ideology and hegemony in constructing and maintaining the social, political, and economic world (Hoare and Smith 1999), and the educational system itself.

This movement/approach is deeply concerned with empowering culturally marginalized and economically disenfranchised students, changing classroom structures and practices to be more humanizing and democratic, preventing schools from blind reproduction of the existing unjust inequality in economy and the existing values and privileges of the dominant culture, and helping students become knowledge producers as well as knowledge consumers. An historical examination of this tradition will even provide the body of *know-how* for students and teachers to resist their personal and institutional systems and practices that deter fuller humanization and democratization by planning and implementing appropriate cultural actions (Jung et al. 2016; Macrine 2009).

In critical language pedagogy, teachers can use cultural actions to build up a caring culture in their classrooms and schools, borrowing insights from multicultural education theorists and practitioners (Gay 2010). Since different groups of students come to school with different (micro-)cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds, *culturally responsive pedagogy* can be at least selectively adopted in Korea as well, where public education needs to implement more caring: a concern for person and performance, action-provoking, and multidimensional responsiveness. It deals with the importance of teacher expectations, teacher/student interactions, cultural self-awareness, and situational self-efficacy.

In this way, our multilevel analyses of the sleeping-in-class phenomena and their interpretations will draw insights and practical ideas from the models and the research that were done under the multidisciplinary fields of study reviewed thus far. The cultural actions suggested will help education in Korea get rid of the loose coupling that has engendered through its heavy emphasis of competition and then transform into a more humanistic/existential education system at the micro-, the meso-, and the macro-levels, and will hopefully shed a fresh light on to similar transformation of educational ideas and practices in other countries as well.

1.5 Purpose of This Book

This book examines in what ways so-called *backwards* students in Korean high schools are *purposefully divesting* from institutionally forced English classes by analyzing data collected from in-depth interviews with 65 Korean high school students who were identified by their English teachers as *sleeping students* and self-identified themselves as such and 12 English teachers. We not only benefited from the aforementioned relevant domestic studies but also from international studies (Al-Khairy 2013; Alavinia and Seaht 2012; Baldauf et al. 2011; Rumberger 2011; Schargel and Smink 2001; Trang and Baldauf 2007; Zhang and Kim 2013), but we recognized that they are insufficient to shed light on the distinctive and nuanced characteristics of Korean students, who demonstrate their resistance somewhat passively by sleeping in class instead of quitting school in the unique Korean culture; we believe that even similar phenomena should be approached in and could only be well understood upon their respective cultural bedrocks. In a

nutshell, the primary goal of this study is to delineate these marginalized students based on a comprehensive understanding of the discursive nature of the sleeping-in-class phenomenon and designing ways to help them awake from a humanistic/existential perspective.

1.6 Summary

This book deals with the sleeping-in-class phenomenon comprehensively based on the in-depth interviews with 65 Korean high school students and 12 English teachers. In this chapter, we addressed personal and sociocultural reasons why we pursued this issue, introduced theoretical lenses to be used, and presented the purpose of the book. In Chap. 2, we include an overview of the literature relevant to this study, and in Chap. 3, we describe the setting, participants, data collection procedures, and data analysis in order. We show the results of the study, micro-/meso-/macro-levels of reasons why the students fall asleep during English classes, and cultural actions to help them in the following Chaps. 4–6. Then, we conclude this book by addressing major implications and suggestions for future research.

References

Agazarian, Y., & Peters, R. (1981). *The visible and invisible group: Two perspectives on group psychotherapy and group process*. Boston, US: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 30,* 109–137.

Ahn, S. -H. G., & Lee, M. W. (2017). "Sleeping beauties" in English classrooms: The English divestment of Korean high school students. *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics*, 17(3), 547-579.

Al-Khairy, M. H. (2013). English as a foreign language learning demotivational factors as perceived by Saudi undergraduates. *European Scientific Journal, 9*(32), 365–382.

Alavinia, P., & Seaht, R. (2012). A probe into the main demotivating factors among Iranian EFL learners. *English Language Teaching, 5*(6), 9–35.

Asahi Shimbunsa (Ed.). (1999). *Gakkyu hokai*. Tokyo, Japan: Asahi Shimbunsa. Korean edition: Asahi Sinmunsa (Ed.). (1999). *Haggeup bunggoe* ('Classroom collapse') (Y. Hong, Trans.). Seoul, Korea: Chorogbae Magics.

Baldauf, R. B., Kaplan, R. B., Kamwangamalu, N., & Bryant, P. (2011). Success or failure of primary second/foreign language programmes in Asia: What do the data tell us? *Current Issues in Language Planning, 12*(2), 309–323.

Bang, I., & Chon, S. (2011). An analysis of high school English curriculum implementation by the high school record rating system. *CNU Journal of Educational Studies, 32*(1), 1–20.

Block, D. (2007). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner 1997. *The Modern Language Journal, 91*(1), 863–876.

Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Brewer, M. B., & Chen, Y. (2007). Where (who) are collectives in collectivism? Toward conceptual clarification of individualism and collectivism. *Psychological Review, 114*(1), 133–151.

Buske, R. (2018). The principal as a key actor in promoting teachers' innovativeness—analyzing the innovativeness of teaching staff with variance-based partial least square modeling. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 29*(2), 262–284. https://doi.org/10.1080/09243453.2018.1427606.

Cha, Y., Ahn, S.-H., Ju, M.-K., & Ham, S.-H. (2016). *Yungbokhap* Education: Toward an expansive (Re)conceptualization. *Multicultural Education Studies, 9*(1), 1–33.

Choi, Y. (2018). Swuepsikaney canun aitulun kwucocek phihayca ("Sleeping-in-class students are the 'structural victims'"). *Chosun Edu*. http://edu.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2018/12/12/2018121202035.html. Accessed 28 June 2019.

Crawford-Lange, L. M. (1981). Redirecting second language curricula: Paulo Freire's contribution. *Foreign Language Annals, 14*(4), 257–268.

Crawford, L. M. (1978). *Paulo Freire's philosophy: Derivation of curricular principles and their application to second language curriculum design*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minnesota, US.

Crookes, G.V. (2013). *Critical ELT in action: Foundations, promises, praxis*. New York, US: Routledge.

Darder, A., Baltodano, M., & Torres, R. D. (2003). Critical pedagogy: An introduction. In A. Darder, M. Baltodano, & R. D. Torres (Eds.), *The critical pedagogy reader* (pp. 1–23). New York, US: Routledge Falmer.

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 35,* 36–56.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry, 11*(4), 227–268.

Dei, G. J. S., Mazzuca, J., McIsaac, E., & Zine, J. (1997). *Reconstructing "drop-out", a critical ethnography of the dynamics of Black students' disengagement from school*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Dörnyei, Z., & Ushioda, E. (2009). *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Dweck, C. S. (2017). From needs to goals and representations: Foundations for a unified theory of motivation, personality, and development. *Psychological Review, 124*(6), 689–719. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000082.

Ehrman, M. E., & Dörnyei, Z. (1998). *Interpersonal dynamics in second language education: The visible and invisible classroom*. Thousand Oaks, US: Sage.

Eom, K. (2013). *Kyosato hakkyoka twulyepta ("Teachers are scared of schools too")*. Seoul, Korea: Ttabi.

Epstein, J. L., & Dauber, S. (1991). School programs and teacher practices of parent involvement in inner-city elementary and middle school. *The Elementary School Journal, 91*(3), 289–305.

Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society*. New York, US: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (Ed.). (1963). *Youth: Change and challenge*. New York, US: Basic books.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London, UK: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2015). *Language and power* (3rd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.

Freire, P. (1970/2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Freire, P. (1974/2013). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Fuller, R. W. (2004). *Somebodies and nobodies: Overcoming the abuse of rank*. Gabriola Island, BC, Canada: New Society Publishers.

Fuller, R. W. (2006). *All rise: Somebodies, nobodies, and the politics of dignity*. San Francisco, US: Berrett-Koehler.

Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed.). New York, US: Teachers College Press.

Gordon, D. (2004). "I'm tired. You clean and cook": Shifting gender identities and second language socialization. *TESOL Quarterly, 38*(3), 437–457.
Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2014). *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar* (4th ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
Ham, S.-H., & Kim, R. Y. (2015). The Influence of principals' instructional leadership on teachers' use of autonomy-supportive instruction: An analysis of three Asia-Pacific countries. *Asia-Pacific Educational Research, 24*(1), 57–65.
Hoare, G., & Smith, G. N. (Eds.). (1999). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. London, UK: ElecBook.
Hobbs, R. (2007). *Reading the media: Media literacy in high school English*. New York, US: Teachers College Press.
Hwang, G., Yang, E.-J., Jun, Y., & Heo, H. (2001). Qualitative research for understanding the teacher-student conflicts known as 'the classroom collapse'. *The Journal of Korean Education, 28*(2), 247–276.
Hwang, J. (2013). A case study of motivation types and motivation changes in the college EFL classroom. *Journal of the Korea English Education Society, 12*(1), 97–121.
Janks, H. (2010). *Literacy and power*. London, UK: Routledge.
Jung, S. K., Huh., S., Suh, Y.-M., Lee., J., Lee., J.-Y., Shin., H.-P. et al. (2016). *Critical pedagogy and English education*. Seoul, Korea: Hankook.
Kim, E. (1999, September 23). Gyoshil bunggoe – haksaeng-do gyosa-do haggyo gagi silta ('Classroom collapse—Neither students nor teachers want to go to school'). *Sisa Journal*. http://www.sisajournal.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=116314. Accessed 11 August 2019.
Kim, E.-J. (2014). Activity theory-based narrative inquiry of study-abroad program experiences: A case study of two college students. *Modern English Education, 15*(3), 1–20.
Kim, K. (2009). Demotivating factors in secondary English education. *English Teaching, 64*(4), 249–267.
Kim, M. (2000). 'Haggyo bunggoe', a myth or a reality? *Anthropology of Education, 3*(2), 1–29.
Kim, T., & Kim, Y. (2016). EFL learning demotivation in the Korean context: Similarities and differences across school levels. *English Language & Literature Teaching, 22*(1), 135–156.
Kim, T., & Lee, H. (2014). Korean junior high and high school students' English learning motivation, demotivation, resilience, and English proficiency. *The Journal of Foreign Studies, 29*(3), 11–41.
Kramsch, C. J. (2013). Afterword. In B. Norton (Ed.), *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (pp. 192–201). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
Krashen, S. (2003). Dealing with English fever. In *Selected Papers from the Twelfth International Symposium on English Teaching*. Taipei, ROC: English Teachers' Association (pp. 100–108).
Kwak, Y. (2004). *A Study on the cause and process for giving up English learning: Focused on the abandoned English learners in high school.* Unpublished Master's thesis, Busan National University, Busan, South Korea.
Lantolf, J. P., & Thorne, S. L. (2006). *Sociocultural theory and the genesis of second language development*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York, US: Cambridge University Press.
Lee, M. W. (2011). Beneath the English fever phenomenon: The perspectives of Korean early study-abroad undergraduates' parents. *Bilingual Research, 46,* 191–214.
Macrine, S. L. (2009). *Critical pedagogy in uncertain times: Hope and possibilities*. New York, US: Palgrave Macmillan.
Menard-Warwick, J. (2007). Biliteracy and schooling in an extended-family Nicaraguan immigrant household: The sociohistorical construction of parental involvement. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 38*(2), 119–137.
Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (2010). *Encyclopedia of case study research*. Sage.
Ministry of Education. (2016). An analysis of 2015 College Scholastic Ability Test result. Ministry of Education. http://if-blog.tistory.com/5458. Accessed 15 September 2018.

Motha, S., & Lin, A. (2014). "Non-coercive rearrangements": Theorizing desire in TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly, 48*(2), 331–359.

New London Group. (1996). A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(1), 60–92.

Noh, W., Park, S., & Chang, K.-S. (2016). Research on educational support for general high school Low achievers with reference to math and English subjects (I). RRI 2016-2. Korea Institute of Curriculum & Evaluation (KICE), Seoul, Korea. http://www.kice.re.kr/resrchBoard/view.do?seq=228&s=kice&m=030101. Accessed 11 August 2019.

Norton Pierce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly, 29* (1), 9–31.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Panofsky, C. P. (2003). The relations of learning and student social class: Toward re-"socializing" sociocultural learning theory. In A. Kozulin, B. Gindis, V. S. Ageyev, & S. M. Miller (Eds.), *Vygotsky's educational theory in cultural context* (pp. 411–431). Cambridge University Press.

Park, H. (2012). Insight into learners' identity in the Korean English as a Lingua Franca context. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 11,* 229–246.

Ratner, C. (2000a). Agency and culture. *Journal for The Theory of Social Behavior, 30,* 413–434.

Ratner, C. (2000b). Outline of a coherent, comprehensive concept of culture. *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*, *34*(1 & 2), 5–11. Retrieved from http://www.sonic.net/∼cr2/culture.htm.

Rumberger, R. W. (2011). *Dropping out: Why students drop out of high school and what can be done about it*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Schargel, F. P., & Smink, J. (2001). *Strategies to help solve our school dropout problem*. London, UK: Routledge.

Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2002). Should I stay or should I go? Investigating Cambodian women's participation and investment in adult ESL programs. *Adult Education Quarterly, 53*(1), 9–26.

Smyth, J., & Hattam, R. (2004). *"Dropping out", drifting off, being excluded: Being somebody without school*. New York, US: Peter Lang.

Song, J. (2017). English just is not enough!: Neoliberalism, class, and children's study-abroad among Korean families. *System, Online first.* Retrieved from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0346251X17300726.

Sung, Y. (2015). High school teachers' perceptions of the causes and solutions for sleeping in class as a form of student disengagement. *The Korean Society for Curriculum Studies, 33*(2), 158–178.

Sung, Y., & Lee, H. (2014). Sleeping students in class: A grounded theory study on the phenomenon of student disengagement. *The Korean Society for Sociology of Education, 24*(1), 147–171.

The Korean Statistical Information Service. (2016). A report on the educational cost spent in private education sector for elementary and secondary school students. Retrieved from http://kostat.go.kr/wnsearch/search.jsp.

Tran, Y. (2014). Addressing reciprocity between families and schools: Why these bridges are instrumental for students' academic success. *Improving Schools, 17*(1), 18–29.

Trang, T. T. T., & Balduaf, R. B. (2007). Demotivation: Understanding resistance to English language learning—The case of Vietnamese students. *The Journal of Asia TEFL, 4*(1), 79–105.

Ushioda, E. (2003). Motivation as a socially mediated process. In D. Little, J. Ridley, & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Learner autonomy in the foreign language classroom: Teacher, learner, curriculum and assessment* (pp. 90–102). Dublin, Ireland: Authentik.

Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society. The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L. (1986). *Thought and language*. Cambridge, MA, US: The MIT Press.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

White, P. A. (1992). Teacher empowerment under “ideal” school-site autonomy. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 14*(1), 69–82.

Yeo, S., & Lee, J. (2015). An analysis of Korean students’ English learning demotivation factors. *English Language & Literature Teaching, 21*(2), 115–134.

Zhang, Q., & Kim, T. (2013). Cross-grade analysis of Chinese students’ English learning motivation: A mixed-method theory. *Asia-Pacific Education Review, 14*(4), 615–627.

Chapter 2
Theoretical Underpinnings

Abstract In this chapter, we review major psychological, psychosocial, and sociocultural theories that may be relevant to the phenomenon of sleeping in English classes. First, we discuss motivation-theoretic works on student disengagement centering around demotivation, amotivation, psychological needs, and student experiences in school. Second, we systemize theoretical tools useful for understanding the sociocultural relations and interactions of major stakeholders in second language teaching and learning in secondary education. The resulting multidisciplinary assortment of conceptual apparatuses will help get insight into the *sleeping-in-class* phenomenon from classroom, school, and society–culture perspectives. We then explore approaches to learning based on humanistic psychology, and the *existential* approach to education. We then introduce critical pedagogy and literacy as a powerful instantiation of the humanistic/existential approach to literacy and foreign language education. With these theoretical lenses and pedagogical approaches, lastly, we critically review motivational research and critical pedagogy/literacy studies on English education in Korea, pointing out their limitations in view of the in-class sleeping phenomena. We finish this chapter by discussing the notion of *cultural action* to pave ways to awaken in-class sleepers and to alleviate the suffering in English class that comes from in-class sleeping.

2.1 Works on Student Disengagement

Student disengagement has been approached mainly from psychological and sociocultural perspectives. In Sect. 2.1.1, we will discuss demotivation theories historically and rather selectively and results from demotivation studies in Asian countries. In Sect. 2.1.2, we will delve into approaches to amotivation on the basis of human psychological needs. In Sect. 2.1.3, then, we will move on to studies of students' disengagement in view of their experiences of schooling.

S.-H. G. Ahn and M. W. Lee, *English Classes in Slumber*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-1010-6_2

2.1.1 Student Disengagement and Demotivation

If we look into the domain of human psychology, students' disengagement has been studied crucially in relation to their low or lowered motivation for learning. Its picture is exactly the opposite to the typical description of a motivated learner: S/he will be oriented toward the goal of English fluency, make efforts to attain it, be persistent and attentive to the tasks leading to its achievement, strongly want to attain it, be delighted to do the activities required for its achievement, be even aroused in pursuing it, expect to be successful, show self-efficacy and self-confidence about its achievement, and have reason for their such behaviors and attitudes (Gardner 2005).

Motivation is understood behaviorally as "the anticipation of reward" (Brown 2007, p. 168), or cognitively as "the choices people make as to what experiences or goals they will approach or avoid, and the degree of effort they will exert in that respect" (Keller 1983, p. 389). Its further characterization is different among theorists.

In second language learning/acquisition, Gardner (2005) basically maintains the socio-educational model that he and Smythe (1975) proposed, where successful L2 achievement comes from different configurations of *student ability*, *anxiety,* and *motivation*, the third of which is affected by *attitudes to learning situation* (e.g., the teacher, the curriculum, lesson plans, etc.), *integrativeness* (or openness to other cultures), and *instrumentality* (or orientation toward practical reasons). They regard the construct of motivation itself as consisting of *motivation intensity*, *desire to learn the language*, and *attitudes toward learning the language*, treating it as an affective element. Since the first component includes effort and persistence, the Gardnerian notion of motivation seems to include both affective ingredients and the behavioral one.

Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) decompose the Gardner conception of motivation and suggests a process model of motivation: They characterize motivation in terms of a *pre-actional phase* forming wishes, motives, and goals, and an *actional phase* executing the necessary actions with self-regulatory strategies to accomplish them. In a sense, they dissected the Gardner conception of motivation into affective and executional phases/factors.

Dörnyei (2009) has then elaborated the pre-actional motivation on the psychological theory of *possible selves* (Markus and Nurius 1986). His new proposal was that the L2 Motivational Self System is composed of *the ideal L2 self* ("the image of one's desired self in using the target second language"), *the ought-to L2 self* ("the image of one's desired self that one thinks one ought to construct to satisfy expectations or to avoid negative consequences"), and *the L2 learning experience* ("situated, 'executive' motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience") (p. 29).

He then shows that the three constructs are significantly correlated to Gardner's *integrativeness*, *instrumentality,* and *attitudes toward learning situation*, respectively. He further explicates the "supportive" relationship between the antecedent

constructs and motivation in the *self-discrepancy* theory (Higgins 1987, 1996), hypothesizing that the ideal and ought-to L2 selves will function "as a powerful motivator to learn the language" because people naturally "desire to reduce the discrepancy between [their] current and possible future selves" (Ushioda and Dörnyei 2009, p. 12).

Some students, previously motivated, can lose motivation though; Dörnyei (2001) says, they are "demotivated," in relation to "specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioral intention or an ongoing action" (p. 143). He uses care to exclude (a) not participating in English practices because of a more attractive option, (b) the case of gradually losing interest in a long-term, ongoing activity, and (c) suddenly stopping learning English because the learner realizes that English learning is too costly. These are not cases of demotivation because they don't involve external forces' lowering the level of motivation.[1]

Dörnyei (2001) presents findings of demotivation in L2 learning from works including Oxford (1998), Chambers (1993), and Dörnyei (1998). Oxford collected over 5 years from about 250 American high school or college students and analyzed the content of their essays on learning experiences. She has established four themes: (1) unacceptable teacher–student relationships like no caring, general hostility, excessive criticism, and favoritism; (2) unacceptable teacher attitude toward the course and material such as no enthusiasm, improper management, and narrow-mindedness; (3) teacher–student style conflicts on the degree of class structuredness or seriousness; and (4) disagreeable class activities due to irrelevance, overburden, and repetitiveness.

Chambers (1993) conducted a questionnaire to 191 year-nine learners in eight classes of four schools in Leeds, UK. He also asked seven teachers to fill a questionnaire. 14% of the learners seemed to lack motivation thinking modern language classes were not essential or useless. About half of the respondents seemed to be demotivated thinking that teachers did not care about whether students are coming along, not provide clear enough lessons, not use good equipment, not giving sufficient explanations, criticize learners, yell at them, or use outmoded materials. Other reasons included too big class sizes, too small spaces, and not flexibly rearranged class furniture. The teachers, on the other side, characterized demotivated learners as (1) showing no learning efforts or interest, poorly concentrating, negligent in doing homework or bringing necessary materials, and uninterested in extra help; (2) disbelief in their own capabilities; (3) being lethargic, doubting the usefulness of the class, and not responding well to praise; and (4) not cooperating well, distracting other learners, throwing things, and out-shouting. And they view student demotivation as a mainly student-owned problem: related to their psychology, attitude, milieu, learning history, regions, deficient in-family relations, etc.

[1]It is worth to mention here that the excluded are clearly cases of divestment (Ahn and Lee 2017; Norton 2013).

Dörnyei (1998) focused on students identified as demotivated in Hungarian high schools and conducts structured long interviews. A step-wise theme-based analysis of the data produced the following nine demotivators in the order of response frequency (pp. 152–153):

1. Teachers' disagreeable personalities, commitments, competence, and teaching methods, such as shouting all the time, not coming to class, easy-going, or showing favoritism;
2. Inadequate school facilities: e.g., very large classes, not the right level, or frequent change of teachers;
3. Learners' reduced self-confidence due to their experience of failure;
4. Negative attitude toward the features of the target foreign language;
5. Compulsory nature of the foreign language study;
6. Interference of another foreign language that is studied;
7. Negative attitude toward the target foreign language community;
8. Disagreeable attitudes of group members such as laughing at poor performances; and
9. Incredibly bad course books used in class.

These demotivators can be classified into two groups: One is environmental factors including "bad" teachers and classmates [1, 8], school facilities [2], curriculum [5 & 6], and course books [9]; the other is personal factors such as reduced self-confidence, and negative attitudes toward the target language [4] or the target culture [7].

2.1.1.1 Studies of Demotivation in Asian Countries

This contribution from Dörnyei (2001) has constituted a secure stepping stone for subsequent research and opened a wide-reaching forum for discussion on the nature and typology of demotivating factors, especially in Asian countries where English is learned as a foreign language. In Japan, for example, two streams of research are quite easily discernible. Summarizing previous research, Falout et al. (2009) characterize demotivators in Japan as including (1) "a heavy focus on translation, grammar, rote memorization of vocabulary, a lack of practical application"; (2) "an inappropriate level of class activities and courses"; and (3) "disagreeable teacher behaviors and personalities" (pp. 404–405). When group comparison was made, the lower proficiency group experienced demotivation earlier in their formal schooling and held negative affect toward EFL learning long, and tended to attribute their demotivation as internal factors like "disappointment in performance" (Falout and Maruyama 2004, p. 5). Such less successful learners reported maladaptive self-regulatory strategies like "sleeping in class, dropping out of class, ignoring the teacher, and discontinuing study" (Falout et al. 2009, p. 405), which inhibit learning and prolong the demotivated state. They typically showed "self-denigration" and *low self-esteem*, and even didn't seek enjoyments for self-remotivation (Falout et al. 2009, p. 408).

This characterization is echoed in Sakai and Kikuchi (2009), who state that less motivated participants felt that their English lessons focused mostly on grammar and dealt with too many and/or too long and/or too difficult passages, that they lost interest in English and goals to become an English speaker, and that they couldn't do well on tests in competition with their peers.

Another clear stream of research in Japan is investigating learners' voices. Murphey et al. (2002), Falout et al. (2008) ask college students to reflect on their secondary schools and offer advice to (junior) high school teachers, report that the participants emphasized more communication and enjoyment, and critique that high school English classes in Japan are still centered on teachers and of a depersonalized and/or decontextualized nature, as articulated in Kikuchi (2009), where demotivators are defined with (1) teachers' unacceptable behavior in class, (2) grammar-translation-focused classes, (3) uninteresting college-entrance-exam-related classes, (4) unendurable emphasis on memorization of texts and vocabulary, and (5) uninteresting contents or topics.

It is noteworthy that their concern with student voices also drew practitioners' attention to student experiences in schooling. Sosa and Casanave (2007) present and reflect on different stories of past students: Chieko, a model student, didn't participate in Sosa's English classes because she didn't have interest in the target language itself; later she went to Belgium and studied French. Hideki, on the other hand, was regarded as a "weed" by every other teacher, but when tabbed on humanely, he used English to pungently criticize the Japanese education system itself, and then worked to undertake his own writing project to blossom.

After presenting additional stories, Sosa and Casanave suggest that student disengagement can be their rational choice, that teachers be a model of engagement, respect, and attentive listening, and that they need to offer students real choices and respect their decisions.

In China, Zhang and Kim (2013) reported that high school students are most demotivated compared to elementary and middle school students because of the burden regarding college entrance examinations: They want to pay back what their parents have done for their education.

In Vietnam, Trang and Baldauf, Jr. (2007) analyzed essays on English-learning experiences by 100 college students. They had asked the participants to write about the reasons why they experienced demotivation, if any, and how they dealt with it. As with previous studies, their grounded theory analysis also identified more external attributions (237, 64%) than internal ones (135, 36%). The first type consisted of four teacher-related demotivators (teacher behavior (7%), teacher competence (4%), teaching methods (26%), and grading and assessment (1%)); five learning environmental demotivators (classroom atmosphere (5%), insufficient opportunities to use English (5%), unfavorable learning conditions (6%), class time (3%), and improper textbook use/selection (2%)); and two others (obligation (4%) and negative changes (1%)). The second type includes negative attitudes toward English (16%), experiences of failure or lack of success (17%), and low self-esteem (3%).

In Bangladesh, Quadir (2017) interviewed 37 university students about their experiences of demotivation using a culturally modified list of factors from Dörnyei (2001). She also found out significantly more external attributions (402, 84%) than internal ones (74, 16%): teacher/tutor-related (58%), institutional-facilities-related (15%), group-member-attitudes-related (7%), past-experiences-related (12%), and others. Here, negative human relationships surface as very strong demotivators, probably due to their significance in the local culture.

If we move further to the western Asia, Alvania and Sehat (2012) recruited 165 high school students and teachers in Iran: The researchers administered a 50-item Likert-type questionnaire to the students, and the question of what they perceive decreases their motivation to try to do their best in class and achieve their instructional goals. They found out that major demotivators include learning environment, simultaneous learning of other languages, learning material and course content, teaching method, experience of failure, lack of success, teacher's personality and behavior, learners' characteristics, and attitude in the descending order of prevalence.

Hosseini and Jafari (2014) also recruited 604 Iranian high school students (male 318, female 286) and administered a translated version of Sakai and Kikuchi's (2009) demotivation questionnaire modified into a five-scale one. They found out that the mean scores were above the dividing 3.0 points with almost all of the 35 factors, and that over 50% participants agreed to (a) lack of visual and auditory supplementary material, and (b) absence of interest. The researchers extracted the three factors of inadequate school facilities, improper teaching materials, and absence of intrinsic motivation, only the last of which significantly differentiated the less motivated group from the motivated.

In Saudi Arabia, Al-Khairy (2013) investigated why university students are demotivated in learning English by comparing 137 English-majors and 155 non-English-majors using a 23-item questionnaire of a 5 Likert scale. Related to classes, both groups felt not using modern teaching aids, too large class sizes, and then speaking too fast, as most strongly demotivating in that order. Non-English-majors were also demotivated because of their class fellows not practicing English with them, teachers becoming angry at mistakes, and teachers not explaining in Arabic. Regarding the target language, both groups were demotivated because of difficult and boring textbooks, very large syllabi, and their dislike of English cultures; non-English-majors also listed unimportance of English for their future life and no obvious reason for English learning.

Exploring English-majors in more depth, Al-Sharief (2013) found out that about 11% of the 289 participants seemingly lack motivation and show quite a high degree of rejection/avoidance of the target language/culture (41%, compared to the mean 15%).

In sum, the sets of demotivators negatively affecting high school students in various Asian countries look quite similar to one another saving minor differences coming from regional or cultural influences. Excluding factors from local educational situations, they are quite similar to those reported in Dörnyei (2001), which point to universal human attributes.

(De)motivation theorists we discussed thus far tend to attend to the correlations between environmental and psychological factors at the surface level and students' lowered motivation. They would predict that if demotivation intensifies probably for a long time, it will lead to complete lack of motivation. There, however, have been theorists who have tried to understand motivational phenomena by means of deeper humanistic psychological needs or processes. Now we turn to their achievements to better our understanding of student disengagement.

2.1.2 Student Disengagement and Psychological Needs

Focusing on learners' subjectivity and agency, Ryan and Deci (2002) outline the self-determination theory of motivation (SDT). They first postulate that "humans are active, growth-oriented organisms who are naturally inclined toward integration of their psychic elements into a unified sense of self and integration of themselves into larger social structures" (Deci and Ryan 2000, p. 229).

The growth and healthy integration requires as nourishments the three innate psychological needs for *competence, autonomy,* and *relatedness*: Competence denotes "feeling effective in one's ongoing interactions with the social environment and experiencing opportunities to exercise and express one's capacities"; relatedness, "feeling connected to others, caring for and being cared for by those others, having a sense of belongingness both with other individuals and with one's community"; and autonomy, "being the perceived origin or source of one's own behavior" (Ryan and Deci 2002, pp. 7–8).

When these psychological needs are satisfied, students will actively engage in tasks interesting to them; they will have *intrinsic motivation*, "the state of doing an activity out of interest in inherent satisfaction" (p. 17), which most optimally gives rise to the prototypical autonomous or self-determined behavior.

The full satisfaction of the psychological needs will also lead students to optimally internalize or *integrate* external regulations as part of their selves undergoing healthy socialization. They will undertake tasks important to them volitionally, but still with *extrinsic motivation*, the state of doing an activity not for its own interest of enjoyment. This integrated extrinsic motivation is followed by three further subtypes of extrinsic motivation with less and less degrees of internalization of extrinsic regulations: The regulations can be *identified* or be internalized into the self but not completely so that it can be in conflict with the self's other components [*compartmentalization*]; they can be *introjected* or have been internalized into the personality but not into the self; lastly, it can remain *external* or haven't been internalized. In a sense, the degree of need satisfaction will lead to the degree of internalization and integration.

When their psychological needs are well satisfied, students will move optimally toward growth, integration, and well-being. When the context is overchallenging, excessively controlling, and/or rejecting, however, their psychological needs are thwarted: Students will then develop self-protective processes like pursuing

alternative goals, domains, or relationships satisfying such needs, compartmentalizing psychological structures, withdrawing concern for others (that is, focusing on themselves), or engaging in antisocial activity.

In such adverse environments, students may have lost motivation completely and been pushed into *amotivation*, "the state of lacking the intention to act." For example, they wouldn't learn a second language. When amotivated, they don't act at all or only show passivity: "They go through the motions with no sense of intending to do what they are doing" (Ryan and Deci 2002, p. 17). According to Vallerand (1997), amotivation can occur when learners think (1) that they don't have the capability of doing the action ["*capacity–ability beliefs*"]; (2) that particular strategies are not effective enough ["*strategy beliefs*"], i.e., they see no contingency between their behaviors and outcomes; (3) that the efforts required exceed what they can mobilize ["*capacity–effort beliefs*"]; and (4) that they are helpless in view of the enormous task ["*helplessness beliefs*"] (cf. Abramson et al. (1978) for *learned helplessness*). As a consequence, they may doubt about the usefulness of doing the activity or see no value in its outcomes (Vallerand and Ratelle 2002).

More specifically, Legault et al. (2006) explore academic amotivation among high school students. They confirm the two dimensions of ability and effort beliefs but replace the others with "characteristics of the task" and "value placed on the task," proposing that all the four dimensions are subcomponents of "an overall feeling of alienation and helplessness" (pp. 568–569). They lose motivation when an activity feels valueless or unattractive.

Such SDT elaborations of (a)motivation can be integrated, as in Dweck's (2017)'s unified theory of motivation. Dweck recognizes seven psychological needs including SDT's three: basic needs for predictability, *acceptance* ('relatedness'), *competence*, and compound needs for trust, *control* ('autonomy'), self-esteem/status, and self-coherence. In the unified theory, motivation is understood as "the forces that drive and direct behavior" (p. 697) and consists of (1) needs; (2) goal-related representations of beliefs, emotions, and action tendencies (BEATs); (3) goal pursuit; and (4) resulting thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that are experienced (called *online acts*) which update BEATs. SDT and Dweck's theory are expected to shed a promising light onto an understanding of the antisocial behavior of sleeping in class in Korea. Students' psychological needs will be satisfied or thwarted with their school experiences.

2.1.3 Student Experiences of Schooling

Research into student (de/a)motivation also coalesced with the research tradition of student experiences. As suggested in Thiessen (2006), the study of student experiences in school generally has three surely interrelated orientations: (i) student life in classrooms and schools, (ii) student identity, and (iii) classroom and school

improvement. Orientation (i) is concerned with understanding what thoughts, feelings, and actions students have or make in classrooms and schools. Orientation (ii) is about what identities students construct or about how they (fail to) adapt to the structures, expectations, and work of classrooms and schools. Lastly, orientation (iii) is about how actively they engage in determining and/or improving their own learning in classrooms and schools. In-class sleeping will relate immediately to the second orientation, more specifically, how students fail to adjust themselves to the schooling system.

Thus far, scholars were concerned with "at-risk" students consistently failing at school, behaving against school expectations, or rejecting school entirely. Willis (1977) did an ethnographic case study of 12 male high school students in England who had belonged to a working-class group of an oppositional culture. He showed that the "lads" created their own culture of resistance to school knowledge. Through truancy, disruption of the pedagogies and curricula, etc., they culturally refused to use chances to move up to the middle class. They constituted their identities as rebellious, proud, antisocial, and uneducated workers. And part of what they did during private study are reminiscent of in-class sleepers in Korea: "some openly show disdain by trying to sleep with their head sideways down on the desk…." (p. 13). After graduation, they merged into the class of workers with *shopfloor culture*, which was quite similar to the culture of resistance they had constructed in school.

In the United States, Fine (1991) picked up a comprehensive high school (or CHS) with extremely high dropout rates (of 40 to 60 percent) in Manhattan, New York, and did an ethnographic study of the schooling during the academic year of 1984–85. She depicted how the school systematically silenced students' voices through classes, ideologies, school ways of talking, proper curricular contents, and even appropriation of democracy, and showed that students who didn't conform must pay a price including being pushed out.

In Canada, Dei et al. (1997) explored the experiences of high school students related to the phenomenon of Black students' dropping out. Between 1992 and 1994, they recruited and interviewed 150 Black students at grades 10 through 12 as participants from *four* high schools; they did four focus-group interviews with 10 students each. They also interviewed 21 actual *dropouts* and "at-risk" students as well as 41 teachers and school administrators, and 55 parents, caregivers, or community workers. Most students thought dropouts generally mean the students who have stopped coming to school, but some also included those "who are involved in a process of 'fading out' or disengagement" (p. 46). They typically skip classes, hang out, "act out," and don't engage in formal schooling, evoking the image of Korean in-class sleepers.

As factors contributing to student disengagement, Dei et al. (1997) discovered family/home problems, "the school's not teaching what they need to know," "difficulty in handling school pressures," "long histories of [negative] school experiences" undermining self-esteem/-confidence (p. 66), differential treatment by

teachers, school policies like suspension and streaming, the Eurocentric curriculum lacking relevance, student pregnancy, "an unresponsive school system" (p. 71), school authorities' uncaring and discouraging attitudes, and teachers' low expectations or interests, among others. The researchers emphasized the importance of students' experiences because these were directly related to their academic achievements, and stated that students need to gain social empowerment and a sense of agency, which reminds SDT's psychological needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness, and that schools need to have channels of intercultural and interracial communication.

In Australia, Smyth and Hattam (2004) also took a critical ethnographic approach to identify through students' voices the interferences to their finishing high schools, including in particular how they understood their lives and what role the options of completing the credential or leaving early had played in the process. They interviewed more than 200 young people in balanced different identities who had already left or were about to leave school.

The researchers found out that early school leavers were alienated because their desirable identities being forged mismatched the identity schools desired, and that the students experienced schooling as irrelevant, exclusive of their needs, and based on frustrating cultures. They continued to recommend minimizing the "interactive trouble" (p. 132) or communication breakdown between teachers and students, undermining various types of harassment on students, assisting them to transit properly into the labor market, constructing a school culture advocating and supporting students, and providing curricula fitting to their needs. Their holistic attitude to understand student disengagement via student experiences squarely complements the more psychological approaches reviewed in Sects. 2.1.1–2.1.2 and leads us to understand schooling more systematically.

2.2 School, with Multiple Stakeholders

Gardner's (2005) antecedent conditions and Dörnyei's (2001) L2 learning experiences and particularly demotivators are both related to the educational context including the teacher, the curriculum and the lesson plans, and the cultural context including the cultural milieu and expectations. And it is also clear that the psychological needs in SDT can or cannot be satisfied in school, whose negative effects are thickly documented and revealed in the ethnographic studies that have been reviewed and were related to dropouts and their school experiences. In short, students' (de/a)motivation for and practices of L2 learning are *socioculturally mediated* or affected by the learning environments found in classrooms, in the school and outside of it. The nature of such sociocultural mediation needs to be understood in some depth.

2.2.1 The Micro-Level: Socioculturally Mediated Learning in Classroom

2.2.1.1 Learners as Individuals

Psychosocial Preparedness When coming to school, students are different in their preparedness, and the differences grow worse as they advance through school years. Most fundamentally and ideally, all students must have developed *trust* (by one and a half years), *autonomy* (by three), *initiative* (by five), and *industry* (by 12) before they arrive in high school, where they have to develop their own *identities* (by 18) (Erikson 1950, 1963). Their experiences and practices in their families and previous schools must have been critical in this enterprise of psychosocial growth.

To overcome difficulties in life, more specifically, they should also have equipped themselves with a certain amount of *discipline*, which comprises responsibility, procrastination of satisfaction, devotion to reality, and an ability for balancing among these; they would have come through the often painful process of (self-)disciplining, being buttressed with *love*, which is the will to help someone grow mentally (Peck 1978). In Fromm's (Fromm 1964/2000) terms, ideally again, they should show the syndrome of growth, i.e., (i) love for life (*biophilia*), (ii) love for neighbors/nature/strangers, and (iii) independence and freedom.The citation "Fromm (1964/2010)" has been changed to "Fromm (1964/2000)" to match the author name/date in the reference list. Please check here and in subsequent occurrences, and correct if necessary.We have checked it here and in later occurrences and confirm that your correction is right, and that this is the only occurrence relevant. Thank you for this correction.

In the psychosocial and psychological respects outlined above, students would have built up different *mental muscles* and each need to improve vulnerable ones further in high school.

Academic Preparedness More academically, different students come to school with a different academic "ability or talent which is itself the product of an investment of time and *cultural capital*," "the knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups in relation to specific set of social forms" (Bourdieu 1986, p. 17). This cultural capital should have been domestically transmitted or prepared in the family. In Heath's (2009) portrayal, for example, students from different cultural backgrounds carry into classrooms different literacy practices. If theirs are not congruent, they need to adjust to or construct the practices required in the schooling field in more non-congenial ways.

Learners' such different cultural capitals and *habitus* (or different worldviews and dispositions for action) are linked to different configurations of motivation, e.g., to Dörnyei's (2009) different ideal or ought-to L2 selves, which would considerably shape learning experiences in classroom (Lamb 2009). They would surely be differentially accumulated through continuous positive or negative educational experiences in school.

Investment Norton Pierce (1995) complements the notion of motivation with that of *investment*. In ordinary situations, L2 learners will invest their time and cultural capital in their target language, expecting to get a reasonable return on the

investment: e.g., access to more social or symbolic resources. However, she observed that some learners of English in Canada, highly motivated, did not want to speak and practice English with people they were in adversely affective relations to. Such affective factors are "frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in a single individual" (p. 12). She drew her attention to the fact that learners can have multiple *social identities* for different situations which are constructed socially at multiple levels (H. Park 2012a).

In Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) terms, the pre-actional phase of motivation doesn't necessarily guarantee the occurrence of its actional phase. It is the L2 learner who decides to *invest* his/her time and energies to participate in communicative events, which is always crucial for a success in language learning (Spolsky 1989). The learner's agency connects or disconnects his/her affectivity and action in a particular time and place, as shown here: [Motivation] – > [Social Mediation] – > [Action/Practice].

The investment can be constricted when social power relations put him/her in an unacceptable social position.

2.2.1.2 The Class as a Group

According to Ehrman and Dörnyei (1998), social psychology has shown that social perceptions are rarely objective and frequently erroneous. Students will come into classroom with a set of presuppositions and make *new* attributions of *aggression* or *attraction* about teachers or other students. As they walk into relationships with one another, they may experience interpersonal defenses like *splitting* or *projection*, or feel *envy* or *gratitude*.

A group, Ehrman and Dörnyei continue, is a social and psychological entity. Characteristically, its members have some interaction, are aware of its existence, have in common purposes or goals, and commit to and identify with the group. It temporally endures and shows "organization system characteristics" and a certain level of "internal structure" to have "the regulation for entry/departure," "rules/norms/standards of behavior," "relatively stable interpersonal relationship patterns," and "status hierarchy," "division of group roles"), and are "accountable for its members' actions" (p. 72).

In these respects, an L2 language class is surely a group. Agazarian and Peters (1981) characterize group in two perspectives: One is the *visible group*, which is "the individuals who are its members, their one-to-one relationships, and the structure of their observable behaviors," whereas the other is the *invisible group*, that is, "the covert network of relationships that operate at the group-as-a-whole level through unconscious processes and communications" (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998, p. 77).

The class as a group can function in four different sociopsychological states: In a *work group state*, first, it functions most ideally with cooperation, organization, and structure to pursue its official purpose of learning; in a *dependency state*, second, it heavily relies on a leader (frequently, the teacher) for protection and provision; in a *fight-flight state*, third, it defends against learning by "avoidance behaviors such as

indulging in withdrawal, passivity, tardiness, chitchat, and so on" (p. 81); in a *pairing state*, lastly, its members talk about hopes for the future, evading real work. The first is the most ideal mode of functioning, and the others, also called *basic assumption states*, are based on emotions and impulses, and frequently develop in initial stages of group development, involving "dependent" or "overpersonal" and "counterdependent" or "counterpersonal" forces (Agazarian and Peters 1981, p. 53), among others. They may usefully characterize the phenomenon of in-class sleeping in Korea.

As it develops, a group comes to have *group culture*. As the group has a more complex culture and a higher level of maturity, it enables a more deep, creative, and flexible learning (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998, p. 83). A school culture that marginalizes many students and drive them to drop out, for example, can be judged to be staying in a lower level of maturity (Sect. 2.1.3). In all Korean high schools, a homeroom teacher takes charge of a class and sees his/her students in the morning and the day-end assemblies. His/her management policies and interpersonal relationships can exert serious influences on the culture of his/her class, which will in turn set the basic tone of English classes with the same group of students.

2.2.1.3 Teacher-Student Relationships

Students in Korean high school are cared for and directed by a homeroom teacher; they mostly stay in their classrooms, and subject teachers pay a rotational visit to teach their class hours. It is usually the teachers who take initiatives in forging teacher/student relationships. At a specialized high school in Seoul, for example, Moon (2018) observed two desirable cases of teacher/student relationship, and two *ugly*, undesirable ones. When the students perceived that they were respected and cared for by their reasonably consistent homeroom teachers, they trusted and came closer and cooperative too, their teachers and generally adaptive in subject classes. In the ugly cases, however, students didn't show positive attitudes to subject classes, and some often slept in class or made troubles.

In the social setting of English classes, students also make investments in or withdraw themselves from learning, which must be mediated by their social perceptions, and by their personal and social identities in relation to the subject teachers (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998). They will make attributions about the teachers and behave aggressively or attractively, sometimes showing unconsciously determined reactions of *transference* from their previous subject experiences.

Student Resistance English teachers may *split* and position slow learners into a lower *academic* class (Sect. 2.2.2). The teachers in charge of the lower class may lead them to fight or run away from learning itself (Bion 1961). This may happen because of the intense stress of student care and bureaucratic stresses that the teachers experience (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998). They may depersonalize and deny the significance of the individual learners by treating them on the basis of their academic achievements only and by not providing any special treatment. They may detach from and deny feelings. They may rely on ritualized teaching performance reducing their own decisions. They may distribute and reduce individual

responsibility through boosting checking systems. This array of defensive teacher practices may cause students to resist or sleep in class.

As reviewed in Norton (2013, pp. 21–22), Canagarajah (2004) discusses ways that second dialect/language learners can resort to in order to maintain their ethnic and cultural identities. He observed students in the US and in Sri Lanka created secretive literacy practices to resist unacceptable identities imposed on them. Talmy (2008) also dug into various ways in which high school English language learners in Hawai'i resisted being treated as ESL students: they intentionally didn't bring required materials, talked with friends, and played card games in class.

From the perspective of teachers, these might look like maladaptive behaviors, but from the students' own perspectives they are frequently actions of resistance to verbal, symbolic, or system-wise violence.[2] This is so because in Bourdieu's (1998) terms, symbolic violence is based on principles of vision and division, as part of habitus, being applied to different practices: The dominated practices are "almost always perceived (…) from the destructive and reductive point of view of the dominance aesthetic" (p. 9), which students can resist. We might find such *resistance activists* among in-class sleepers.

Teacher Initiatives To lead students into a healthier group or student/teacher relationship, teachers will need to understand the interpersonal dynamics and group development and culture (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998). Further, they may attempt individually or as a group to foster desirable class cultures by examining the current in a comprehensive framework mapping major areas of classroom activities (Ames 1992; Epstein 1987).

2.2.1.4 Theories of Learning as Social Practice

This sociocultural mediation of L2 learning has been systematically captured in two groups of scholars of learning through actions or practices: One group is the sociocultural theorists of learning, who have adopted and advanced cultural–historical learning theories of Vygotsky (1978, 1986). The other group has taken a more anthropological approach and focused on learning that occurs situated in *communities of practice* (Lave 1991, 1996; Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998), as the most natural type of learning which is prevalently found in the process of the reproduction of the communities.

The first tradition was founded on Vigotsky's intuition that tools, signs/symbols, and social interaction *mediate* the learner: i.e., that such *sociocultural mediators* can either facilitate or hinder the learning process.

[2]Ushioda (2003, 2009) also takes in the sociocultural factors more seriously and proposes to expand the unit of analysis of (de)motivation. Ushioda (2003) views motivation as a socially mediated process; she (2009) pursues that theoretical orientation further proposing *person-in-context* drawing attention to motivations affected in discourses being constructed.

This Vygotskyan intuition that L2 learning is also basically a social process has expanded the unit of analysis from an individual learner to the *activities* he/she participates in (Leontyev 1978; Lantolf and Thorne 2006). Inheriting concepts of *instrumental* operations, purposes, and motives, Leontyev (1978) elaborates human activity as "answering a definite need of the subject," "directed toward an object of this need," and "extinguished as a result of its satisfaction" (p. 45). An activity exists only with a motive and is realized in a chain of *actions*, directed to a conscious *purpose* or *goal*, whose achievement in turn can be concretized as objective conditions which govern or shape-specific *operations* mobilizable.[3]

To fully capture the societal and collaborative features of actions, further, Engeström (1999) elaborated the *activity theory* (or AT) and expanded the model of *activity system* adding the community, the rules regulating the actions and collaborations, and the division of labor, to the subject, the object,[4] and the instrument. According to this model, sleepers in English class don't, or refuse to, involve themselves in the learning activities occurring in the particular type of *activity setting* (see E.-J. Kim (2008, 2014a) for its application to Korean situations).

The second tradition, on the other hand, has capitalized on the inter-constitutionality of the subject and the community. Lave and Wenger (1991), Lave (1991), Wenger (1998) also proposed a theory of learning as social practice where learning emerges along with identity change through the subject's *legitimate peripheral participation* in a community of practice, whose members have shared interest, interact and learn together, and "develop their own practices, routines, rituals, artifacts, symbols, conventions, stories, and histories" (Wenger 1998, p. 6).

In this perspective, learning occurs through participation. Discussing two learners in Indonesia, for example, Lamb (2009) shows how school classes can give or take away from students' chances for legitimate participation in communities of practicing English. He clearly shows that when deprived of such chances, even highly motivated students show only selective attention or a detached attitude, perhaps signs of demotivation/resistance in the local context. He also suggests that safe practices like solving textbook exercises, chorus chanting, etc. can encourage a form of legitimate nonparticipation in meaningfully using English. At least at the surface level, in-class sleepers in Korea might have refused or been denied chances to become a member of the community of practice of learning and using the English language and to develop an identity as English learner/user (Kastner 1998).

[3]In this sense, this theory of activity can be said to presuppose the automatic connection of the pre-actional phase and the actional phase (Dörnyei and Ottó 1998), so as discussed above it needs to incorporate the Norton mediation of social identity.

[4]T.-Y. Kim (2009c) views Dörnyei's (2009) ideal and instrumental L2 selves as objects/goals in the activity system which can be interrelated by means of degree of their internalization.

2.2.2 *The Meso-Level: Socioculturally Mediated Learning in School*

The school community/field has its own "personality" (Maehr and Midgley 1991) and can exert significant impacts on student motivation, and hence on L2 classroom practices of teaching and learning as well. L2 learning is also seriously affected by schooling policies that include academic expectations and guidelines, which are translations of national and local mandates by school leaders and committees. Lastly, L2 learning will also be at least indirectly influenced via teacher morale by the system of personnel administration and promotion policies for teachers (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998).

2.2.2.1 School Culture: A Hidden Curriculum

If we extend the notion of group, school should be understood as a group with a group culture. Ratner's (2000a, b) model of cultural phenomena highlights the relationship between culture and agency. According to this model, basically, culture is collectively created and distributed, and it has five interrelated main phenomena: (i) cultural activities, (ii) cultural values, schemas, meanings, concepts, (iii) physical artifacts, (iv) psychological phenomena, and (v) agency. Significantly to language learning, first, psychological phenomena such as emotions, perception, *motivation*, logical reasoning, intelligence, memory, mental illness, imagination, *language*, and personality are collectively created and distributed; second, humans are influenced by existent cultural phenomena enshrining them, but at the same time they exert their agency to construct and reconstruct those cultural phenomena.

The Ratner model has been engendered in cultural psychology and has as its merit distinguished and specified psychology and agency in detail. A price paid in return, however, is that it does not distinguish the *society/community* from the *individual*, shown to be elaborated in Engeström (1999), Lave and Wenger (1991), Bourdieu (1998), and others. Obviously, the hidden distinction needs to be surfaced especially when learning situations in micro-/meso-/macro-society are in concern as in here. The two dimensions are explicitly recognized in Moran's (2001) model of culture, so embedding the Ratner model into the Moran one will straighten the wrinkle, giving out a modified model with the following dimensions: (i) cultural activities, (ii) cultural meanings, (iii) cultural artifacts, (iv) communities (*collective* psychology/agency), and (v) individual (*individual* psychology/agency). Let us call this the Ratner–Moran model of culture.

Across its territory, for example, school can see its dominant group of teachers classify and position students in different social groups or classes. Rist (1970/2000) documented that teachers classified students into three tracks on the basis of information from the parental registration cards, the social workers, and other teachers, and that they treated favorably the group with "high ability": in the quality of time and attention, in the nature of their messages, and so on. Wilkox (1988) also

reported similar results in her ethnographic studies of schooling students from different sociocultural backgrounds.

Reanalyzing these studies, Panofsky (2003) provides a lucid example of accounting at the school level for classroom activities and their influences on students' psychology and agency in the framework of sociocultural theory of learning. According to her, first, the activity setting of school must comprise a system of social relations. In the *social space*, the teachers and schools classify students into different social classes,[5] according to the closeness or distance between their own habitus and the students' (Bourdieu 1989).

Panofsky then explicates how social classes contribute to the learners' social beings and identities to mediate their learning. In Ratner's (2000a, b) terms, teachers invited different groups of students into different types of cultural activities offering the higher group better learning chances; they differentially valued their favorite group through verbal and nonverbal communication; their different treatments brought in different physical arrangements; they seemed to construct classroom psychologies differentially, strengthening or building different habitus; and all these seemed to construct their agency differently eliciting different learning and social practices.

This analysis suggests that a similar, unconscious *conspiracy* might be behind the scene of sleeping in English classes. It offers a strong implication for educational renovation: If we earnestly want to bring one in, we have to change the social relations in school so that every learner will be respected as a human being and as a citizen-to-be, and receive an appropriate attention and care (Fuller 2004, 2006). Only then can we open a path of education on which in-class sleepers will participate successfully in learning (Sect. 2.3.1).

School Initiatives The dominant group of school leaders and/or teachers can exert their agency and aim for environmental effects on student motivation. Drawing on goal theory, Maehr and Midgley (1991) distinguished task-focused goals, e.g., to attain understanding, insight, or skill, from ability-focused goals, e.g., to be judged able or outperform others, and provided concrete steps of bringing cultural changes in a school. The first type is more desirable because it brings forth a willingness to challenge and a sense of efficacy.

They characterized *school culture* as "the stress that the school is perceived to place on certain goals," which constitutes a "psychological environment" for student learning (p. 407). They then adopted the TARGET paradigm (Ames 1992; Epstein 1987), which identifies *task, authority, recognition, grouping, evaluation,* and *time* as six areas: [Task] What does the school ask students to do? Are the tasks relevant and challenging to the students? [Authority] Does school authority focus on controlling student behavior or encourage the learners to participate in school governance and increasingly accept authority and responsibility? [Recognition] What does the school recognize? Who do they recognize? Are there students who

[5]The principles of vision and division in habitus constitute a sociocultural language that everyone reads and understands, and its literacy can buttress symbolic and more substantial violence.

are never recognized? [Grouping] What grouping practices does the school endorse and use? How do they assign different resources to different groups? [Evaluation] How does the school choose to evaluate student performances? [Time] How is the time divided?

Malignant structural features of school culture can be identified and supplanted by means of cultural actions (Sect. 2.4.3) and more explicitly through school policies.

2.2.2.2 Schooling Policies

The school determines schooling policies that largely shape L2 classroom practices (Brown 2007). It can decide on the type and the range of curriculum content; its budgetary and administrative constraints can determine class size, hours, and conditions; its administrators and leaders can narrowly direct teaching practices; it can choose textbooks; it can promote inter-teacher collaboration; its teaching staff can prefer certain teaching styles; it does allot each teacher the class hours to teach, among others.

While grouping by abilities has been encouraged in Korean secondary schools, for example, the details of its implementation are determined at the school level. Homogeneity is naturally valued by students, and grouping by abilities are efficient when dealing with students of high ability (Levine and Moreland 1990). Even though mixed grouping is claimed to be preferable for cooperative learning (Johnson and Johnson 1995), in L2 class at least, homogeneity seems to be preferred: A lack of competence induces communication blocking, and an advanced L2 proficiency may affect social hierarchy positively (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998).

When a school wants to build up a psychological environment suitable for fostering task-focused or *mastery* goals (Elliot and McGregor 2001), it can adopt strategies to foster them among students and school programs, and its entire system can be reviewed systematically in the TARGET paradigm (Maehr and Midgley 1991): For example, it can foster internships, field works, and interdisciplinary activities, invite students to participate in curricular settings, adopt policies to recognize all students, provide more chances for group learning and decision-making, advance policies to give students chances for self-improvement, or increase flexibility in class schedules.

Schooling policies in Korea are created largely to meet requirements from the governmental policies for secondary education (Sect. 2.2.3). There may, however, be school-initiated policies geared toward narrow educational efficiency. Jang (2018), for example, reports a mother of a Korean high school girl who complained that her daughter's school offered only to a few students a chance to join a club for gifted students. So-young Ahn (personal communication, December 30, 2015) told Dr. Ahn that her sister was complaining about the school's *morajugi* policy of providing advanced students only with *beneficial* chances to participate in English-related contests.

Emphasizing learning situated in a community of practice, Lave (1991) critiques control-oriented Western schooling more fundamentally, saying that "control through the narrowing, trivialization, and decomposition of full participation is most common—in schools (…)" (p. 78). She enumerates the control devices in schooling: for example, curriculum/examination standardization, the grading system, teacher deskilling, school knowledge decomposition, teachers' control over learners, student stratification/classification, etc. She blames them all for "reduc [ing] the meaning and even the possibility of engaging as a peripheral participant in knowledgeably skilled activity in the classroom" (p. 78), and for the propensity to cause failure.

The teacher-centered transmission model of pedagogy, criticized above, may have to give way to the transformative model in which "the learner gets out into the real world and participates in real activities" (Wink 2011, p. 8) (Sect. 2.3.3).

2.2.2.3 Teacher–Administrator Relations

Another set of important social relationships is found between the teachers and administrators. In the field of educational administration and policy, the role of principals has been one of main themes of study in Korea. J. H. Park (2012b), for example, surveyed 981 full-time teachers in 32 public vocational high schools in South Korea, and obtained results showing that the principal's initiating or managing leadership facilitates teachers' perception of the organizational climate enhancing school innovation.

For a cross-national generalization, Ham and Kim (2015) analyzed multilevel data for 7,879 middle school teachers in Australia, Korea, and Malaysia and found out that if principals participate in curriculum development and engage themselves in instructional supervision [*instructional leadership*], teachers tend to overcome instructional uncertainty and provide their students with more autonomy-supportive instructions. In Germany, Buske (2018) surveyed more than 800 teachers from 15 vocational schools and found out that the teaching staff's collective innovativeness is influenced positively by principals' democratic leadership but negatively by perceived restriction of autonomy and by hierarchical and bureaucratic structures.

Thinking more radically, the same TARGET paradigm (Maehr and Midgley 1991) can be appropriated for more proper motivation of teachers. What are teachers expected to do in school? In the Korean context, for example, administrative work must be reasonably reduced (Ahn 2014). Is inter-teacher collaboration encouraged? Are they given sufficient authority in choosing teaching materials? Who of them are recognized for what? How are they grouped? How are they evaluated? How is time managed for them? When teachers are given more autonomy and freedom, their students will restore a more proper type of motivation (White 1992). In short, to innovatively help in-class sleepers wake up, the school administration must be aligned to enhance the job satisfaction of teachers.Please check and confirm the edit made in the sentence "Should teachers be given more autonomy…" and amend if necessary.We have corrected it apppriately into a *when*-clause. Thank you for your checking here.

2.2.3 *The Macro-Level: Socioculturally Mediated Learning Outside School*

On school days, all students in public schools in Seoul, Korea, navigate from their places, across their communities, into their schools, via on foot, by bus, by subway, or by car. After school, many high school students remain in school to study further, or they go to private educational institutions, or *hagweon*s, for supplementary schooling. When they have relatively free time, they enter into different cyber-communities for socializing or for fun.

Students' practices in classrooms may, first of all, be affected by their parents or guardians and other family members, who can participate in school–parent partnership programs and support or urge their after-school opportunities for further education. If the students are not fully supported materially, emotionally, and mentally, their school life can be easily distorted. Although difficult for students to recognize, second, they are also influenced by school vice-commissioners and commissioners and the educational superintendent at the level of local bureaus of education, and the minister of education in the central government. This is because these authorities construct and provide the general framework of secondary education. Third, they are perhaps most immediately affected by the mass media, cultural industry, and the social network services industry in Seoul, Korea, where such services are readily accessible through the computer facilities and/or smartphones.

2.2.3.1 Student/Parents/*Hagweon*

Schools' and families' influences seriously overlap on students learning and development, so their interaction and collaboration will increase their educational effectiveness significantly (Bourdieu 1986; Epstein and Dauber 1991). Epstein and Dauber (1991) present six types of parent involvement. (1) *Basic obligations of families* include securing learners' health and safety, improving parenting skills and child-supporting approaches, and maintaining "*positive home conditions* that support school learning and behavior" (p. 290). (2) *Basic obligations of schools* include communicating programs and children's progress in school with their students' families. (3) *Involvement at school* includes familial volunteers coming to the school site and providing assistance of various forms. (4) In coordination with schools, families can *involve in students' learning activities at home*. (5) Families can even involve in schools' academic or administrative decision-making, governance, and so on. (6) Families can collaborate with community organizations to support children's educational and future success.

Regarding basic obligations of families, for example, Dornbusch et al. (1987) surveyed San Francisco Bay Area high school students (N = 7,836) and found out that the authoritative parenting style positively correlates with grades, while authoritarian or permissive ones negatively do so. That is, students achieved higher

grades, when their parents told them to "look at both sides of issues," "[admitted] that they sometimes [know] better," "[talked] about politics within the family," "[emphasized] that everyone should help with decisions in the family," praised and gave more freedom to them when they obtained good grades, and took away freedom and asked them to give it a harder try when the grades got bad.

Families' collaboration with community must include parents' provision of private education for their children in Korea. As depicted in Chap. 1, however, parents' provisions were strikingly different from family to family in support of private education in 2015. Their different socioeconomic statuses should work negatively for school education differentially enhancing their children's cultural capitals.

Even though high school teachers don't think highly of interaction with parents, the link between families and high schools is also to be highly recommended because a high level of parent involvement is associated with students' higher achievements; otherwise, low-achieving students will be more harmed (Dornbusch and Ritter 1988).

According to Buchanan and Buchanan (2016), the basic mode of parent involvement has changed from participation, to collaboration, and then to engagement (Harris and Goodall 2008; Tran 2014). The engagement paradigm of family and school interaction strengthens Epstein and Dauber (1991)'s (4) involvement in students' learning activities at home and (5) families' participation in schools' educational decision-making, among others.

In Korean context, the school-family interaction seems to be mainly studied with regard to primary education (e.g., Choi and Choi 2004), special education for students with learning difficulties (N. H. Kim 2010), or for cultural education (Seo 2013). Perhaps, it should be strengthened to wake up in-class sleepers.

2.2.3.2 Student Investment and Government Policies

Outside of school, the governmental offices and bureaus at various levels shape the secondary L2 education by means of their systematic patterns of control that are shaped by their economic capital and (linguistic) ideologies (Darvin and Norton 2015). English is highly valued in Korea (Lee 2016); consequently, it is specified as a compulsory subject for grades 3–12 in the Korean national curriculum, but its compulsory nature can generally lower student motivation. Then, a critical question is how tight the control patterns should ideally be, which is inevitably related to the issue of school autonomy. On this issue, the Korean and Finnish systems of education seem to instantiate quite opposite models.

M. N. Kim and Son (2006) criticized the Korean educational system, saying that its centralized management-oriented administration amplified the helplessness of the teaching profession. Despite the constitutional guarantee of teachers' autonomy and professionality, the Korean governments successively enacted various rules and regulations to manage and control education fields. Consequently, teachers would

now prefer to abide with the rules rather than wrestle with rational troubles, establishing opportunism in teaching culture.

On the other hand, the Finnish government has handed over almost all authority onto first-line schools. The Finnish National Board of Education determines the national core curriculum for the 9-year basic education: The national curriculum consists of different subjects' objectives and core contents, "as well as the principles of student assessment, special needs education, student welfare, and educational guidance" (Heo et al. 2018, p. 460). Finnish schools are highly autonomous in pedagogical and curricular practices, and don't give standardized testing but focus on narrowing any gap among students in academic ability. Teachers must hold a master's degree and decide on teaching approaches, learning resources (only partially including textbooks), and tools to use. Schools are trusted, and teachers are highly respected. An obvious consequence is that Finnish students achieve extremely high performance and develop a positive attitude toward learning as well.

In the American context, White (1992) examined rare cases of authority decentralization where teachers partook in budget, curriculum, and staffing decisions, and found out that teaching and teachers' work life improved significantly in five areas. (1) It improved teachers' morale and self-esteem, reviving their interest in teaching. (2) It increased teachers' understanding of school administration and budget, and increased their participation and sense of school ownership. (3) It increased teachers' communication and partnership working even between schools, and with parents as well. (4) Teachers' higher energy level and positive attitudes in class improved student motivation. Teachers felt that "students had more respect for teachers and a better image of their school and that test scores improved" (p. 79). (5) It attracted and retained quality teachers.

To understand more concrete educational consequences of school and teacher autonomy, further, Jeong et al. (2015) examined 2000–2012 PISA results of 31 OECD countries to relate academic achievements of more than 700,000 students, to school and teacher autonomy. They found out that more autonomous schools have more autonomous teachers, and that teachers' autonomy is positively related to students' academic achievement.

Historically, the Korean governments' centralizing the national curriculum and monitoring its implementation has caused a fierce competition among students, which is supported by their parents through differential chances for private education (Sect. 1.3; Kim et al. 2009). In 2008, it substantiated its school autonomy policy and came to appoint 51 private high schools as autonomous schools by 2011. These schools could charge about three times the tuition for general high schools. To that extent, they became more autonomous not only in student recruitment and the compilation and execution of the budget but also in curriculum and academic implementation. J.-A. Kim (2018), however, found out that the school autonomy policy didn't substantially improve teacher autonomy in private high schools in comparison with that in public ones. The policy turned out only to increase *market autonomy*, unintentionally suppressing *educational autonomy*, probably due to the government's unreduced level of regulations and control. Lee et al. (2018) also examined 2006–2015 PISA results of the Korean students to check whether the

2008 school autonomy policy positively influenced educational performance. They reported that the policy didn't improve the overall level of school autonomy, and that the PISA results were positively affected by the increase of school autonomy in student management.

It seems quite clear that more autonomous schools and teachers can help students achieve better, and that Korea should continue to devolve power and authority onto first-line schools and teachers. The competition/exam-based educational institution in Korea has worked to produce not only elites but unfortunately also many miserable losers including in-class sleepers, which is discontentedly reproducing the existent socioeconomical structure.

2.2.3.3 Mass Media and Cultural Industry

Since high school students are related to multiple groups of people in the mass media and cultural industry, the Ratner–Moran model of culture provides a way to capture the overall relationships they build up with such groups and/or their cultural products and practices. In this regard, however, it should also be noticed that consumption, informational technologies, and communication media blend together and produce a so-called *consumer-media culture* (Kenway and Bullen 2005). The postmodern character of the consumer-media culture emphasizes desire, sensation, and immediacy, and tends to tear down older differentiations to hybridize diverse cultural artifacts and practices.

According to Kenway and Bullen (2005), the consumer-media culture, by nature, *tribalizes* young people away from adults, who don't share in it [*community*]. Second, the *perspectives* it offers include (1) the aesthetic of being "flashy, fast, frenetic, fantastic, and fun," (2) the identities of "pleasure-seeking, self-indulgent, autonomous, rational decision makers" (p. 36), and (3) the presupposition that consumption is the key for whatever they pursue. Third, its major cultural *practices* are "to live only in the present, to delight the impertinent and the forbidden, and to transgress adult codes" (p. 36). Fourth, its *cultural artifacts* supplied through the market mediate the inhabitants' activities "to construct their dreams, set their priorities, and solve their problems," and become "the basis on which to build their group's commonalties and their sense of others' differences, and on which to establish their personhood" (p. 37).

As an adverse effect, the media for youth tend to *otherize* adults and their values as "dull, disapproving, ridiculous, unattractive;" they also present school "as an old-fashioned, puritanical, drab, and overdisciplined place where … children must be governed by others or be self-restrained" (p. 37). The more the students indulge in their consumption-media culture, the less they will expect to get something valuable from schools and teachers.

Since all media contents are only a version of reality (Janks 2010), they are often de-historicized or decontextualized so as to ignore or distort such real-life problems as class, ethnicity, sexuality, race, and gender. The *global corporate curriculum* implemented in the consumer-media culture does not deal overtly with the processes in which

goods are produced and consumed; it does not use concepts like "exploited labor, Majority World sweatshops, child labor, corporate greed, and the corporate colonization of both public space and the popular psyche" (Kenway and Bullen 2005, p. 40).

To help students engage, teachers would then need first to understand their students and their cultures. Statistics Korea (2018), for instance, reports that Korean teens are increasingly using the Internet: In 2017, on average, 2.4 h per day; 97.1% for communication, 92.6% for data/information, 98.9% for leisure, 53.8% for website management and so on, and 73.6% for educational/learning purposes. Surveys report that up to 30% of the young respondents overuse the Internet, and its risk factors include (1) peer culture, (2) high accessibility, (3) high-risk situations such as being alone at home or having lots of free time on weekends, (4) web-mediated learning, (5) family problems, (6) attractive contents, (7) computer-based hobbies, (8) computer-mediated activities like celebrity fan clubs, (9) personality traits prone to immersion, (10) social problems, and (11) pursuit of compensation (Park and Kim 2003). It is the capacity for imagination that allows humans to partake in virtual relationships or communities along with peers or in relation to celebrities (Ryan 2010). Once they are *addicted*, say, to computer games, however, they will surely suffer from sleep debt and drowse in the daytime, and experience difficulties in adapting to school life desirably especially when socially unsupported (Lee and Yeum 2013).

In the dimension of youth cultures and leisure activities, therefore, students also need helps to self-manage their own lifestyles (Duhigg 2012) or to gain digital and media literacy (Hobbs 2007, 2011), so that they can *understand* the mediated nature of information and also of reality (Perkins 1993). Hobbs (2011) urges teachers to "be responsive to students' experience with their culture" (p. 7), and she provides five essential dimensions of digital and media literacy: *access, analyze, create, reflect,* and *act*, which in a sense comprise all competencies for reading and writing the *word* and the *world* (Freire and Macedo 1987; Sect. 2.3.3) via digital media.

2.3 Humanistic/Existential Approach in (Second/Foreign) Language Education

In the previous sections of this chapter, we have seen that English learners can be demotivated due to external causes, can lose motivation, and even drop out when they have their basic psychological needs not satisfied and find no meaning in school. Learning English, they should construct their identity strengthening their mental muscles, should negotiate their relationships with one another and with teachers. They need adequate psychological and sociocultural supports as well as academic ones. This consideration demands teachers to treat students as persons, and as human beings who should interact with the world. We will accordingly explore humanistic and existential approaches to L2 education in depth, discussing the major characteristics of humanistic approaches in (foreign language) education

in Sect. 2.3.1, and those of existential approaches in Sect. 2.3.2. We then discuss Freire (1970/2000a, b) and other critical theorists as examples of humanistic/existential approaches.

2.3.1 Humanistic Approaches to (Foreign Language) Learning

Various threads of *humanistic education* that arose in the U.S. drew from *humanistic psychology*, which focused on distinctively human concerns such as mental needs, happiness, fulfillment, identity, etc., peaking in the 1960s. In this category, in fact, belong the motivation theories based on human needs (Sect. 2.1.2). Maslow (1971) regarded vital such needs as dignity, respect, belongingness, love, and esteem. Valett (1974) dug out students' basic needs in six areas: physical security, love, creative expression, cognitive mastery, social competency, and self-worth, the last of which requires satisfaction of the others.

Carl Rogers's (1961) psychotherapeutic approach is based on the three notions of "*empathy, unconditional positive regard,* and *congruence,*" all "conducive to self-disclosure, growth, and personal development" (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998, p. 11). Empathy is putting oneself into another's shoes; unconditional positive regard involves judgment suspension, acceptance, and warmth; lastly, congruence means "awareness, acceptance, and expressions of one's own real feelings and thoughts" (p. 12).

Rogers (1969) characterizes *significant* (or *experiential*) *learning* as having learners' personal involvement, self-initiation, pervasive outcomes, self-evaluation, and perception of meaningfulness. He particularly warns against threat to the self and emphasizes learner independence, creativity, and self-reliance, and learning how to learn, as with *contract learning*. If it is the case that in-class sleepers mostly find no meaning in English subject activities, then such humanistic approaches would have a large potential to restore their relevance to and hence meaning for student self-actualization.

According to Moskowitz (1978), following Sputnik, American education emphasized the cognitive content so much that the severely unbalanced curriculum could not respond to the social and interpersonal issues in those days and led many students to become disenchanted with the subjects at school. In a sense, the humanistic education movement was an outcry to restore the balance between the cognitive and the affective as educational goals.

Relying on Miller's (1976) affective models of teaching, Moskowitz (1978) has built up and provided a collection of humanistic teaching strategies and activities to help students to relate to others, discover themselves, express their strengths, self-images, feelings, and memories, sharing themselves and their values, etc. (Also see Griffiths and Keohane (2000) for ways of personalization). All such resources for humanistic L2 education might have been utilized for waking up Korean

English classes, but they were largely shielded against when the *syllabus-based* communicative teaching, emphasizing authentic material (Roberts 1982), gained predominance in Korea.

Stevick (1990) reviewed various humanistic attempts in language education and insightfully characterized them as at least partly emphasizing the following five: (H1) feelings such as "personal emotions and esthetic appreciation," (H2) social relations enhancing "friendship and cooperation," (H3) social responsibility accepting "public scrutiny, criticism, and correction," (H4) intellect, including "knowledge, reason, and understanding," and (H5) self-actualization, "the quest for full realization of one's own deepest true qualities" (pp. 23-4). These will be good guidelines for designing humanistic L2 classes in Korea as well.

We have noticed that the humanistic approaches consider it important to trust learners, and provide an un-threatening environment which fosters learners' self-initiation, participation, doing, self-criticism, and self-evaluation; the students would learn how to learn and stay open to new experiences and changes. Some of their "designed" instances are in fact being introduced to English teachers-to-be as Community Language Learning, (De)Suggestopedia, and the Silent Way (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson 2011), but they are regarded unfit for large-sized classes and hence not recommended for actual practice. An acute accompanying problem is that their philosophical bases don't seem to be given proper attention as needed for creating new designs, in Korea, where Communicative Language Teaching and Task-based Language Teaching are hegemonically well accepted.

2.3.2 *Existential Approach to Learning*

If humanistic education mainly emphasizes learners' participation in and action on their *personal* reality, it dovetails nicely with the existentialist tradition, which emphasizes more humans' *social* participation.

The philosophical tradition of existentialism inherited its emphasis on human action on the existential situation from Hegel's and Marx's notion of dialectic advancement of history and society. According to Sartre (1946/1989), existentialists agree that existence is prior to essence, and that man is the sum of his actions,[6] to which he totally commits himself on the plane of strict authenticity and freedom.

Accepting existentialism as a philosophy for risky situations, Blenkinsop (2004) devises a version of educational philosophy according to which *existential education* aims at "providing the tools for the infant to make sense of the world, to create order out of chaos, to question and challenge the prevailing discourses and ideologies, and to discover her own responsibility for self-actualization, for relationships, and for the community in which she exists" (pp. 237–78). He elaborates

[6]This existential thread of idea runs through and finds commonality in the American pragmatists' *learning by doing* approach, and in the situated learning in Lave and Wenger's (1991).

the philosophy in terms of educating for identity [ontology], for knowing [epistemology], and for values [axiology].

His division of human development into four stages of infancy, childhood, adolescence, and adult is reminiscent of Erikson's (1950, 1963) phases of human growth in developmental psychology. During the first stage, if a little overlap is tolerated, human babies must be relationally supported and confirmed to learn how to build relationships; they have to learn how to live in the world, objectifying, discovering, and organizing it to secure their survival; they have to create their own narratives with chances for imagining, exploring, and making genuine choices.

During the second stage of childhood, children have to discover themselves, conversing more with the world. They must obtain the tools of the culture and begin to navigate the world via history and/or great people's lives preferably, detecting diversity and multiple points of view. Crucially, they taste freedom and the responsibility accompanying it, and "discover their own role in the transformation of themselves and of [the] world [they reside in]" (p. 248).

This means that the students must appropriate and incorporate the subjects in the curriculum, eventually to discover themselves and the world so that they may actively engage in their existence individually or together.

In the third stage of adolescence, our focal one, students must be encouraged to commit themselves to freedom through their own acts; hence, they must learn how to escape from their unwanted habits. Further, they begin to discover friendship and partnership more consciously, understanding true belonging, expanding the sense of responsibility, but sometimes experiencing alienation. They must also learn that they can achieve their potentials only in actions involving choices and tools, in preparation of a fuller existential living as adults. In sum, the three stages of development converge into the students' construction of identities, in relation to their world(s), which is a matter of existential ontology.

In existential epistemology, Blenkinsop (2004) focuses on teachers' roles as mirror, obstacle, questioner, regard, and gardener. These involve providing feedback, posing existential problems, raising dialectic questions, providing support and encouragement as confirmation, and providing the best environments for the students to flourish their *critical thoughts*.

These benevolent roles of teachers are extended to the realm of existential axiology, where students must be helped to become capable to *freely* construct their own value system(s), deconstructing *any* existent values if necessary. In this respect, teachers need to recognize and celebrate students' subjectivities and encourage them to make authentic choices and bear responsibilities therefor (Hunter 1993).

At the same time, they have to become more fully responsible to others, respecting their freedom as well. In this ethical project, the individuals' freedom and responsibility are pursued to the extent that they should be willing to participate in building communities: They should become conscious of and more rationally deal with problems related to outsiders and/or outcasts on the basis of knowledge of mechanisms of belonging and scapegoating; eventually, they should obtain the "tools of community-building and critical thought" (Blenkinsop 2004, p. 295), so

that they, as part of a community, can begin to transform the current undesirable ways of human existence.

Such an existentialist approach to education has independently been advocated for Korean education by Kang (1999). This philosopher has suggested that it will help current Korean education resist dehumanization in the modern civilization. In fact, his characterization of existential education is quite similar to Blenkinsop's (2004): He emphasizes dialogue, teacher honesty, self-creating student experience, authenticity and student courage to be, self-directed open curricula, facilitative methodology, and exploration of possibilities. He intuits that it will help students to have private awareness and personal involvement, so that they can internalize the values of freedom, choice, responsibility, and subjectivity.

2.3.3 Humanistic/Existential Approaches to Pedagogy

2.3.3.1 Paulo Freire's Problem-Posing Education

Being nourished from currents of philosophical ideas like critical theory, phenomenology, existentialism, and Christianity, Paulo Freire (1970/2000a, b, 1974/2013) proposes a system of theories of humans, of consciousness, and of knowing. In a sense, he adopts a *humanistic/existential* approach to life and education (Crawford-Lange 1981) and develops a pedagogy of literacy helping the economically oppressed peasants from the mid-twentieth century in Brazil and Chile, South America.

Freire declares that humans' vocation is to become fully human acting on and transforming the world to improve life conditions; consequently, events in human history are either a process of humanization or dehumanization. This entails that the institution of education in any country can contribute to humanization or to its opposite, the latter of which happens when there are (a group of) oppressors who dominate the oppressed to their sole advantage. In this respect, Freire's approach to education is very *humanistic*.

He identifies three levels of human consciousness corresponding to three types of social structure. At the lowest level, humans can have semi-transitive consciousness in closed society; at the next level, they can have naïve transitive consciousness in emergent society; and at the most advanced level, they are to have critical consciousness in open society.

In terms of epistemology, lastly, Freire views knowing as a process of *praxis* (reflection and action combined), carried out in dialogue, on the reality of humans. The vocation of the oppressed is then to overcome their oppressive situations and liberate themselves. In this regard, Freire (1970/2000a, Chap. 2) presents the most well-known oppositional conceptions of education: *banking* versus *problem-posing*. In the banking-type education, the teacher is believed to transmit knowledge to students, which must still be an accurate depiction of mainstream schooling in Korea. In the problem-posing education, which Freire firmly advocates, in

contrast, the teacher poses *problems* which *must* be located in and taken from the *existential* situations of the learners. The learners are to become critically aware of the problems, create their own solutions, and make decisions to improve their own existential situations and become more fully human.

Since the historical epoch which the learners live in "is characterized by a complex of ideas, concepts, hopes, doubts, values, and challenges in dialectical interaction with their opposites" (p. 101), the educator and learners may take the concrete representation of those components and the obstacles therein hindering full humanization, as the "themes of that epoch" (p. 101).[7] Through the process of education, the project participants will become aware of them and make appropriate creative actions to produce a better situation, from which they will again locate a further or new theme which will generate an additional cycle of reflection and action. If this process goes on in that cyclic way, we are pretty sure that the personal and social situations of the students will surely improve so that they can become more human.

This combination of reflection and action will encounter a generalized theory of experiential learning in Kolb (1984), who builds up on the work of Kurt Lewin, John Dewey, and Jean Piaget to propose that learning occurs through experiences in a cycle of four distinct stages, each with a different learning purpose. At the stage of *concrete experience*, learners participate in the experience on a number of levels–intellectually, physically, emotionally, spiritually, etc. At the next stage of *reflective observation*, they reflectively observe and describe what happened—the facts of the experience. Next, abstract *conceptualization* happens. The learners assign meaning to the experience by developing explanations or theories—either the learner's own or drawn from other sources. Lastly, at the stage of active *experimentation*, the learner enters experience again by devising strategies consistent with personal goals, the nature of the content, and the form of experience.

In a sense, Freire's praxis must constitute a special form of experiential learning that occurs *pari passu* psychologically and socioculturally. This dictates that education as liberation must find its program content in the students' existential life situation and in their perception of it, and improve them in actuality. In this sense, Freire's approach is *existential*, and this existential dimension can perhaps provide fresh sinews and muscles for and invigorate the flagging education of humanitarianism in Korea.

2.3.3.2 Existential/Humanistic Principles for Foreign Language Curricula

It was Crawford(-Lange) (1978, 1981) who has attempted seriously to translate Paulo Freire's work into foreign language education in the United States. From Freire's educational philosophy, she extracts 20 principles for curriculum

[7]Themes are "generative" when they can unfold into many themes.

organization and illustrates their application. If the Freirean humanistic/existential approach is to be taken in foreign language education, ideally, the main purpose of education will be the development of the learners' competencies for critical thinking and creative action, which will require the acquisition of relevant information and language skills, only as a secondary objective. The content of curriculum comes from the learners' reality in the form of themes, to be posed as problems. The themes and their perception thereof will dictate how language skills and information will be acquired through the curriculum which is open to interdisciplinary treatment. Dialogue fabricates language classes, and praxis (i.e., reflection and action combined) is the basic mode of learning. In this endeavor, the *class* is recognized as a social entity and resource.

The learners should come to know their own reality by having chances to distance themselves from, or objectify, it. They produce their own learning materials. They first organize generative themes and then relevant subject matter. *Teachers* participate as a learner among learners. They contribute their ideas, experiences, opinions, and perceptions to the dialogical process of the class. In this process, they become one with their students. Importantly, they pose problems. It is the students who act on different dimensions of their own reality as objects. It means that the students should have the right to and power of decision-making. Finally, evaluation focuses on the ability of the educational program to develop critical thinking and foster transforming action in a particular time and place.

This humanistic/existential view of foreign language pedagogy will be extremely useful in countries where the educational system hasn't been established (Schleppegrell and Bowerman 1995). In countries like Korea, where the government sets up the national curriculum for secondary education, however, the Crawford(-Lange)'s interpretation would shed light to supplementing and constituting a good counterbalance to the teacher-centered implementation of the national curricula in gradual and comprehensive ways (Crookes 2013).

2.3.3.3 Critical Pedagogy: Further Theorization and Expansion

Paulo Freire's educational philosophy and pedagogy are developed further into diverse forms of critical or radical pedagogy, for example, in Giroux (2001), McLaren (2016), Shor (1992), Hooks (1994), and Darder (2003), among others. Theoretically, Paulo Freire's approach is connected to critical theory and calls for a radical pedagogy which will disclose repressive ideologies and hopefully redesign more emancipatory social relationships (Giroux 2001). This must include explosion of the reifications in the existent society and construction of socially more just relationships. Educators are warned that they might be caught up in the system of sociocultural reproduction through the messages and values transferred in the hidden curriculum. They are urged to develop pedagogy to support the needs of the most marginalized students, by valuing and incorporating in the pedagogical content the cultural resources of the community their students belong to, to resist repressive modes of education in schools, and to equip the students with the

knowledge and skills necessary to "become well-rounded critical actors and social agents" (Giroux 2001, p. xxvi). If in-class sleepers belong to the most marginalized in school, critical pedagogy will lead Korean educators to review and transform the entire system of education, from classroom practices to schooling policies and the hidden curriculum, and to sociocultural factors contributing to the malignant alienation of some students.

The framework for critical pedagogy recognizes three types of knowledge that are constructed in schooling (McLaren 2016): Technical knowledge constitutes the results from core content classes like reading, science, etc. in school; practical knowledge is about students' ways of living their everyday life in social conditions, and includes functional literacy, conflict resolution, time management, etc.; finally, emancipatory knowledge is based on the study of social conditions in the past and present epochs to identify and understand elements of irrationality, domination, and oppression; hence it "has the potential to contribute to social justice, equality, and empowerment" (p. 134), and constitutes the primary goal of critical pedagogy. Critical educators are expected to analyze the relationship between power, knowledge, and curriculum, and to be critically self-reflective to check whether they overvalue certain ways of talking, acting, and dressing, and certain language practices and values. When students resist, they need to help them redirect their resistance to the possible transformation and liberation of themselves, the class, the community, and broader society. If some in-class sleepers are resisting the current forms of education, Korea would need critical educators to help them to construct emancipatory knowledge and change and liberate themselves and their circumstances.

Shor (1992) is keenly concerned with student empowerment. His empowerment education emphasizes a reciprocal *teacher-student* relationship, heading toward a "critical-democratic pedagogy for self and social change" (p. 15). He establishes its eleven values: "participatory, affective, problem-posing, situated, multicultural, dialogic, de-socializing, democratic, researching, interdisciplinary, and activist" (p. 17). All of them are either existential, humanistic, or both. Critical pedagogy, he maintains, must respect students' knowledge, voices, experiences, and feeling, and he warns against "learned withdrawal," "endullment," and "performance strike" (pp. 20-21), which should aptly apply to in-class sleepers in Korea.Please check the spelling of the term "paradogy" in the sentence "All of them are either existential, humanistic…" and amend if necessary.We corrected it into *pedagogy*. Thank you for this catch.

On the other hand, Hooks (1994) advocates that teachers also empower themselves and devote to their own self-actualization and well-being so that they can teach in liberating ways as living examples of their politics. Her holistic approach gets in touch with human psychology (Dweck 2017). She is hence very sensitive to social class differences found in classrooms, especially to the ways in which schools allow bourgeois class standards to constitute their educational norms and practices to the marginalization of poor and working-class students. Teaching at extremely privileged universities, she advocates that students should be capable of dwelling well in and crossing borders of two different worlds of social classes to recognize and set up interdependent, not exploiting, relationships among the different worlds of languages and sociocultural practices. In a sense, she emphasizes the importance

of love and extends critical pedagogical strategies onto students with such privileged cultural backgrounds. Darder (2003) is also concerned with teachers as critical pedagogues and suggests they have qualities such as humility, courage, tolerance, "*decisiveness, security*, the *tension between patience and impatience*, and the *joy of living*" (p. 508).

These explorations of critical pedagogy would clearly notice their vestiges in the pedagogical projects reported in Duncan-Andrade and Morrell (2008), who first deconstruct the rhetoric of urban schools' failure in the United States. They rather argue that such schools have been functioning exactly as they are intended to sorting and persuading students into their different roles in different places of social hierarchy, both of which are valued and located differently in the scale of desirability, but that such allocation helps the regeneration of the existent socioeconomic hierarchy since the students' places are pretty much predictable on the basis of the socioeconomic statuses of their families. They point out that urban education for poor and low-class students must take a drastically different approach that designs school culture, curriculum, and pedagogy identifying the students' cultures and communities, or their *funds of knowledge* (Moll et al. 1992), as educational and cultural assets rather than things to be discarded. The approach will make the pedagogy and curricula immediately more relevant to the students' urban lives, and "break the cycle of disinvestment of human capital in urban communities" (p. 7).

The authors propose an urban educational model based on "critical countercultural communities of practice" to foster "a critical and engaged citizenry with a democratic sensibility that critiques and acts against all forms of inequality" (p. 11). This particular type of community is to perceive a dominant set of norms and practices to intentionally counter. It directly responds to the structural and material inequalities in the set, and targets to transform alienation, intellectual deprivation, despair, and academic failure into communal ties, raised critical awareness, hope, and academic achievement. They set up five steps in the cycle of critical praxis: (1) identifying a problem, (2) doing research into the problem, (3) developing a collective action plan to deal with it, (4) implementing the action plan collectively, and (5) evaluating the results of the implementation and reexamining the state of affairs.

The programs have shown that student participants have been reidentified as collaborators with adults, as actors contributing to social changes, that youth popular culture can be a legitimate space for student engagement and curriculum development, and that students can learn most of the key academic skills by dealing with their own social worlds.

2.3.3.4 Critical Literacy

If critical pedagogy focuses on classroom and school practices and social transformation, critical literacy emphasizes the relevant competence of being able to read and write the *word* (i.e., text) and the *world* critically (Freire and Macedo 1987). Reading the word can be elaborated into four phases (Freebody and Luke 1990): The reader needs to break the codes in the text [code breaker], can agree or argue

against it [text participant], can use it for various purposes [text user], and analyzes it for its values, assumptions, or its positions [text analyst], which calls for *critical literacy*.[8]

This leads to the study and pedagogy for critical literacy, three understandings of which Lankshear (1994) identifies in literacy studies (Jung et al. 2016). First, critical literacy is understood as a tool to illuminate the irrationalities of the society such as inequalities or imbalance in power. In Freire and Macedo's terms, this can be said to be an ability to read the world, which is highlighted in New London Group (1996). Second, critical literacy is understood as an ability to read and write a text critically even questioning the ideologies deeply imbedded in it and reinterpreting the text: reading and writing the word. Students read fairy tales or texts on social issues. After understanding the content, they think about and reinterprets it from the angle of a particular character. This is a process of constructing a *counternarrative* (Lewison et al. 2007). Laman (2006), for example, asks students to classify characters in a racist novel into targets of racism, perpetrators and their allies, and bystanders. The students come to understand consequences of the different types or characters in the story and accordingly in the community they live in. Smith (2001) also introduces critical literacy activities called "Whose Voices?" and "Conversation with Characters," both of which can be used to help readers to detect voices and viewpoints absent from the texts they read and extend the discovery onto the landscape of existential social inequalities. Lastly, critical literacy is understood as a way to participate in the world using language and literacy: that is, (re-)writing the world. Winograd (2015) carries a number of articles reporting young learners participated in social changes through their critical literacy.

Critical Literacy Pedagogy Given this, it is important to consider how to help learners acquire critical literacy, whose very comprehensive, well-balanced model is found in Janks (2010). Her integrated model involves four facets of literacy: domination/power, access (gatekeeping, desire), diversity (difference, disparity), and design/redesign (writing, social action). First, literacy is "a powerful means of maintaining and reproducing relations of domination" (p. 23). Second, literacy pedagogy can be regarded as a way to help students get access to dominant forms of language. This should be done, third, in ways to promote students' diversity in identities. Lastly, design denotes the process of producing linguistic or semiotic meanings. These interrelated facets can be used in designing and evaluating critical literacy programs.

In this perspective, we can say that the learners who sleep in class have been denied access to chances of acquiring (critical) English literacy. The model also integrates Freebody and Luke's (1990) typology of reader roles centering around core questions given in the pairs of parentheses here: code breakers ("How do I crack this?"), text participants ("What does this mean?"), text users ("What do I do with this, here and now?"), and text analysts ("What does this do to me?"). In-class sleepers are expected to be unable to play the most basic role of code breakers.

[8]Through this construct, the Freirean approach connects to the tradition of critical applied linguistics (Pennycook 2001).

2.4 Critical Lens Toward Korean English Education

2.4.1 Studies on Student Disengagement in Korea

At the turn of the millennium, Kwak (2004) investigates the amotivational phenomenon of giving up the English language subject in high school. The English teacher recruited eight tenth-year students in her school who belonged to the lowest 5% in regular school exams of English and who seemed to have given up studying English and slept or chattered in English classes consistently for 6 months. Through in-depth interviews, she found out that the participants had become a so-called *yeongpoja* ("English-forgoer") through varied life histories: They had experiences of forced, sometimes violent private education, too abrupt English-mediated instruction, formidable vocabulary testing, teachers' verbal abuses, too fast pace of instruction, and/or too difficult classes focused on highly prepared learners. Some of them had unsupportive siblings or parents, had their pride hurt in tracked classes of underachievers, resisted dignity debasement or insults, indulged in computer games, or did part-time jobs. This description shows that the classes the *yeongpojas* experienced violated the humanistic principles of learning related to threat to the self, relevance for learners' own purposes, and self-initiation (Rogers 1969) preventing significant learning from occurring.

Unlike Kwak (2004), however, most studies of student disengagement haven't been concerned specifically with *yeongpojas* or chronic in-class sleepers; rather, they have predominantly dealt with underachieving or demotivated students. Noh et al. (2016), for example, surveyed 1002 first-year high school students and showed that 23% of them were underachievers and that most of the underachievers responded that the English subject began to be difficult in the first or second year in middle school.

Drawing on Dörnyei (2001), Falout and Falout (2005), Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007), Sakai and Kikuchi (2009), and others, K. J. Kim (2009a, b, 2012a, b, 2014b) surveyed hundreds of learners at secondary (i.e., middle and high) schools in a South Western Province to identify demotivators. She (2014) eventually arrived at a structural equation model in which *students' lower achievement* is directly significantly affected by the factors of "difficulties of learning English" (F1) and loss of purpose/interest in learning English (F2), and indirectly and mostly significantly by the other factors of "dissatisfaction with teaching styles" (F3), dissatisfaction with English grades and/or English lessons (F4), and inadequate learning contents (F5) (pp. 51-53).

T.-Y. Kim (2012b) surveys 2,832 students at primary, middle, and high schools and showed that Dörnyei's (2009) ideal L2 selves model better explains Korean students' English proficiency than Gardner's (1988) social educational model, and that demotivation shows a significant correlation positively with "ought-to L2 self," "instrumentality" and "family influence," but negatively with "ideal L2 self," "motivated behavior," "attitude to learn English," "integrativeness," and "attitude to L2 communities" (p. 35). T.-Y. Kim et al. (2017) surveyed 1508 students across

primary, middle, and high schools and showed that "the forced nature and difficulty of English learning," "the negative influences of teachers and teaching materials," and "the students' negative attitude toward English learning" (p. 78) are consistently the most influential demotivators though with different ranks at different levels, in support of Sakai and Kikuchi's (2009) and K. J. Kim's (2012a, 2014b) results.

Even though his results apparently indicated that Korean students recover their English-learning motivation in high school, T.-Y. Kim (2012b) carefully interprets that the indication might have resulted from the streaming effect of admission into academic and technical high schools, because his high school participants belonged to academic ones basically targeting college education.

This sampling factor was controlled in Jung (2011), T.-Y. Kim and Lee (2013), Lee and Kim (2014), and Song and Kim (2017), who all asked high school or university students in different regions of South Korea to retrospectively answer a questionnaire on, or write their histories of, English learning across primary, middle, and high school years. They showed that their participants tended to show demotivation as they advanced in years, particularly severely from their third year in middle school and throughout their high school years.

Studies on Korean student amotivation or demotivation have, first, observed *vicious cycles* of negative attitudes toward English which are formed at an initial phase of English learning, and function as a significant demotivator (Lee and Kim 2014). Boring or incomprehensible classes in middle school lead students to become bored and inattentive, but the classes move on with students not understanding the content. This leads students to lose interest and not listen to the teacher. Their grades/points lower further, and then they construct more negative attitudes toward English. As "study burden" grows, they lose self-confidence and sometimes even feel *wulleongjeung*, a malignant symptom of becoming nauseous and anguish, about English learning. However hard the students try in high school, their marks don't easily improve; they become anxious about college entrance where English is important. They feel it more difficult or hateful to study English. Not studying it, their English marks go further down. Some of them now only want to escape from the exam called English.

Student disengagement, second, involves various factors with micro-factors involving dimensions of the affective/integrative attitudes, instrumentality, self-concepts, goal orientation, educational context, significant others, and host environment, where competition, sense of inferiority/frustration, fear of English, exams/results, textbooks, study skills, adolescence, and siblings are added or highlighted (T.-Y. Kim and Lee 2013; Lee and Kim 2014; Shoab and Dörnyei 2005). Other major demotivators showing up repeatedly include (i) difficulties in memorizing vocabulary, understanding complicated grammar, and comprehending too long sentences or passages; (ii) exam-oriented or grammar/translation-focused classes; (iii) receiving lower scores than expected; and (iv) not knowing how to self-study, and others.

Establishment of these as demotivators has drawn on previous studies in the tradition of (de)motivation, and relied predominantly on statistical analysis of

questionnaire results. The results surely shed light on the general landscape of student (de)motivation in Korea. However, they are expected to have limitations in understanding the phenomenon of in-class sleeping. Many of such sleepers, who don't have positive attitudes toward English (education), probably won't have participated sincerely in completing questionnaires, which means that their responses, if ever, must have been filtered out as illegitimate; consequently, their reality still remains hidden from predominant academic research efforts. Kwak (2004) was an exception, but it was not published so it hasn't drawn much attention, which means that more academic attention needs to be paid to in-class sleepers.

2.4.2 *Critical Approach to English Education in Korea*

The early noughties saw urges that critical pedagogy or literacy must be implemented in Korea as well. In terms of criticality, Sung (2002) proposes that Korean ELT should be remapped with critical theory and pedagogy. And Na and Kim (2003) proposed that critical literacy should be introduced into ELT in Korea so that it can illuminate issues of power, identity, critical awareness, and empowerment, and that English learning should help students understand the world, critically reflect and challenge unequal power relations. A tryout along this line was made by Shin and Crookes (2005a, b). They first established that Korea, an Asian country, has a historical, sociocultural foundation for critical education, and showed that contemporary Korean students at secondary schools positively responded to short-term classes of critical pedagogy. In their after-school programs, the first author taught 12 middle school students 14 class periods (three times a week), and 28 high school students in four classes 4 class hours. She *challenged* students posing problems regarding their own cultural stereotypes and cultural practices. The authors discovered that Korean students are supportive of the discussion-format classes, and concluded that critical language pedagogy is possible in Korea.

In the field of English literature education, Choi (2008, 2009) advocated that a critical literacy stance should be maintained in teaching English with classical English fairytales, and showed how different cultural models can be mobilized for their deeper understanding. His stance led many teachers/researchers to teach secondary students young people's English literature and to show that critical literacy strategies were effective for enhancing their critical awareness and thinking skills as well as their English skills. Jeon (2014), for example, taught 17 second-years with *The Rough-Face Girl, The Rumor,* and *Cinderella* in middle school. He used the strategy of asking problem-posing questions (McLaughlin and DeVoogd 2004) to find out that the young participants showed improvements in engaging in classroom communication, recognizing the texts' values and/or biases, expanding meaning-making, and using English itself.

C. B. Kim (2016) utilized more strategies like *switching*, *creating alternative texts/illustrations*, and *juxtapositioning texts* in helping students comprehend Peter Pan more fully, and reported that the participants showed signs of improved critical

thinking abilities detecting biases and discriminations with regard to race, gender, appearance, power relations, and that they became more interested in reading English texts. In a similar way, Craig and Porter (2014) created a safe space in which high school students could produce drawings along with short English utterances to "speak back" to dominant people. Jang and Kang (2019) observe that media education can help young North Korean refugees change their identities.

Critical literacy research has been done productively at other levels of education as well (Jung et al. 2016). More recently, Huh (2016) and Suh and Huh (2017) have developed and applied a localized instructional model of functional and critical literacy for college students involving brainstorming, decoding, reading comprehension, and critical literacy. Oh (2017) reports that first-year college students developed critical thinking skills through adoption of the "reading against the text" technique (p. 61).

The heightening interests in critical English literacy in Korea have been establishing a firm ground for adopting and applying critical language pedagogy (CLP) to help students increase their critical consciousness and be ready for personal and social actions. However, CLP works thus far have stopped short of bringing forth actual nationwide changes in students' existence. It is because they happen only sporadically. Further, they were mostly confined to the classroom boundary raising students' critical consciousness; exceptionally, Jang and Kang (2019) led participants to reconstitute their identities differently.

These works, furthermore, have been done with *participating* students. The notorious phenomena of in-class sleeping haven't been focused or disappeared from English classes. If this is a malignant symptom for an ill institution of education, what should be done? A radical or critical reconsideration is needed to vitalize English education in Korea. Perhaps, the educational system itself might need to undergo an extensive overhaul. If freed from narrow educational purviews, humanistic/existential approaches, such as CLP, have a potential to introduce substantial changes in students' personal perspectives and practices and/or the domestic schooling culture. Exactly for this purpose, we need to pay a close attention to and listen to in-class sleeping students' and their teachers' voices, and we should undertake context-proper cultural actions for liberation.

2.4.3 Cultural Action

Since *action* means "doing something for a particular purpose," *cultural action* should mean "doing something related to culture for a particular purpose." For its more concrete understanding, we need to elaborate at least two ingredients of its characterization: culture and purpose. As discussed in Sect. 2.2.2, culture involves dimensions of cultural perspectives (or meanings, ideologies, etc.), cultural practices, cultural products, communities, and individuals. On the one hand, it provides a *safe* framework for interpreting and understanding the society and the world we reside in; on the other hand, however, it can also work negatively to constrain and

dominate the consciousness and action of human beings. Hence, cultural action can be understood as doing something about the cultural framework itself: deconstructing, improving, or redesigning it.

Then what can be the purpose of cultural action? If there is any hint of dehumanization in the culture of a society, malignant forms of cultural action will purpose to preserve or even worsen the dehumanized situation, whereas benign ones will be done to improve its degree of humanization. In Freire's (1970/2000b) conception, the cultural action for humanization must eventually target the critical consciousness, the highest level of potential human consciousness.

The two opposite types of cultural action are different in methods as well: In the first malignant type, it uses slogans, not true dialogue, and intends to indoctrinate people in a mystified version of reality to domesticate them. In the second, in contrast, cultural action uses true dialogue, commits itself to scientifically revealing and denouncing the existent dehumanizing reality along with its myths and ideologies, if any, and to imagining and proclaiming a new, more humanized version.

Humans' consciousness correlates so closely with the structure of their world/society. Their development is sketched in Freire (1970/2000b) into three stages. Humans have "semi-intransitive" consciousness in the closed structure of their society, which is dependent upon a metropolitan society; they construct and suffer from a culture of silence. Reflection on and action into their world will lead them onto the next stage of transition, in which they have "naïve transitive" consciousness; and finally they come to attain critical consciousness when the transition has completed into an open structure. This process of consciousness changing is called *conscientization*.

Freire's (1970/2000b) original concern was to help the poor peasants in Brazil liberate out of their existent economic oppressions, to conscientize people for critical consciousness. But isn't sleeping in class reminiscent of the culture of silence mentioned above? If positive, we can imagine that the contemporary institution for schooling in Korea may have a type of closed structure: in classrooms, in schools, and even in their relationship to the society. The Ministry of Education of the Korean government has ushered in a variety of measures of education renovation, but nonetheless almost everyone in schools knows that they simply failed because in-class sleepers increase in number in public schools. We believe this shows that the cultural framework itself has defections and is badly in need of transformation.

If authentic education involves learners' own engagement in changing their own consciousness and existent part of their reality/world, by nature it does employ a type of cultural action for freedom in Freire's sense. If the current educational system doesn't function benignly as shown by in-class sleeping, it will require a "probably radical" cultural action, on multilevels at that: "an effort to negate the dominating culture culturally" (Freire 1970/2000b: 64–65).

In-class sleepers are completely blocked accessibility to English literacy. How can they restore some? Answers can be found in various relevant attempts of research and practice: For example, one happened in Australia involving pairs of veteran and new teachers. Comber and Kamler (2005) report teacher participants'

experiences of changing the literacy curriculum and pedagogy when they turned around to their learners at risk. They were encouraged to do so, with the metaphors of *funds of knowledge* (Moll et al. 1992) and of *virtual school bags* (Thomson 2002) that their students do bring to school. They did not stop at scratching student interests to use them as topics in teacher-directed projects. They made a physical and embodied turn: They began to see their students in different contexts using new lenses. They began to analyze and understand the student diversity and literacies; they talked with them and their parents opening their minds to them. They tried to look at the gap between the running curriculum and the student disengagement, distancing themselves from the routine classroom practices. They tried to refrain from *deficit thinking*, in which students' disengagement is simply blamed on their lack of interests, capabilities, etc. The authors report that the teachers' recognition of what learners can do already led to crucially redesigning their classroom activities into *turnaround pedagogies*, where they repositioned their students as "active learners, capable of design, agency and critique" and succeeded to reconnect them to literacy practices (p. 10). The teachers have undergone a type of cultural action applying criticality onto and transforming their consciousness and practices.

This idea of student engagement through personal relevance/empowerment finds its proper place in the multiliteracies pedagogy (New London Group 1996), which involves (1) situated practice, (2) overt instruction, (3) critical framing, and (4) transformed practice. Learning will happen well, when it is based on what the learners already know or have experienced in having (been) *designed* [*situated practice*]; when explicit metalanguages of design are provided for them [*overt instruction*]; when designed meanings are related to their social contexts and purposes [*critical framing*]; and when the learners can transfer and recreate designs of meaning from one context to another [*transformed practice*]. That is, the learners in turnaround pedagogies did their learning activities in situations relevant to them; they were overtly instructed by means of design metalanguages; their literacy products were relevant to their personal and social contexts and purposes; and lastly, they changed their own literacy practices.

The multiliteracies framework claims that (1) designs of meaning, (2) dimensions of meaning, and (3) design elements must be taught in various modalities: verbal, visual, musical, visual, gestural, and locational. One of the most familiar instances of such designing will be advertisement in commercial culture and industry. In view of the fact that media contents are so prevalent around the students in Korea, they should have a chance to acquire media literacy in a more critical light. In their literacy curriculum and pedagogy, the following question should be dealt with seriously: How can we respond to an English text? To an advertisement? To a movie? How can we (re-)design the text as a counternarrative? Our personal lifestyles? School life?

Cultural actions that will happen in school must involve building up a reciprocal caring culture between and among people in school, which is understood as a value or moral imperative for social responsibility that leads them to behave to best

enhance others' interests (Gay 2010). In the case of teachers, for example, it surfaces in their teaching attitudes, their expectations, and their behaviors regarding learners' human value, intellectual capacity, and performances. In response, learners will respect teachers and other learners.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have constructed our theoretical underpinnings from psychological, psychosocial, social, and sociocultural ideas found in previous theoretical and empirical works relevant to student disengagement. Gathering demotivators, we have traced the development of models of (de/a)motivation based on human psychology, SDT's psychological needs based on humanistic psychology, and ethnographic works on student experiences in school. This initial survey showed that in-class sleeping requires considering more inclusive group features as well as individual factors.

Expanding the units of analysis to the classroom, first, we then raked in constructs related to students' differences in psychosocial and academic preparedness: personality traits to develop, cultural capital and habitus, identities, and agency, among others. We then drew from social psychology notions related to interpersonal and group dynamics, which can explicate student resistance, and theories for group development and for teacher initiatives to foster or change class culture. To maintain our focus consistently, lastly, these were connected to two representative sociocultural theories of learning: activity theory and the theory of situated learning.

For the school level, next, we have integratively adopted Ratner's (2000a, b) and Moran's (2001) overarching models of cultural phenomena, along with Bourdieu's theory of practice. This was to account for the implicit culture chronically differentiating social classes among students which exert tremendous influence on student experiences and academic performance. We then considered aspects of schooling policies and administration affecting students' goals and motivation. At the society level, lastly, we selectively focused on studies in three major areas: school/family collaboration, governmental policies of education, and the consumer-media culture of youth.

The comprehensive consideration thus far has led us to invite humanistic approaches to L2 pedagogy rooted in person-centered psychotherapy as well as humanistic psychology. It also invited existential approaches to education emphasizing freedom, choice, and responsibility. Following this development, we then connected the two traditions to critical (language) pedagogy and literacy. After critically reviewing local situations in Korea, we stressed a need to emphasize cultural actions. When these two traditions are adopted in combination, L2 classes are expected to draw on critical pedagogy and literacy for awakening philosophy and practices. Teachers will pay warmer attention to in-class sleepers respecting their dignity as humans and learners. They will help them attain a higher level of

critical consciousness and become free, decision-making, and responsible agents. For this change to happen, Korea will need to take cultural actions at the multilevels of classroom, school, and society.

References

Abramson, L. Y., Seligman, M. E. P., & Teasdale, J. D. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 87,* 49–74.

Agazarian, Y., & Peters, R. (1981). *The visible and invisible group: Two perspectives on group psychotherapy and group process*. Boston, US: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ahn, S.-H. G. (2014). English teacher qualifications and environmental conditions for *Yungbokhap* education: Focus group interviews of primary and secondary school teachers. *Teacher Education Research*, *53*(2), 362–379.

Ahn, S.-H. G., & Lee, M. W. (2017). "Sleeping beauties" in English classrooms: The English divestment of Korean high school students. *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics, 17*(3), 547–579. https://doi.org/10.15738/kjell.17.3.201709.547.

Alavinia, P., & Sehat, R. (2012). A Probe into the main demotivating factors among Iranian EFL learners. *English Language Teaching, 5*(6), 9–35. https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v5n6p9.

Al-Khairy, M. H. (2013). English as a foreign language learning demotivational factors as perceived by Saudi undergraduates. *European Scientific Journal, 9*(32), 365–382.

Al-Sharief, S. (2013). The interplay of motivation and demotivation: The case of EFL learners majoring in English. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature*, *2*(1), 53–59. http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/ijalel.v.2n.1p.53.

Ames, C. (1992). *Home and school cooperation in social and motivational development*. Champaign, US: Illinois University, College of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 411 629).

Bion, W. (1961). *Experiences in groups: And other papers*. New York, US: Tavistock.

Blenkinsop, S. (2004). *Choice, dialogue, and freedom: Towards a philosophy of education based in existentialism*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, US.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Westport, US: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological Theory, 7*(1), 14–25.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason*. Stanford, US: Stanford University Press.

Brown, H. D. (2007). *Teaching by principle: An interactive approach to language pedagogy* (3rd ed.). New York, US: Pearson.

Buchanan, K., & Buchanan, T. (2016). Relationships with families: Have educators overlooked a critical piece of the puzzle? *Improving Schools, 20*(3), 236–246. https://doi.org/10.1177/1365480216674622.

Buske, R. (2018). The principal as a key actor in promoting teachers' innovativeness—analyzing the innovativeness of teaching staff with variance-based partial least square modeling. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 29*(2), 262–284. https://doi.org/10.1080/09243453.2018.1427606.

Canagarajah, A. S. (2004). Critical ethnography of a Sri Lankan classroom: Ambiguities in student opposition to reproduction through ESOL. *TESOL Quarterly, 27*(4), 601–626.

Chambers, G. N. (1993). Taking the 'de' out of demotivation. *Language Learning Journal, 7,* 13–16.

Choi, S. (2008). Teaching classical fairy tales from critical literacy stance: Characters and cultural models. *The Journal of English Language and Literature, 54*(5), 767–784.

Choi, S. (2009). Reading and teaching "Snow White" from a critical literacy stance: The original, the animated version, and parodies. *The Journal of English Language and Literature, 55*(5), 885–906.

Choi, S.-M., & Choi, C.-S. (2004). A study on the actual states of communication between elementary school teachers and parents. *The Korea Early Childhood Educational Review, 1*(2), 96–117.

Comber, B., & Kamler, B. (2005). *Turn-around pedagogies: Literacy interventions for at-risk students*. Newton, Australia: Primary English Teaching Association.

Craig, M., & Porter, C. (2014). "Speaking back" from the English periphery: Art-work in a South Korean high school English classroom. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique, 13*(2), 35–54.

Crawford, L. M. (1978). *Paulo Freire's philosophy: Derivation of curricular principles and their application to second language curriculum design*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minnesota, US.

Crawford-Lange, L. M. (1981). Redirecting second language curricula: Paulo Freire's contribution. *Foreign Language Annals, 14*(4), 257–268.

Crookes, G. V. (2013). *Critical ELT in action: Foundations, promises, praxis*. New York, US: Routledge.

Darder, A. (2003). Teaching as an act of love: Reflections on Paulo Freire and his contributions to our lives and work. In A. Darder, M. Baltodano, & R. Torres (Eds.), *The critical pedagogy reader* (pp. 497–510). London, UK: Falmer.

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 35,* 36–56.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry, 11*(4), 227–268.

Dei, G. J. S., Mazzuca, J., McIsaac, E., & Zine, J. (1997). *Reconstructing "drop-out", a critical ethnography of the dynamics of Black students' disengagement from school*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Dornbusch, S. M., Ritter, P. L., Leiderman, P. H., Roberts, D. F., & Fraleigh, M. J. (1987). The relation of parenting style to adolescent school performance. *Child Development, 58,* 1244–1257.

Dornbusch, S. M., & Ritter, P. L. (1988). Parents of high school students: A neglected resource. *Education Digest, 53*(9), 16–19.

Dörnyei, Z. (1998). Demotivation in foreign language learning. Paper presented at the TESOL '98 Congress, Seattle, WA, March.

Dörnyei, Z. (2001). *Teaching and researching motivation*. London, UK: Longman.

Dörnyei, Z. (2009). The L2 Motivational Self System. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 9–42). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Dörnyei, Z., & Ottó, I. (1998). Motivation in action: A process model of L2 motivation. *Working Papers in Applied Linguistics* (Thames Valley University), *4*, 43–69.

Dweck, C. S. (2017). From needs to goals and representations: Foundations for a unified theory of motivation, personality, and development. *Psychological Review, 124*(6), 689–719. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000082.

Duhigg, C. (2012). *The power of habit: Why we do what we do in life and business*. New York: Random House.

Duncan-Andrade, J. M. R., & Morrell, E. (2008). *The art of critical pedagogy: Possibilities for moving from theory to practice in urban schools*. New York, US: Peter Lang Pub.

Ehrman, M. E., & Dörnyei, Z. (1998). *Interpersonal dynamics in second language education: The visible and invisible classroom*. Thousand Oaks, US: Sage.

Elliot, A. J., & McGregor, H. A. (2001). A 2 X 2 achievement goal framework. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 80*(3), 501–519. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.80.3.501.

Engeström, Y. (1999). Activity theory and individual and social transformation. In Y. Engeström, R. Miettinen, & R. Punamaki (Eds.), *Perspectives on activity theory* (pp. 19–38). New York, US: Cambridge University Press.

Epstein, J. L. (1987). *TARGET: An examination of parallel school and family structures that promote student motivation and achievement*. (Report No. 6). Baltimore, MD: Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 291 504).

Epstein, J. L., & Dauber, S. (1991). School programs and teacher practices of parent involvement in inner-city elementary and middle school. *The Elementary School Journal, 91*(3), 289–305.

Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society*. New York, US: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (Ed.). (1963). *Youth: Change and challenge*. New York, US: Basic Books.

Falout, J., Elwood, J., & Hood, M. (2009). Demotivation: Affective states and learning outcomes. *System, 37,* 403–417.

Falout, J., & Falout, M. (2005). The other side of motivation: Learner demotivation. In K. Bradford-Watts, I. Ikeguchi, & M. Swanson (Eds.), *JALT2004 Conference Proceedings* (pp. 280–289). Tokyo, Japan: JALT.

Falout, J., & Maruyama, M. (2004). A comparative study of proficiency and learner demotivation. *The Language Teacher, 28*(8), 3–9.

Falout, J., Murphey, T., Elwood, J., & Hood, M. (2008). Learner voices: Reflections on secondary education. In K. Bradford Watts, T. Muller, & M. Swanson (Eds.), *JALT2007 Conference Proceedings* (pp. 231–243). Tokyo, Japan: JALT.

Fine, M. (1991). *Framing dropouts*. Albany, US: State University of New York Press.

Freebody, P., & Luke, A. (1990). Literacies programmes: Debates and demands in cultural contexts. *Prospect: A Journal of Australian TESOL*, *5*(3), 7–16.

Freire, P. (1970/2000a). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Freire, P. (1970/2000b). *Cultural action for freedom* (2000 ed.). Cambridge, US: Harvard Education Press.

Freire, P. (1974/2013). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Freire, P., & Macedo, D. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the word and the world*. Westport, US: Bergin & Garvey.

Fromm, E. (1964/2000). *The heart of man: The genius for good and evil*. New York, US: Harper & Row.

Fuller, R. W. (2004). *Somebodies and nobodies: Overcoming the abuse of rank*. Gabriola Island, Canada: New Society Publishers.

Fuller, R. W. (2006). *All rise: Somebodies, nobodies, and the politics of dignity*. San Francisco, US: Berrett-Koehler.

Gardner, R. C. (1988). The socio-educational model of second language learning: Assumptions, findings and issues. *Language Learning, 38,* 101–126.

Gardner, R. C. (2005). Integrative motivation and second language acquisition. The University of West Ontario. http://publish.uwo.ca/∼gardner/docs/caaltalk5final.pdf. Accessed 14 January 2019.

Gardner, R. C., & Smythe, P. C. (1975). Motivation and second-language acquisition. *The Canadian Modern Language Review, 31,* 218–230.

Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed.). New York, US: Teachers College Press.

Giroux, H. (2001). *Theory and resistance in education: Toward a pedagogy for the opposition*. South Hadley, US: Bergin & Garvey.

Griffiths, G., & Keohane, K. (2000). *Personalizing language learning*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ham, S.-H., & Kim, R. Y. (2015). The Influence of principals' instructional leadership on teachers' use of autonomy-supportive instruction: An analysis of three Asia-Pacific countries. *Asia-Pacific Educational Research, 24*(1), 57–65. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-013-0158-x.

Harris, A., & Goodall, J. (2008). Do parents know they matter? Engaging all parents in learning. *Educational Research, 50*(3), 277–289. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131880802309424.

Heath, S. B. (2009). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Linguistic anthropology: A reader* (2nd ed., pp. 343–363). Malden, US: Blackwell.

Heo, H., Leppisaari, I., & Lee, O. (2018). Exploring learning culture in Finnish and South Korean classrooms. *The Journal of Educational Research, 111*(4), 459–472. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2017.1297924.

Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review, 94,* 319–340.

Higgins, E. T. (1996). The 'self-digest': Self-knowledge serving self-regulatory functions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*(6), 1062–1083.

Hobbs, R. (2007). *Reading the media: Media literacy in high school English*. New York, US: Teachers College Press.

Hobbs, R. (2011). *Digital and media literacy: Connecting culture and classroom*. Thousand Oaks, US: Corwin.

Hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. New York, US: Routledge.

Hosseini, S. A., & Jafari, S. M. (2014). Possible demotivating factors for secondary school students. *International Journal of Language Learning and Applied Linguistics World, 5*(3), 188–201.

Huh, S. (2016). Instructional model of critical literacy in an EFL context: Balancing conventional and critical literacy. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies, 13*(3), 210–235. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2016.1154445.

Hunter, G. (1993). Existentialism: Practical classroom application. *The Educational Forum, 57*(2), 191–196.

Jang, E. (2018). *English experiences of a housewife in her 40's as a learner and a parent*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea.

Jang, E.-Y., & Kang, S. J. (2019). Becoming Me in third space: Media education for North Korean refugee youths in South Korea. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy, 63*(1), 83–91. https://doi.org/10.1002/jaal.949.

Janks, H. (2010). *Literacy and power*. London, UK: Routledge.

Jeon, J. H. (2014). *Munjejegisik jilmun-eul hwalyonghan critical literacy gyoyug-i changeujeok sago-e michineun yeonghyang* ('Influences on creative thinking of the critical literacy education based on problem-posing questions'). Unpublished Master's thesis, Korea University, Seoul, Korea.

Jeong, D. W., Yoo, J. E., & Lee, H. J. (2015). An analysis on the effect of school autonomy and teacher autonomy. *Korean Journal of Educational Administration, 33*(4), 257–276.

Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. T. (1995). Cooperative learning and nonacademic outcomes of schooling: The other side of the report card. In J. E. Pedersen & A. D. Digby (Eds.), *Secondary schools and cooperative learning* (pp. 3–54). New York, US: Garland.

Jung, S. K. (2011). Demotivating and remotivating factors in learning English: A case of low-level college students. *English Teaching, 66*(2), 47–72.

Jung, S. K., Huh., S., Suh, Y.-M., Lee., J., Lee., J.-Y., Shin., H.-P., et al. (2016). *Bipanjeok gyosubeob-gwa yeongegyoyuk* ('Critical pedagogy and English education'). Seoul, Korea: Hankook.

Kang, S. (1999). *Shiljonjeok aidieo-ui gyoyukbangbeop-jeok weonyong-e gwanhan yeongu* ('On application of existentialist ideas to educational methodology'). *Korean Journal of History of Education, 21,* 299–314.

Kastner, M. (1998). *Social identity as a second language user and its effects on second language learning*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea.

Keller, J. (1983). Motivational design of instruction. In C. Reigelruth (Ed.), *Instructional design theories and models: An overview of their current status*. Hillsdale, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kenway, J., & Bullen, E. (2005). Globalizing the young in the age of desire: Some educational policy issues. In M. W. Apple, J. Kenway, & M. Singh (Eds.), *Globalizing education: Policies, pedagogies, & politics* (pp. 31–44). New York, US: Peter Lang.

Kikuchi, K. (2009). Learner voices: Listening to our learners' voices: What demotivates Japanese high school students? *Language Teaching Research, 13*(4), 453–471. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168809341520.

Kim, C. B. (2016). Teaching and reading Peter Pan through four tasks from critical literacy (CL): Centering on enhancing students' interests and critical awareness on the text. *Studies in English Language & Literature, 42*(4), 135–162. http://dx.doi.org/10.21559/aellk.2016.42.4.007.

Kim, E.-J. (2008). *In the midst of ELT curricular reform: An activity theory analysis of teachers' and students' experiences in South Korea*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pennsylvania State University (UMI 3414336).

Kim, E.-J. (2014a). Activity theory-based narrative inquiry of study-abroad program experiences: A case study of two college students. *Modern English Education, 15*(3), 1–20.

Kim, J.-A. (2018). A study of the effects of the autonomous private high school policy on teacher autonomy. *Korean Policy Studies Review, 27*(1), 223–242.

Kim, K. J. (2009a). Demotivating factors in secondary English education. *English Teaching, 64* (4), 249–267.

Kim, K. J. (2009b). A comparative analysis of demotivation in secondary English classes. *English Language & Literature Teaching, 15*(4), 75–94.

Kim, K. J. (2012a). The structural relationship between demotivational factors and English achievement for high school students. *English Language & Literature Teaching, 18*(4), 71–92.

Kim, K. J. (2014b). A structural model of demotivational factors affecting English achievement for middle school students. *Journal of the Korea English Education Society, 13*(3), 41–59.

Kim, M., Lavonen, J., & Ogawa, M. (2009). Experts' opinions on the high achievement of scientific literacy in PISA 2003: A comparative study in Finland and Korea. *Eurasia Journal of Mathematics, Science & Technology Education, 5*(4), 379–393.

Kim, M., & Son, J.-H. (2006). *Hangukgyoyungron: Jiyang-gwa jihyang ('Treatise of Korean education: Sublation and orientation')*. Daegu, Korea: Kyungpook National University Press.

Kim, N.-H. (2010). The effect of family-school partnership on the homework performance of student with disabilities. *Special Education Research, 9*(3), 141–161.

Kim, T.-Y. (2009c). The sociocultural interface between ideal self and ought-to self: A case study of two Korean students' ESL motivation. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 274–294). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kim, T.-Y. (2012b). The L2 motivational self system of Korean EFL students: Cross-grade survey analysis. *English Teaching, 67*(1), 29–56.

Kim, T.-Y., Kim, Y., & Kim, J.-Y. (2017). English learning resilience, motivation, and demotivation of Korean students: A Mixed Method approach. *Educational Research, 69,* 61–94.

Kim, T.-Y., & Lee, Y.-J. (2013). Korean students' English learning motivation and demotivation through autobiographic essays: Retrospective reconstruction. *Korean Journal of Applied Linguistics, 29*(1), 37–68.

Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Englewood Cliffs, US: Prentice Hall.

Kwak, Y. (2004). *A Study on the cause and process for giving up English learning: Focused on the abandoned English learners in high school.* Unpublished Master's thesis, Pusan National University, Busan, South Korea.

Laman, T. T. (2006). Changing our minds/ changing the world: The power of a question. *Language Arts, 83*(3), 203–214.

Lamb, M. (2009). Situating the L2 self: Two Indonesian school learners of English. In Z. Dörnyei, & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 229–247). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Lankshear, C. (1994). *Critical literacy (Occasional Paper No 3)*. Canberra, Australia: Australian Curriculum Studies Association.

Lantolf, J. P., & Thorne, S. L. (2006). *Sociocultural theory and the genesis of second language development*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Larsen-Freeman, D., & Anderson, M. (2011). *Techniques and principles in language teaching* (3rd ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Lave, J. (1991). Situating learning in communities of practice. In L. B. Resnick, J. M. Levine, & S. D. Teasley (Eds.), *Perspectives on socially shared cognition* (pp. 63–82). Washington, D.C., US: American Psychological Association.

Lave, J. (1996). Teaching, as learning, in practice. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 3*(3), 149–164.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York, US: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, H., Moon, C., & Jeong, D. (2018). An analysis of the trend of school autonomy and its effect on academic achievement: Evidence from PISA 2006-2015. *Korean Journal of Educational Administration, 36*(3), 67–89. http://dx.doi.org/10.22553/keas.2018.36.3.67.

Lee, M. W. (2016). 'Gangnam style' English ideologies: Neoliberalism, class and the parents of early study-abroad students. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 19* (1), 35–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2014.963024.

Lee, S.-D., & Yeum, D.-M. (2013). Impact of adolescent game addiction on school adaption: Focused on the mediating effects of social-support. *Journal of the Korea Contents Association, 13*(8), 229–239.

Lee, S.-M., & Kim, S.-H. (2014). Factors affecting Korean college students' motivation and demotivation in learning English. *The Journal of Linguistic Science, 68,* 287–312.

Legault, L., Green-Demers, I., & Pelletier, L. (2006). Why do high school students lack motivation in the classroom? Towards an understanding of academic amotivation and the role of social support. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 98*(3), 567–582. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.98.3.567.

Leontyev, A. N. (1978). *Activity, consciousness, and personality*. Englewood Cliffs, US: Prentice-Hall.

Levine, J. M., & Moreland, R. L. (1990). Progress in small group research. *Annual Review of Psychology, 41,* 585–634.

Lewison, M., Leland, C., & Harste, J. C. (2007). *Creating critical classrooms: K-8 reading and writing with an edge*. New York, US: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Maehr, M., & Midgley, C. (1991). Enhancing student motivation: A school-wide approach. *Educational Psychologist, 26,* 399–427.

Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist, 41,* 954–969.

Maslow, A. H. (1971). *The further reaches of human nature*. New York, US: Viking.

McLaren, P. (2016). *Life in schools: An introduction to critical pedagogy in the foundations of education* (6th ed.). London, UK: Routledge.

Mclaughlin, M., & DeVoogd, G. L. (2004). Critical literacy: Enhancing students' comprehension of text. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy, 48*(1), 52–62. https://doi.org/10.1598/JAAL.48.1.5.

Miller, J. P. (1976). *Humanizing the classroom: Models of teaching in affective education*. New York, US: Praeger.

Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzale, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice, 31,* 132–141.

Moon, A. Y. (2018). *A narrative inquiry on three pre-service English teachers' teaching practicum experiences at a specialized high school*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea.

Moran, P. R. (2001). *Teaching culture: Perspectives in practice*. Boston, US: Heinle & Heinle.

Moskowitz, G. (1978). *Caring and sharing in the foreign language class: A sourcebook on humanistic techniques*. Boston, US: Heinle & Heinle.

Murphey, T. (2002). From horse's mouth: Advice from second-semester Japanese-university students to J/SHS English teachers in Japan. *Learning Learning, 9*(1), 2–10.

Na, Y.-H., & Kim, S.-J. (2003). Critical literacy in the EFL classroom. *English Teaching, 58*(3), 143–163.

New London Group. (1996). A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(1), 60–92.

Noh, W., Park, S., & Chang, K.-S. (2016). *Research on educational support for general high school Low achievers with reference to math and English subjects* (I). RRI 2016-2. Korea Institute of Curriculum & Evaluation (KICE), Seoul, Korea. http://www.kice.re.kr/resrchBoard/view.do?seq=228&s=kice&m=030101. Accessed 11 August 2019.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Norton Pierce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly, 29* (1), 9–31.

Oh, K.-A. (2017). Developing critical thinking skills through a mandatory English course in higher education. *English Teaching, 72*(4), 53–80. https://doi.org/10.15858/engtea.72.4.201712.53.

Oxford, R. L. (1998). The unravelling tapestry: Teacher and course characteristics associated with demotivation in the language classroom. Demotivation in foreign language learning. Paper presented at the TESOL '98 Congress, Seattle, WA, March.

Panofsky, C. P. (2003). The relations of learning and student social class: Toward re-"socializing" sociocultural learning theory. In A. Kozulin, B. Gindis, V. S. Ageyev, & S. M. Miller (Eds.), *Vygotsky's educational theory in cultural context* (pp. 411–431). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511840975.021.

Park, H. (2012a). Insights into learners' identity in the Korean English as a lingua franca context. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 11,* 229–246.

Park, J. H. (2012b). The effects of principal's leadership style on support for innovation: Evidence from Korean vocational high school change. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 13,* 89–102. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-011-9182-9.

Park, S.-K., & Kim, C.-D. (2003). Analysis of risk factors leading adolescents to excessive use of Internet. *The Korea Journal of Youth Counseling, 11*(1), 84–95.

Peck, M. S. (1978). *The road less travelled: A new psychology of love, traditional values and spiritual growth*. New York, US: Simon-Schuster.

Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical applied linguistics: A critical introduction*. London, UK: Routledge.

Perkins, D. (1993). Teaching for understanding. *American Educator, 17*(3), 8, 28–35.

Quadir, M. (2017). Let us listen to our students: An analysis of demotivation to study English in Bangladesh. *The English Teacher, 46*(3), 128–141.

Ratner, C. (2000a). Agency and culture. *Journal for The Theory of Social Behavior, 30,* 413–434.

Ratner, C. (2000b). Outline of a coherent, comprehensive concept of culture. *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*, *34*(1 & 2), 5–11. http://www.sonic.net/~cr2/culture.htm. Accessed 11 June 2018.

Rist, R. (1970/2000). Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. *Harvard Educational Review, 70*(3), 257–301.

Roberts, J. T. (1982). Recent developments in ELT—Part 1 and bibliography. *Language Teaching, 15*(2), 94–110.

Rogers, C. R. (1961). *On becoming a person*. Boston, US: Houghton Mifflin.

Rogers, C. R. (1969). *Freedom to learn*. Columbus, US: Charles E. Merrill.

Ryan, M. (2010). *Cultural studies: A practical introduction*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2002). Overview of self-determination theory: An organismic perspective. In E. L. Deci & R. M. Ryan (Eds.), *Handbook of self-determination research* (pp. 3–33). Rochester, US: The University of Rochester Press.

Sakai, H., & Kikuchi, K. (2009). An analysis of demotivators in the EFL classroom. *System, 37,* 57–69.

Sartre, J.-P. (1946/1989) *Existentialism is a humanism*. http://vis-www.cs.umass.edu/~hschultz/WaveTank/Existentialism.pdf. Accessed 18 September 2018.

Schleppegrell, M. J., & Bowerman, B. (1995). Problem-posing: A tool for curriculum renewal. *ELT Journal, 49*(4), 297–307.

Seo, H. (2013). The Parental education program guidelines for the improvement of the adolescent verbal culture. *Journal of Speech Communication, 22,* 355–380.

Shin, H., & Crookes, G. (2005a). Indigenous critical traditions for TEFL? A historical and comparative perspective in the case of Korea. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies, 2*(2), 95–112.

Shin, H., & Crookes, G. (2005b). Exploring the possibilities for EFL critical pedagogy in Korea: A two-part case study. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies, 2*(2), 113–138.

Shoab, A., & Dörnyei, Z. (2005). Affect in lifelong learning: Exploring L2 motivation as a dynamic process. In P. Benson & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Learners' stories: Difference and diversity in language learning* (pp. 22–41). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Shor, I. (1992). *Empowering education: Critical teaching for social change*. Chicago, US: University of Chicago Press.

Smith, K. (2001). Critical conversations in difficult times. *English Education, 33*(2), 153–165.

Smyth, J., & Hattam, R. (2004). *"Dropping out", drifting off, being excluded: Being somebody without school*. New York, US: Peter Lang.

Song, B., & Kim, T.-Y. (2017). The dynamics of demotivation and remotivation among Korean high school EFL students. *System, 65,* 90–103.

Sosa, M., & Casanave, C. P. (2007). Difficult students: Who, why, and responses. In K. Bradford-Watts (Ed.), *JALT2006 Conference Proceedings* (pp. 240–248). Tokyo, Japan: JALT.

Spolsky, B. (1989). *Conditions for second language learning*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Statistics Korea. (2018). *2018 youth statistics*. Statistics Korea and Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, Korean Government.

Stevick, E. W. (1990). *Humanism in language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Suh, Y.-M., & Huh, S. (2017). Korean university readers' growth through an integrated approach of conventional and critical literacy. *English Teaching, 72*(4), 23–51. https://doi.org/10.15858/engtea.72.4.201712.23.

Sung, K.-W. (2002). Critical theory and pedagogy: Remapping English teaching in Korea. *English Teaching, 57*(2), 65–89.

Talmy, S. (2008). The cultural productions of the ESL student at Tradewinds High: Contingency, multidirectionality, and identity in L2 socialization. *Applied Linguistics, 29*(4), 619–644. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amn011.

Thiessen, D. (2006). Student knowledge, engagement, and voice in educational reform. *Curriculum Inquiry, 36*(4), 345–358. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-873X.2006.00362.x.

Thomson, P. (2002). *Schooling the rustbelt kids: Making the difference in changing times*. Crows Net, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Tran, Y. (2014). Addressing reciprocity between families and schools: Why these bridges are instrumental for students' academic success. *Improving Schools, 17*(1), 18–29.

Trang, T. T. T., & Baldauf Jr., R. B. (2007). Demotivation: Understanding resistance to English language learning—The case of Vietnamese students. *The Journal of Asia TEFL, 4*(1), 79–105.

Ushioda, E. (2003). Motivation as a socially mediated process. In D. Little, J. Ridley, & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Learner autonomy in the foreign language classroom: Teacher, learner, curriculum and assessment* (pp. 90–102). Dublin, Ireland: Authentik.

Ushioda, E. (2009). A person-in-context relational view of emergent motivation, self and identity. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 215–228). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Ushioda, E., & Dörnyei, Z. (2009). Motivation, language identities and the L2 self: A theoretical overview. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 1–8). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Vallerand, R. J. (1997). Toward a hierarchical model of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 29, pp. 271–360). San Diego, US: Academic.

Vallerand, R. J., & Ratelle, C. F. (2002). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation: A hierarchical model. In E. L. Deci & R. M. Ryan (Eds.), *Handbook of self-determination research* (pp. 128–137). Rochester, US: The University of Rochester Press.

Valett, R. E. (1974). *Affective-humanistic education: Goals, programs, and learning activities*. Belmont, US: Lear Siegler/Fearson.
Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, US: Harvard University Press.
Vygotsky, L. (1986). *Thought and language*. Cambridge, US: MIT Press.
Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
White, P. A. (1992). Teacher empowerment under "ideal" school-site autonomy. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 14*(1), 69–82.
Wilcox, K. (1988). Differential socialization in the classroom: Implications for equal opportunity. In G. Spindler (Ed.), *Doing the ethnography of schooling* (pp. 268–309). Prospect Heights, US: Waveland Press.
Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labour: How working class kids get working class jobs*. London, UK: Saxon House.
Wink, J. (2011). *Critical pedagogy: Notes from the real world* (4th ed.). Boston, US: Pearson.
Winograd, L. (Ed.). (2015). *Critical literacies and young learners: Connecting classroom practice to the common core*. New York, UK: Routledge.
Zhang, Q.-M., & Kim, T.-Y. (2013). Cross-grade analysis of Chinese students' English learning motivation: A mixed-method theory. *Asia-Pacific Education Review, 14*(4), 615–627.

Chapter 3
The Study

Abstract The aim of the present study is to explore why some Korean high school students sleep through English classes, even though English is valued in society. This chapter begins with a description of the research setting, the participants and their related issues, and the research methodology used. The data were collected from in-depth individual interviews with 65 Korean high school students who were identified by their English teachers and by themselves as *sleeping students*. Twelve English teachers were also interviewed. The chapter then describes the data collection procedures, followed by the data analysis method.

3.1 Setting

This study was conducted with high school students in Seoul and relevant teachers in the Seoul Capital Area . Seoul is a mega-sized city of approximately 10 million people, representing about a fifth of the total population of South Korea (Seoul Data Forum 2018). The desire to learn English is widespread across the country, and students who reside in Seoul are usually exposed to various English education options, such as attending private academies, tutoring, online classes, and home-school materials. In addition to these diverse forms of English education, there are various types of high school in South Korea. The school system consists of 6 years of elementary school, 3 years of middle school, and 3 years of high school. Elementary and middle school education is compulsory and free of charge, while high school education is not. According to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Ministry of Education 2018), high schools in South Korea are categorized into four types: general high schools; autonomous high schools; special-purpose high schools focusing on foreign language, art, or science; and characterized high schools focusing on animation, sightseeing, or tax affairs. The first and second categories can also be classified as public and private, respectively. Unlike general high schools, autonomous schools can select their curriculums, and the required credits for public and private autonomous high schools are 72 and 58,

S.-H. G. Ahn and M. W. Lee, *English Classes in Slumber*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-1010-6_3

respectively, compared to 116 credits for general high schools (Ministry of Education 2018).

Public autonomous high schools were established following the success of private autonomous high schools, which have more freedom to accept students who meet the school's admission criteria, select teachers, and implement a more student needs-oriented curriculum due to their high tuition fees. They have thus rapidly gained popularity among students and parents. Prompted by their success, the government established *public* autonomous high schools, which were noteworthy because they were typically located in underprivileged areas where the educational conditions are inadequate and marginalized. Thus, if a school is categorized as a public autonomous high school, its location is generally not favorable.

School A was a public autonomous high school. Seoul consists of 25 districts, known as *gu* (구, 區, district), and School A was located in *D-gu*, which ranked 19th in the 2015 property tax statistics of Seoul (Seoul Data Forum 2018). The neighborhood of School A can be viewed as a typical neighborhood for ordinary people in Seoul and is surrounded by multiplex housing units and apartments. The roads in front of the school are narrow, and near the school are various small stores such as fried chicken restaurants, coin laundromats, auto repair shops, small supermarkets, and convenience stores. The gatekeeper teacher who assisted us in interviewing the *sleeping students* informed us that many students were from lower/middle-class households whose parents were self-employed or day workers. She said that their parents could not actively participate in school-related tasks because of their work, but generally cooperated with the teachers and school policies. As they were unable to send their children to private academies, they depended heavily on the school for their children's education. The students were interviewed in a counseling room located on the fourth floor of School A. The facilities of the school did not appear to be in need of repair or to be inadequate, although the elevator was not operational. At the time of the interview, there were 1,072 students in 36 classes (first graders: 369 students in 12 classes; second graders: 376 students in 12 classes; and third graders: 327 students in 12 classes). The average number per class was 29.8. There were 78 teachers, including the principal, the vice-principal, and 10 English teachers.

School B is a general high school located in *G-gu*, a district known to be affluent. *G-gu* ranked first in Seoul's 2015 property tax statistics (Seoul Data Forum 2018), and the neighborhood of School B is quite different from that of School A. First, the roads in front of the school are two-way with eight lanes, and numerous medical clinics, high-priced restaurants and cafes, and major banks with VIP rooms are situated near the school. The apartment complexes surrounding the school are old-fashioned but known for their high prices, and popular department stores are within several bus stops' distance. The facilities, including the counseling room where we conducted our interviews, did not appear to be much better than those of School A or of other general high schools in Seoul. However, the gatekeeper teacher at School B, who had experienced various types of public school during her teaching years, said that in general the parents of this school were *overly* interested in their children's academic performance, so that the teachers were often nervous

when interacting with them. She said the parents mainly came from upper middle-class backgrounds and were able to send their children to English kindergartens costing up to USD1,800 per month. They actively participated in school-related work, voicing their opinions, and sometimes even confronting the teachers and the school. Due to their stable financial backgrounds, they were willing to provide their children with various types of private education, which in turn resulted in less school dependency compared with School A. When the interviews were conducted, there were 935 students in 35 classes (first graders: 248 students in 10 classes; second graders: 348 students in 13 classes; third graders: 339 students in 12 classes). The average number per class was 26.6. There were 73 teachers, including the principal, the vice-principal, and 11 English teachers.

3.2 Participants

The study included three groups of participants: 65 students from School A and School B, 12 English teachers from various schools, and two researchers. Detailed descriptions of the participants in each group are given below.

3.2.1 Students

Of the 65 students who participated in this study, 26 were from School A and 39 from School B. Of these, 43 were male (17 from School A and 26 from School B), and the remaining 22 were female (9 from School A and 13 from School B). In terms of grades, 36 students were in the first grade (15–16 years old) and 29 were in the second grade (16–17 years old). The students had volunteered to participate in the interviews in response to the gatekeeper teacher's recruitment notice inviting students who slept during English classes. Gatekeeper teachers provided the researchers with access to both Schools A and B, and selected underachieving students from those who volunteered to take part in the study, particularly in School A. We did not limit the students to those who were *underachieving* sleeping students, as we were informed that some students slept during classes even though their academic performance was good. Thus, the students selected were *sleeping students* regardless of their grades. This also applied to their English proficiency level, which was in general low for students from both School A and School B, and had (or should have) placed them in the lowest class according to the proficiency-differentiated English class system. However, some students in School B had English proficiency levels that reflected their good overall academic performance.

3.2.2 Teachers

Twelve high school teachers participated in this study. The teachers were from various schools, including Schools A and B. All of the teachers participated in the study voluntarily. Eight of the teachers were female, and four were male. Their teaching experience varied greatly, from 5 months to 25 years. The average teaching experience span was 13.7 years. Five of the teachers worked both at middle and high schools. Detailed information about each teacher is presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 The profiles of the teachers

Number	Sex	Teaching experience span	Special features
Teacher 1	F	3 years	– Previously worked at public high schools – Currently working at a public high school
Teacher 2	F	11 years	– Previously worked at a special-purpose (foreign language) high school and a private autonomous high school – Currently working at a public high school
Teacher 3	F	5 months	– A rookie teacher – Currently working at a public high school
Teacher 4	F	25 years	– Previously worked at various middle schools and high schools including a public autonomous high school – Currently working at a public high school
Teacher 5	F	18 years	– Previously worked at an alternative high school, a characterized high school, and public high schools – Has been to Canada to participate in an one-year language training program – Currently working at a public high school
Teacher 6	M	7 years	– Previously worked at a middle school and public high schools – Currently working at a public high school
Teacher 7	F	8 years	– Previously worked at public high schools – Currently working at a public high school
Teacher 8	M	17 years	– Has been working at a private high school
Teacher 9	F	16 years	– Has been working at a private high school
Teacher 10	F	19 years	– Previously worked at a middle school – Currently working at a private high school
Teacher 11	M	23 years	– Previously worked at a middle school and public high schools – Currently working at a public high school
Teacher 12	M	17 years	– Previously worked at a middle school, a special-purpose (science) high school, and public high schools – Currently working at a public high school

3.2.3 Researchers

Two researchers collaboratively designed and conducted the study. Our co-work was based on checks and balances, particularly in the processes of planning, collecting, analyzing, and interpreting the data. We took the role of *peripheral member researchers* and did not participate in the core activities of the group members (Adler and Adler 1987). In contrast with the conventional notion of outsider status for qualitative researchers (Dwyer and Buckle 2009), this enabled us to position ourselves somewhere in the middle of the insider–outsider continuum. According to the traditional, binary perspective, we would be outsiders without membership of the group being studied. However, as mentioned in Chap. 1, both of us had formed (in)direct connections and interacted in this specific field and with people who were very similar to the student and teacher participants. Thus, we followed Adler and Adler's (1987) alternative notion of the researcher's role, which helped us describe this unique and complex position. Unlike *active member researchers*, who participate in the central activities of the group without fully sharing its goals and values, and *complete member researchers*, who are already full members of the group, the extent to which *peripheral member researchers* have *membership* of the groups examined is relatively low. We believe that this concept precisely illustrates our role as researchers in this study.

3.3 Data Collection Procedures

The data were collected using interviews. First, individual or group interviews were conducted with the students. The interviews were conducted face to face and audio-recorded with the agreement of the students. During the interviews, the students were asked to draw pictures illustrating how they viewed their relationship with English and the meaning their English classes held for them. Second, data were collected through individual or pair interviews with the teachers. These were also conducted face to face and audio-recorded with the agreement of the teachers. As all of the data collection procedures were conducted in Korean, the collected data were later transcribed and translated into English by the researchers and their assistants.

3.3.1 Interviews with the Students

We interviewed 65 students mainly individually; when requested, we interviewed them in groups. The groups were usually composed of two or three students, but one group in School B consisted of seven students. Each interview lasted between 30 min and 1 h depending on the number of participants. The interviews were conducted in the counseling room at each school. With the students' agreement, the interviews were audio-recorded, and they were told that they could withdraw their

Table 3.2 Interview questions for the students

1. When did you start to sleep in your English classes?
2. What causes you to sleep in your English classes?
3. How does the teacher react when you sleep in your English classes?
4. What do you usually do in other classes?
5. How do you feel when you sleep in English classes?
6. How strongly do your parents support your English studies?
7. What does English mean to you?
8. If anything, what do you want your teachers and school to do to improve the situation?

participation at any time. The interviews began with questions eliciting the respondents' demographic information, such as their grades, when they started to learn English, and whether they had any special experiences of learning English, such as studying abroad. The main parts of the interviews followed and were semi-structured based on seven lead-off questions, as shown in Table 3.2.

In addition, during the interviews we asked the students to draw pictures depicting the meaning of English learning to them (see Fig. 4.3) and their relationship with English (see Fig. 4.1), which were related to questions 5 and 7, respectively. We told the students only to draw pictures if they wanted to; 57 out of the 65 students did so, and explained their drawings during the interviews.

3.3.2 Interviews with the Teachers

We also conducted interviews with the teachers. Eight teachers participated in the interviews individually, while four participated in two groups of two: Teachers 8 and 9 in one and Teachers 10 and 11 in the other. The interviews lasted between 1 and 2 h and were mainly conducted in a counseling room at the school at which the teachers worked or in the office of one of the researchers. These were also audio-recorded with the teachers' agreement, and the teachers were advised that they could withdraw their participation at any time. We began the interviews by collecting demographic data, such as the duration of their teaching experience, the schools at which they had previously worked, and what grade they were teaching at the time of the interview. The main part of the interviews followed, which was semi-structured with four lead-off questions, as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Interview questions for the teachers

1. How many students rest their heads on their desks and fall asleep during your classes?
2. Looking back over your teaching experience, do you have any special anecdotes relating to *sleeping students*?
3. Why do you think students fall asleep during class?
4. What do you think should be done to wake them up?
5. In your opinion, what is the biggest problem with English education in South Korea?

3.4 Data Analysis

Two data analysis methods were used in this study. First, we used grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) to code the interview data and organize them based on the prominent themes that emerged during the analysis process. Second, as the students' pictures and following explanations constituted multimodal data, we applied multimodal discourse analysis (Baldry and Thibault 2005) to these data.

3.4.1 Grounded Theory

The interview data collected both from the students and teachers were coded based upon grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). We chose this particular method to analyze our data, following Lee (2016), who used this method to analyze a large volume of transcribed interview data. In the original version of grounded theory, theory generation is the final stage of analysis and is grounded in the previous data analysis stages of open and axial coding. However, the purpose of this study was not to generate a theory but to establish the multiple reasons why students fall asleep during English classes, so we modified the theory in the second stage of axial coding. We applied the first stage of open coding as it was originally described, and read the transcribed data repeatedly and segmented the information to create initial categories. The unit of analysis was a sentence, and the analysis of the reasons resulted in 7 categories and 52 properties. Next, we adapted the axial coding stage. By specifying, synthesizing, and reorganizing these categories and properties,[1] we

[1]Simplified examples of the specification, synthesis, and reorganization of the original categories and properties are given below. These processes are not mutually exclusive, and one can co-occur or contain the other(s) at the same time.

(1) Specification: The original category, *English classes are not interesting to me at all*, was later specified as having three properties: *English classes are way too difficult, English classes are too boring, and English classes at school are too easy for me*. Subsequently, the original category was renamed as *unappealing content of English classes*.

(2) Synthesis: *English is not necessary in my life* was another original category, but it was small compared to others that had several supporting properties. Keeping this category independent produced an imbalance, so we attempted to synthesize it with another property: *disconnected relationship between school and home,* as both revealed *dissonance among school, home, and students.* Thus, the subtheme of *dissonance among school, home, and students* included two topics: *disconnected relationship between school and home ,* and *students, against prevalent English ideologies.*

(3) Reorganization: *Impractical school policies* was also an original category with many supporting properties. In the subsequent axial coding process, we realized that the word *policies* needed to be reorganized into two different levels: school-level evaluation policies and national-level policies. Thus, we put *sickly evaluation policies* into the former and *efficiency-focused national policies* into the latter, each of which was supported by three topics.

obtained 9 subthemes (micro: *unappealing content of English classes, negative teacher–student relationship, and unproductive student–student relationship*; meso: *biased school practices, poor evaluation policies, and school culture*; macro: *efficiency-focused national policies, dissonance among school, home, and students, and irresistible temptation: industries targeting teenagers*) and 24 topics. Unlike the original intention of new theory generation in the axial coding, the three themes of micro-level (classroom), meso-level (school), and macro-level (society and culture) were understood as the final outcomes, and thus the broad reasons for in-class sleeping. Suggestions from students and teachers were also collected and analyzed as the bases for the interpretations and cultural actions to be recommended. These are discussed in the following chapters.

3.4.2 Multimodal Discourse Analysis

During the interviews, the students produced multimodal data consisting of both pictures and language. These data were analyzed based on multimodal discourse analysis, because "many readings of texts are constructed not just by the use of words but by the combination of words with other modalities such as pictures, film, video images and sound" (Paltridge 2012, p. 169). The data we collected were both verbal and from the pictures drawn by the students, and thus this particular method provides a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Many methods can be used to analyze multimodal data, but most focus on particular media such as newspapers (Capel 2010; Knox 2010) or film trailers (Maier 2011). Studies that suggest a multimodality framework (Bateman 2008; Kress 2010) can be too general and are thus difficult to apply to the collected data. Baldry and Thibault's study (2005) was particularly helpful in analyzing the data because it suggests how to make connections (clusters) among the different sets of data. This method enabled us to *make meaning* comprehensively, rather than examining the different data sets individually. This work has been cited by many scholars, including those in the field of education (Jewitt 2012; Lamy and Hampel 2007; O'Halloran 2008).

We specifically used their idea of *cluster*, which can be used to examine groupings of items that are connected to other parts of the text, because "it is clusters and the relationship between clusters, rather than the individual parts of the individual clusters, that make meaning in a specific context" (Baldry and Thibault 2005, p. 27). The drawings and explanations were first summarized with accompanying notes to identify the main points. For example, one student described what his English class meant to him by drawing endless ascending stairs with himself as a small figure standing in front of them. His explanation stated that he had given up climbing the stairs because studying English was too difficult, so we summarized the data using the key words *too difficult* and *helplessness*. Next, we made clusters from this data and the pre-existing themes revealed through grounded theory. This example was connected to a micro-level reason, which demonstrated the

overwhelmingly difficult level of the English class this sleeping student experienced. Through this process, each theme was supported by multiple data from different sources.

3.5 Summary

We began this chapter with a detailed description of the research setting, from the national level to the school level. We then provided background information for the two groups of participants: 65 high school students and 12 English teachers. The students were all first or second graders from a public autonomous high school in a relatively underprivileged area and a public high school in an affluent area. The teachers were all high school English teachers, but their previous experiences varied greatly. The data were collected based on two methods: interviews and a drawing activity. The interviews were conducted either individually or in groups, and during the interviews the students were asked to depict the relationship between English and themselves and the meaning of their English class to them. The collected interview data were analyzed based on the grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967), and the pictures were analyzed using multimodal discourse analysis (Baldry and Thibault 2005). The next chapters provide discussions of the micro-/meso-/macro-levels of analyses and the actions drawn from these multiple data sources.

References

Adler, P., & Adler, P. (1987). *Membership roles in field research*. Newbury Park, US: Sage.

Baldry, A., & Thibault, P. J. (2005). *Multimodal transcription and text analysis*. London, UK: Equinox.

Bateman, J. A. (2008). *Genre and multimodality: A foundation for the systematic analysis of multimodal documents*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Capel, H. (2010). Doubling-up: Allusion and bonding in multi-semiotic news stories. In M. Bednarek, & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *New discourse on language: Functional perspectives on multimodality, identity, and affiliation* (pp. 111–133). London, UK: Continuum.

Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Method, 8*(1), 54–63.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago, US: Aldine.

Jewitt, C. (2012). *Technology, literacy, learning: A multimodal approach*. London, UK: Routledge.

Knox, J. S. (2010). Online newspapers: Evolving genres and evolving theory. In C. Coffin, T. Lillies, & K. O'Holloran (Eds.), *Applied linguistics methods: A reader* (pp. 31–51). London, UK: Routledge.

Kress, G. (2010). *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*. London, UK: Routledge.

Lamy, M., & Hampel, R. (2007). *Online communication in language learning and teaching*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lee, M. (2016). *Early study-abroad and identities: Korean early study-abroad undergraduates*. Singapore: Springer.

Maier, C. D. (2011). Structure and function in the generic staging of film trailers. In R. Piazza, F. Rossi, & M. Bednarek (Eds.), *Telecinematic discourse: Approaches to the language of films and television series* (pp. 141–158). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Ministry of Education. (2018). *Open information*. https://www.moe.go.kr/main/mainSub04.do. Accessed 30 January 2019.

O'Halloran, K. (2008). *Mathematical discourse: Language, symbolism and visual images.* London, UK: Continuum.

Paltridge, B. (2012). *Discourse analysis*. London, UK: Bloomsbury.

Seoul Data Forum. (2018). *The population of Seoul*. http://data.seoul.go.kr/dataList/datasetList.do. Accessed 20 January 2019.

Chapter 4
Analysis and Actions at the Micro-level: Classroom

Abstract This chapter draws on in-depth interviews with participating students and teachers, using data on micro-level classroom situations. It addresses two research questions: *What micro-level factors contribute to some students falling asleep in class?* and *What can be done about the phenomenon of sleeping in class?* The main micro-level reason for sleeping in class was related to the *unappealing* content of English classes. The second reason was related to negative teacher–student relationships. Unproductive student–student relationships were the third reason. It relates these results to previous studies of de-/a-motivation identifying factors unique to the Korean classroom context. To solve such classroom-level problems, it proposes cultural actions mainly for teachers to take, so that they should pay attention to the psychological and sociological aspects of an English class as well as its scholastic ones. The following sections describe in detail the findings, their interpretation, and the cultural actions to cope with them.

4.1 Analysis

The most distinctive theme that the sleeping students commonly pointed out regarding the reasons why they fall asleep during English classes was related to the contents of English classes. Many of them felt that English classes were difficult to understand mostly because they did not have basic knowledge about English. Another theme that was foregrounded was about teacher factor. Besides the teaching style that caused boredom of some students, the negative teacher–student relationship was frequently mentioned by many of the students who fall asleep during English classes. The last theme that the sleeping students talked about was related to other students in their classes. They mentioned that it was hard *not to sleep* during the class while most students fall sleep. Some students also complained that other students were so good at English that they could not become like them no matter how hard they tried. The followings show the respective themes in order.

S.-H. G. Ahn and M. W. Lee, *English Classes in Slumber*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-1010-6_4

4.1.1 Unappealing Contents of English Classes

4.1.1.1 English Classes Are Way Too Difficult

The main theme regarding the content of English classes was its difficulty. Forty-two students out of 65 specifically stated that English classes were too difficult for them. The reason they could not follow the current language level was due to their long history of sleeping during English classes. Among these 42 students, the majority (29 students) started sleeping during English classes when they were in middle school, while 6 mentioned that they started when they entered high school. The rest of them (7 students) started when they were in elementary school. In other words, this sleeping-in-English-class phenomenon had lasted 7 or 8 years for some students. Unsurprisingly, this negatively affected their ability to understand the class content and increased their nonparticipation over time. Student 14, who started sleeping in class in middle school, explained why he slept during English classes in a simple way:

[Excerpt 4.1]

Researcher (R):	If you sleep that much, I guess it affects your grades.
Student 14 (S14):	Yes, it does.
R:	Don't you care about that? Why not?
S14:	I don't care because I don't know English.
R:	Because you don't know English?
S14:	No.
R:	So, you mean you don't know the content of your English classes?
S14:	No, it's just way too difficult.
R:	Difficult … hmm …
S14:	I don't get it at all.
R:	You don't get the content at all?
S14:	No.
R:	Let's say you sleep during English classes, then what percentage of the content do you actually understand?
S14:	Zero percent.
R:	Zero?
S14:	Yes.

Having slept during English classes for about 5 years, Student 14 had long since lost interest in English classes and English in general. When he said that he did not understand the content of his current English classes because he did not have the basic level of knowledge in English, which he should have learned during middle school, it was shocking but also understandable. Students who found English classes too difficult were unable to get good grades on tests, which put them in the *left-behind students* category (Teacher 6). Moreover, although they were labeled as *poor students* at school, they could not stop learning English, especially in the

private education sector outside of school. Sixteen out of 42 students reported being involved in some form of private English education, and this number increased to 34 by including the number of students who had been involved in private English education before. Among these 34 students, the main form of private English education was private English institutes (27 students), followed by English kindergarten (11 students), online classes (3 students), private tutoring (2 students), and homeschool materials (2 students).[1] As mentioned by Student 58 and Student 59, students engaged in private English education spent a great deal of time studying English outside the school setting.

[Excerpt 4.2]

Researcher (R):	Minjong,[2] do you go to a private English institute?
Student 58 (S58):	Yes.
R:	How many hours do you study English there?
S58:	Two hours a day.
R:	From Monday to Friday? Or do you go on Saturday, too?
S58:	I only attend Wednesdays and Thursdays.
R:	What do you learn there? Is the content related to school tests?
S58:	Yeah, yeah, we study for tests and writing.
R:	I see. You also learn to write there. Do you also go to a private English institute, June?
Student 59 (S59):	I go to a private English institute.
R:	How often do you go?
S59:	I also study English with my tutor on Wednesdays and Fridays for about an hour and a half.

Student 58 and Student 59 reported that they slept during English classes mainly because English was too difficult for them. However, they could not completely give up studying English, as many other students who slept during English classes at school had done. Instead, they tried to find an alternative way to improve their grades at school by spending time and money learning English in the private English education sector. Admittedly, sleeping during English classes at school while studying in private English institutes was a somewhat unusual way to study English. Furthermore, their inability to obtain good grades, even after participating in this private form of English education, demonstrated that the structure was ineffective. In short, studying English was a huge dilemma for them, something they did not like but could not give up completely. Student 33 described this relationship using the metaphor of *not intimate boyfriend-girlfriend*, as illustrated in Fig. 4.1.

The following excerpt explains Student 33's drawing.

[1]The total number of students is greater than 42, as some students had been involved in multiple forms of private English education.

[2]All names are pseudonyms.

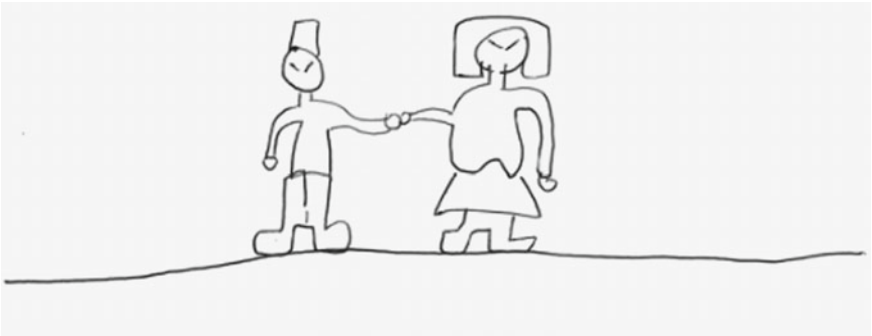

Fig. 4.1 A picture drawn by Student 33

[Excerpt 4.3]

Researcher (R):	Next, Kihun? Is this a girlfriend?
Student 33 (S33):	Yes. They are lovers, but they are not really intimate. You know what I mean? They cannot help meeting each other, but they hate each other.
R:	Oh, I see. They don't really like each other, but they cannot break up.
S33:	Exactly. They have to see each other.
R:	I see. That's a good metaphor.

In other words, the sleeping students who seemed to give up studying English did not actually stop learning English. Instead, they were *lost* in the official English curriculum at school and tried to find a way to get back on track using other available resources. However, because of their long history of sleeping during English classes, it was not easy to catch up once lost, thus English remained an *unsolved homework* for these students.

4.1.1.2 English Classes Are Too Boring

Another reason mentioned by students who fell asleep during English classes was that classes were too boring. This could be interpreted as the other side of the first theme, the incomprehensible content of classes. Yet, 35 students out of 65 did not comment on the level of difficulty, but on the way English classes were taught and evaluated. Students pointed out that English classes were too vocabulary and grammar-oriented, in which English should be studied as *one of many school subjects* and not *a language*. Thirteen of these 35 students complained that they had to memorize the main text of each chapter to get good grades. In addition to these 13 students, the rest of the students found their English classes *uninteresting and impractical*, which prompted them to choose to sleep during class. Consistent with this argument, six students explicitly said that the way teachers taught English was

too monotonous and boring. This tendency was particularly prevalent among students who had lived abroad. Student 1 who had lived in Thailand for 2 years attended an international school. She said that she had learned English *naturally* there, but her level of English proficiency decreased when she started attending Korean high school. She attributed this to learning English based on grammar and memorization in the Korean context.

[Excerpt 4.4]

Student 1 (S1): When you learn English abroad, you converse with others from the beginning.
Researcher (R): That's right!
S1: And then, you can learn English naturally, you can speak it naturally, and you can understand it naturally.
R: OK.
S1: But in Korea, you start with tense, like the past, the present, and the future, and you need to memorize English grammar. This … this means that English is something that you need to memorize in Korea, whereas it means conversations in other countries. So, I think my English proficiency level actually dropped after I returned to Korea.
R: You think so?
S1: Yes, for sure.

Moreover, although she had lived in an English-speaking country for 2 years, she was unable to get a high score on English exams in Korea. In fact, her score was quite low, usually 20 out of 100. Contrary to the expectation that students who had lived abroad would get high scores on English tests, her low score indicated that *being fluent in English* was different from *getting a good score on English tests*, especially in the Korean context. For this reason, she criticized her English teacher for the way she taught English.

[Excerpt 4.5]

S1: When I listen to my English teacher, I think … I think she just reads the textbook.
R: Oh, you mean the textbook you have?
S1: Yes, the textbook or the handout. She reads the material and the only thing I think is "What is she doing? Why is she just reading? Does she really think she's 'teaching' English by just 'reading'?"
R: Hmm …
S1: But then, I try to write what she says during class. But you know what? She already knows the content and everything, so she skips the parts I don't know, which makes things more complicated!

This example could be interpreted as Student 1's personal criticism of a particular English teacher, but she also criticized her math teacher and social science teacher. Thus, it is possible that her criticism did not target a particular teacher, but

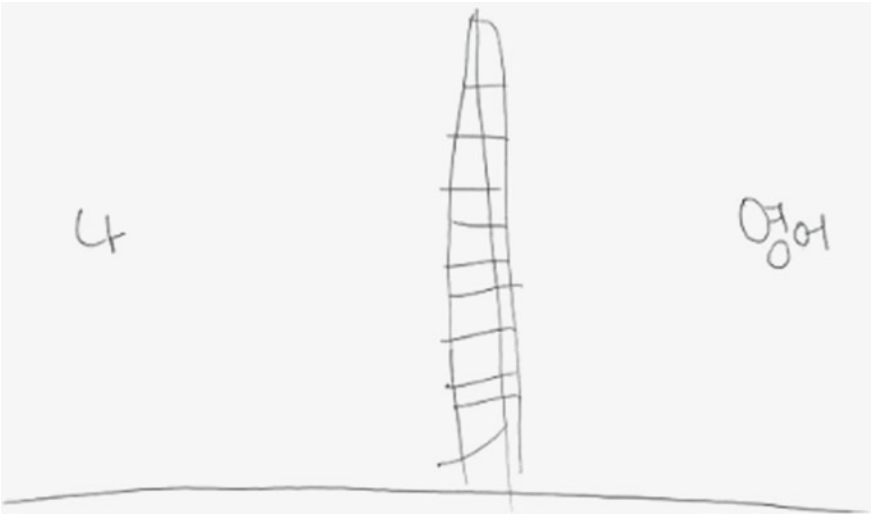

Fig. 4.2 A picture drawn by Student 65

Korean teachers in general, regardless of their subjects. In other words, she thought negatively of the unidirectional way that knowledge was transmitted from the teacher to the students and that there was no way to catch up once she was lost in class.

The low scores obtained by sleeping students were often considered a *demotivator*. Some may think that these students were already *amotivated* because they slept in class when the teacher lectured in front of them. Some may think that the process was simple: students slept during English classes and therefore had poor English test scores. As they had low test scores, they did not study English in class. However, the process was actually more complex. As 9 out of 35 students reported, they lost the motivation to study English because of test-oriented teaching. Intensive reading and finding the best answer among five choices made them think that *English classes are boring*, prompting them to sleep during class. In addition, contrary to the assumption of many people, not all students gave up studying English, as shown in the previous section. Despite their low test scores, they thought they deserved a better score because they tried their best. In other words, their low scores were similar to *the Great Wall*: they felt helpless and bored during English classes, which led them to fall asleep.

This multidirectional relationship between assessment, teaching, and their affective state, especially boredom, is well represented in Student 65's drawing. He drew *the Great Wall* between himself (written 나 in Korean on the left side of Fig. 4.2) and English (written 영어 in Korean on the right side of Fig. 4.2) to express his negative feelings during English classes.

When Student 65 explained his picture, he constantly repeated negative words, such as "disappointed," "useless," "waste of time," and "boring."

[Excerpt 4.6]

Researcher (R):	So, can you explain the picture you drew?
Student 65 (S65):	Well, this is me, I'm here, and this is English. As you can see, English is on the other side of the wall. The wall is huge and strong, so I cannot see English at all from this side.
R:	Well … then how do you feel about this?
S65:	I am very disappointed, and … and I think of things like, "I will never be able to get a good score on the English test." It's like I'm trying hard to see the other side from this side, but because the wall is so huge and strong, it's kind of useless.
R:	Is that why you sleep during English classes?
S65:	Yes, I think so. I think of things like, "Why should I study test-related things when I cannot get a good score anyway? Isn't it just a waste of time?" And then I fall asleep.
R:	So, you think the wall refers to English tests?
S65:	Um … maybe. Yes, I think so. This is probably why I find English classes boring and because of that, I fall asleep in class.

Student 65's statement shows that students' feeling of boredom about English classes is a complex concept interrelated with their previous experiences of repeated failures in English tests and test-oriented content. It is difficult to know which came first and which came second. However, the important thing is that the sleeping-in-English-class phenomenon is grounded in multilayered problems, which are not limited to individual learners, but are related to broader levels of English education, including teaching practices and evaluation.

4.1.1.3 English Classes at School Are Too Easy for Me

Most students who sleep during English classes are categorized as *left-behind students* who score poorly on English tests. However, in some cases, top students sleep during English classes. Student 42 was one of these cases. He mentioned that he obtained perfect marks in mock tests for the national college entrance exam (Korean Scholastic Aptitude Test, KSAT hereafter) and that his English test scores at school were not bad. He said that he fell asleep once or twice during the five English classes a week, mainly because the classes were too easy for him.

[Excerpt 4.7]

Researcher (R):	When did you start sleeping during English classes? Did you also sleep in middle school or did you start in high school?
Student 42 (S42):	Um … I've slept in class since the third grade in middle school.
R:	Was there a special occasion that made you start sleeping in class?
S42:	No.
R:	Then, why did you start?

S42: I felt that the classes were too boring.
R: You felt like that?
S42: I already know everything.
R: You already know everything. What about English tests at school, not mock tests for the KAST (수학능력시험, "Korean Scholastic Aptitude Test")? Do you already know the content?
S42: Yes. Of course, I need to memorize some parts for the English tests at school, but I got pretty good scores on these exams.

Student 42's case offers an alternative standpoint for interpreting student boredom during English classes. As seen in the previous section, most sleeping students had difficulty understanding the content. However, in a very small number of cases, students fell asleep because *they already know everything*. Because there was nothing to learn in English classes, they were bored, which made them sleep in class. Hence, it may be risky to generalize that only *left-behind students* fall asleep during English classes or that the students who sleep during English classes are those who cannot get good scores on English tests.

However, it is interesting that these students reported that they slept in class *selectively.* As Student 42 mentioned, they did not sleep during all English classes. Instead, they chose not to sleep during class when the lesson was directly related to the test. Otherwise, they fell asleep. Although Student 42 did not describe this in detail, the case was reported by Teacher 1.

[Excerpt 4.8]

Teacher 1 (T1): When I taught students who wanted to take the science course in college, the top-ranking student was in my class. But I didn't know he was the top-ranking student because he never listened to my lectures. He was quite interesting to observe because he never participated in class, but when I wrote something important on the blackboard, he suddenly woke up and wrote it down. Then, when I resumed the lecture part, he went back to sleep or studied other subjects that he considered more important. He sometimes studied English, but that didn't mean that he actually listened to my lectures. Instead, he opened another page and studied it or did something unrelated to what I was teaching. At first, I thought he was one of those backward students, but I soon realized that he was the top-ranking student in the entire school … I noticed that he paid attention to my lectures only when the content was directly related to the tests. Otherwise, he seemed indifferent or bored in my classes.

The top-ranking student described by Teacher 1 had a similar pattern of *sporadically sleeping in English classes*. Similar to Student 42, this student already knew the content and he used or saved his energy to do something else during English classes instead of repeating the boring content. The rule of *selection and*

Fig. 4.3 A picture drawn by Student 42

concentration applied to these honor students, and the criterion was whether the class was informative enough to get a good test score. In other words, the tests were an important factor that influenced the students' decision to sleep during English classes, but in a different way.

Student 42 illustrated this rule of *selection and concentration* in his drawing describing his understanding of English classes. He used the metaphor of *vegetable* (written 채소 in Korean on the left side of Fig. 4.3) to depict English classes as follows: "It's something that is good for my health (the first word 건강 inside a human character), and I know this. But I'm already full (the second word 배부름 inside a human character). Therefore, it's something I can eat, but I don't 'have to' eat it."

Student 42's statement reveals how Korean schools fail to meet the needs of students with different levels of English proficiency. Thus, it is unreasonable to simply consider this sleeping-in-class phenomenon as a personal characteristic caused by laziness or lack of will. Instead, it should be further analyzed by including other relevant factors (such as tests).

4.1.2 Negative Teacher–Student Relationship

4.1.2.1 Teachers Don't Listen to Us

Twenty-one out of 65 students specifically indicated that they did not like their teachers, which was not limited to their teaching style. Their biggest problem was that their teachers did not listen to them. That is, even if they gave their opinion on tests or activities in class, they were not taken into account. In addition, some students (10 out of 21) said that some teachers were so authoritative that they could not ask questions when they did not understand. Seven students also reported that other teachers were too distant and did not care about maintaining good teacher–student relationships. For instance, Student 17 talked about the importance of the teacher factor when he decided to study certain subjects, including English.

[Excerpt 4.9]

Student 17 (S17): You know, even though the subject is difficult, if you like the teacher who teaches it, you study hard. But some teachers direct their complaints at students. You know what I mean? Even if the students don't do anything wrong, these teachers speak to them very loudly. But you cannot help but think, "Why should I be scolded like this if I didn't do anything wrong?" So, let's say you say directly to your teacher, "I didn't do anything wrong," can you guess how the teacher will react? The teacher will simply ignore what you said and immediately give you penalty points … Aren't they supposed to listen to students? I don't think they listen to us at all. They always say we did something wrong. Their attitude says, "I am the teacher and the only adult here. If you keep talking back to me, that's your fault."

The teachers described by Student 17 were probably extreme cases encountered only by a limited number of students. Some may also think that students who experienced these treatments might have issues that needed to be corrected in rather aggressive ways by their teachers. That is, these sleeping students were perhaps unruly and rebellious, thus their teachers had to take drastic action. However, according to Student 17 who slept during English classes but was not a problem child, the teachers' reactions were *unconditional*: no matter what he said, the teachers' responses were oppressive, emphasizing their authority over him. This made him feel that his voice was neither heard nor valued, causing him to dislike teachers who never listened to him. These negative feelings toward his teachers led him to turn away from class, and sleeping in class was one way to show his emotional distance from his teachers.

Thus, it is unfair to stigmatize students sleeping during class as problematic students deserving unfair treatment. In addition, it is important to note that the voices of these students were ignored, not because they spoke individually. Instead, their opinions were dismissed even when they used a systematic method called *evaluation of instruction*, an official system that allows students to evaluate their teachers at the end of the school year in Korea. Student 17 shared his experience of being a marked man in class after giving negative feedback to his teacher.

[Excerpt 4.10]

Student 17 (S17): How do they do that?

Researcher (R): You mean, "How do they know who wrote negative comments?"

S17: Yes, I think teachers know who wrote these comments because those who did are generally scolded by their teachers. I've been scolded.

R: What? Are you serious?

S17: I mean, they don't scold you by asking directly, "Why did you write bad things about me?" or something, but they scold you anyway.
R: You mean they scold you for other reasons?
S17: Yes, you become a marked man in class.
R: Hmm …
S17: That's why many students just check "OK, OK, OK," even though they don't like their teachers. They check *very good* if they really like this teacher, I guess, but even if they don't like their teacher, they just say *OK*. You cannot check *hate this one*… Oh, we don't even have this category.
R: You mean you cannot check *unsatisfactory* because you will be scolded?
S17: I was scolded because of that when I was a middle school student.

The fact that teachers could know their students' feedback was quite surprising. Furthermore, the opinions of the students were dismissed despite the official way of expressing them. However, it was interesting that no teacher talked about this issue. When discussing student feedback, all teachers mentioned that they tried to reflect on what the students said about them. This gap between teacher perception and student feedback showed the extent of emotional distance between these two groups. Student 19 candidly expressed her feelings toward her teachers during the interview.

[Excerpt 4.11]

Student 19 (S19): I wanted to be very close to my teachers, like family.
Researcher (R): OK.
S19: I wanted this type of close relationship. You know … teachers exist because there are students, right?
R: You're right.
S19: I think teachers should welcome their students and give them directions when they do something wrong, but the teachers in my school just push us away without helping us at all.
R: So, how do you feel about it?
S19: Well … you know … babies can have a twisted mind if they are scolded too often. I think we're like them, I mean we're not grown-ups yet.

The teachers probably did not know how these sleeping students felt, because the only thing they could actually see during class was their drowsy faces. However, according to Student 19, sleeping students wanted to be close to their teachers. They wanted to interact with them, receive advice, and more important, *feel accepted and loved* by their teachers, like family members. Although teachers believed that they provided enough care and guidance to their students, students,

especially those who did not participate in class by choosing to sleep, still felt that these efforts were insufficient to meet their emotional needs. In this sense, students who slept in class could be a direct sign of *the disconnection between teachers and students,* not only physically but also emotionally.

The students' wish to be close to their teachers was clearly illustrated when they explained how they felt when sleeping during class. For instance, although these students (12 out of 21) chose to sleep, maybe feeling helpless, marginalized, and disrespected, they felt *sorry* for their teachers. Student 6 stated the following: "I know I have to listen to the lecture, but I just can't help but fall asleep … I know I'm not supposed to, but …. Yes, I feel sorry for her when I lie face down." Her statement showed that she felt compelled to participate in class as a student while her teacher was giving a lecture in front of her. If she really ignored her teacher's presence, she would not feel this *inner fight*. The fact that she felt sorry for her teacher while sleeping in class showed that she knew how to behave to be a good student, but more important, she had the desire to be perceived as one by her teacher. In other words, these students did not give up being *insiders* of the class, contrary to many teachers' assumption.

4.1.2.2 Teachers Treat Us Differently from Honor Students

Another theme mentioned by 19 out of 65 students was the discriminatory treatment of teachers between sleeping students and honor students. Students were aware that they were not the main focus of their teachers. They slept during class, so their grades were not good. They also had a long history of sleeping in class, making it difficult to understand the current class content. Furthermore, as they often slept in class, they could not maintain good relations with their teachers. This vicious cycle seemed to be naturally influenced by their teachers' reactions to them. For example, Student 20 criticized the school for considering only honor students.

[Excerpt 4.12]

Student 20 (S20): I hope we can all learn something together. I mean, everybody has different abilities, but the school … the school only cares about those who are good at studying. They literally abandon those who are not good at studying. But … but the school shouldn't be a place like that. I think that the school should help these students catch up by grouping them in the same class and helping them study English vocabulary or something like that based on their proficiency level. Yet the school does not help at all. So, we cannot help giving up English. We just can't understand what's going on during class because we don't get anything. In this case, what can we do besides sleeping in class? If you are good at English, you study. If you don't get it, you sleep. Simple.

Student 20's impassioned speech was not about not understanding the class content, but about how the school *abandoned* them because their grades were not as good as those of honor students. They also wanted to study English despite their low proficiency level, but they knew that they would never become main characters in class and at school. The only option during classes that were not made for them was to sleep, according to Student 20.

In line with Student 20's statement, the issue of *proficiency-level English classes* implemented by some schools in their curriculum was often mentioned by students. Generally, students in two or three classes are ranked based on their English test scores at school and transferred to one of the classes called *good*, *fair*, or *poor*. As expected, most students who participated in the interviews were in *poor* classes, but surprisingly, many preferred this level-based English education to mixed-level classes. The issue of *proficiency-level English classes* was mentioned by 27 students, and 12 students indicated that they liked customized teaching methods for low-level students and the stress-free atmosphere of low-level classes. Only four students were hostile to being in *poor classes*, while the rest of them discussed their advantages and disadvantages.

It is interesting that when students said that they did not like being in *poor classes* or discussed their disadvantages, they usually mentioned the different attitudes of their teachers. Student 37 spoke of his experience in the low-level class, while Student 35 and Student 36 agreed with his statement.

[Excerpt 4.13]

Student 37 (S37):	I think teachers are the main issue.
Student 35 (S35):	You're right.
Student 36 (S36):	I think so too.
S37:	I think they're just … I graduated from S middle school. Teachers who taught low-level English classes in this school often said, "Shall we watch a movie?" after teaching only a little, maybe answering two or three questions in the textbook. I was in the mid-level class once and was shocked because the teachers were very enthusiastic. I guess teachers are more enthusiastic in high-level classes.
Researcher (R):	You think so?
S37:	It should be the opposite.
R:	I agree. If students need help, teachers should pay more attention to them.
S37:	So, I felt a sense of betrayal. When I was in the low-level class, I decided to study hard. But I realized that I can't get a good score unless I go to a private English academy.

Students 37 was able to make strong comments about his teachers because his story was based on his first-hand experience. However, when Student 37 claimed that teachers were the main problem in *proficiency-level English classes*, Student 35 and Student 36 agreed with him. This showed that all students knew how they

would be treated in each class. In other words, students in low-level classes already knew that their teachers did not have high expectations or much enthusiasm for teaching them. By sharing this experience with other sleeping students, they realized that they were not *as valued as* honor students at school.

While it may be difficult to generalize this behavior to all teachers in low-level classes, there was one common point mentioned by teachers and students regarding teachers' reactions to sleeping students. In addition to the 19 students who mentioned the overt discrimination of their teachers, 38 students reported that teachers did not wake them up when they fell asleep during English classes. In other words, a large number of students (57 out of 65) were not disturbed by their teachers, even though they slept in the presence of teachers. This was confirmed by the teachers who participated in the interviews. The 12 teachers mentioned that they used *avoidance* as one of the strategies/the main strategy for dealing with students who slept during class. Teacher 12 explained the following.

[Excerpt 4.14]

Researcher (R): So, you said that you only teach *the survivors.* What do you mean by *survivors*? Those who follow the curriculum well?

Teacher 12 (T12): No. I mean students who listen in class.

R: Students who listen in your class?

T12: Yes. We actually call them *survivors.*

R: Then, what about students who can't survive?

T12: Well, they sleep during class.

R: Sleep?

T12: Yes, they mostly sleep. In middle school, students can do something else, which I think is better than just sleeping during class. Can you guess what sleeping students say to you if you point them out? They tell you to leave them alone. Other teachers also think that it's better to leave them alone unless you want to get into trouble. If you wake up a sleeping student, the first word they say to you is "shit" or something similar. If you hear that, you can't just ignore it and pretend that nothing happened. But you also have to think of other students. You cannot spend the whole class arguing with sleeping students. After doing this several times, you realize that it's better to let students sleep, because they'll cause more problems when they are woken up.

Although Teacher 12 did not use a metaphor when talking about sleeping students, they were effectively *the dead* as opposed to *the survivors*. In other words, he had two groups of students in his class, and he and his colleagues regarded them as dichotomous groups that could not be mixed. Thus, as a teacher, they had to choose one group over the other; otherwise, they would ruin the whole class. They also had their reason for choosing *the survivors* over *the dead*: the fruitlessness of their repeated attempts to wake up *the dead* and their aggressiveness. However, they did not consider why their

attempts were fruitless and why these students were so aggressive. There may be many reasons, but the most likely reason foregrounded in this section was the fact that these students knew that they were categorized as *the dead* by their teachers (and possibly the school). In other words, it was not difficult to imagine how this group of students labeled *the dead* would not actively participate in class.

4.1.2.3 We Experienced Various Types of Violence

In addition, several students had had traumatic experiences, which made them become nonparticipants in English classes. Seven students admitted to having experienced various forms of violence from their teachers. Here, teacher not only referred to the teachers at school, but also to those in private academies. In general, the type of violence was divided into two categories, physical and verbal, and both left serious scars on students' minds. It should be noted that the former was done by teachers in the private education sector, while the latter took place in public school settings where corporal punishment is prohibited by law. Student 25 shared his painful experience of being beaten by a native English-speaking instructor who worked at the private academy he went to when he was an elementary school student.

[Excerpt 4.15]

Student 25 (S25):	I was originally good at English.
Researcher (R):	You were?
S25:	Yes. I was good at it before I left the private English institute I attended when I was in fifth or sixth grade in elementary school. There was a native English-speaking instructor, and … and he beat the students a lot.
R:	He beat the students?
S25:	Yes, I was beaten by him quite often.
R:	Why?
S25:	I don't know. I was beaten by this teacher because I played jokes. I was beaten by him a lot … so since then, I am wary of English teachers and foreigners. So … so I started to dislike English because I learned it from a native speaker … and then, I just stopped studying English. Now, I just sleep in class or think of something else with a vacant look.
R:	What do you mean by *beaten by the teacher*? I mean, would you mind sharing it more specifically?
S25:	Specifically?
R:	Yes, if you don't mind.
S25:	So … so … there was a break between the Korean teacher's class and the native speaker's class.
R:	OK.

S25: It was about 5 min. He sometimes came to class early, but usually he didn't. So, during the break, I just played with my friend, hiding under the desk. That was the reason.
R: You hid under the desk?
S25: Yes, I did. And because of that, he slapped me three or four times.
R: You were slapped by him?
S25: Yes.
R: No way.
S25: I was young at the time. But because I was young, I think the experience gave me a bigger scar. If it happened now, I would probably fight him. But I was young at the time and he was a foreigner and taller than me.

Student 25's confession continued throughout the interview and he stated that he was the only one beaten by this teacher among many students. He could not think of any reason other than the fact that the teacher did not like him. As the teacher's physical abuse became more serious, such as kicking him, he stopped going to the academy and studying English. For an 11-year-old boy, the native English-speaking teacher could symbolize English or English-speaking countries. That is, the teacher could have helped him gain a strong motivation to learn English. But his reckless behavior led to the opposite result. The teacher became the main reason why Student 25 stopped studying English and English education.

As mentioned above, this form of extreme physical violence was only reported in private English institutes. However, according to the students, there was a subtle form of verbal abuse at school. The students were particularly sensitive to the way of speaking and the attitude of the teachers. They said they were deeply hurt by the sarcasm of their teachers. Student 4 shared the following experience.

[Excerpt 4.16]

Student 4 (S4): I don't like my teacher's way of speaking. Her way of speaking is … how should I put it … sarcastic, yes, sarcastic. When my friend asked a question, she was like … like … I can't remember exactly what she said to him, but she just kept telling him, "Do it again," without explaining things calmly.
Researcher (R): So, she didn't explain things in detail and urged him to answer the question again.
S4: Yes. She kept saying, "Do it again," "Do it again in the right way," or something like that.
R: I see. She said, "Do it again in the right way."
S4: The way she talks makes me angry. She always says things angrily, so my friend lost heart and actually we all did. I just don't like it, so I don't ask questions and I sleep instead.
R: You started to sleep in class because of this event?
S4: Yes.

Some may argue that Student 4's experience was not as severe or traumatic as that of Student 25. However, as Student 4 stated, his teacher's sarcastic way of speaking prompted him not to participate in class, the same way Student 25's experience led him to sleep during English classes. It is worth noting that this event was *personal*. Indeed, the teacher might not have realized that she said things sarcastically or that her way of speaking might not have been an issue for other students, because it was not as obvious as calling them *trash* (Student 20). Hence, it seems fair to say that the personal interpretations of the sleeping students influenced their decision to sleep during class. However, this does not mean that students were the only ones to blame. Instead, these low-level students who slept in class needed more sophisticated ways of teaching, because they were affected by their teachers' way of speaking and teaching.

The fact that these students cared about the smallest things also indicated that their psychological vulnerability should be considered more seriously. As discussed in the previous section, they were aware that they were not favored at school because they were categorized as *poor students*. Although students did not mention it explicitly, it was not difficult to infer that the type of feedback they received from their parents, teachers, and perhaps their peers was not positive or encouraging. This may be the reason why *we*, referring to Student 4 and his friend, *lost heart* easily by interpreting their teacher's way of speaking as a personal discouragement. Even though it was not their teacher's intention, these students interpreted it as a form of *verbal violence* (Student 50). As a result, teachers should keep in mind the characteristics of students sleeping in class and be more considerate when dealing with them.

4.1.3 Unproductive Student–Student Relationship

4.1.3.1 So Many Students Sleep in Class

When asked how many students slept during English classes, the students participating in the interviews gave surprising answers. As the total number of students in each class was different, the number of sleeping students also varied. However, when converted into percentages, about 65% of the total number of students slept during English classes, according to participants. Some extreme cases were also reported by participants, such as 30 sleeping students out of 35 or 22 out of 27. Furthermore, even when a small number of sleeping students were mentioned, for example, one-third of the total number of students, the rest of the students did not pay attention to class as they were supposed to. According to Student 25, about one-third of students slept, another third did other things in class, and only the last third actually listened. This *abnormal* form of English class was so prevalent that students needed an extremely strong will to be part of the minority group sitting and paying attention to the lesson. Student 2 stated that sleeping in class was natural because everyone did.

[Excerpt 4.17]

Researcher (R): So, can you tell me what sleeping in class means to you?
Student 2 (S2): Well … I know I'm not supposed to sleep in class. I think of my teacher's opinion about me when I lie on my desk. I know I should not do that while my teacher teaches. I mean … I'm not supposed to, anyway. But you know, because I do it *too much*, I consider it natural.
R: What do mean by *too much*? You mean you do it too often or other students also do it?
S2: I mean all the other students sleep in my class, and … and I've been doing this since middle school, so to be honest, I think it's quite natural to sleep during class.
R: So, you think that sleeping in class is natural.
S2: Yes. If I'm tired, I fall asleep immediately.

According to Student 2, there were two reasons why he came to think that sleeping in class was natural: a large number of sleeping students and a long history of sleeping in class. In addition, he mentioned the former as the first reason, which showed that he cared about what other students were doing while he slept. If other students had studied hard, he probably would not have slept. However, *the atmosphere* of the class was the opposite, with all students sleeping during class. This was directly related to the previous theme mentioned by students and teachers. That is, the nonintervention of teachers while students slept in class seemed to create the implicit rule that it was acceptable for students to sleep during class. It may be too late to try to change this atmosphere once it has become an *overarching vibe*, like the current English classes.

Because sleeping in class became a *shadow curriculum* in many English classes, these students did not feel guilty or fidget when they slept. In fact, many students (24 out of 65) explicitly mentioned that they felt comfortable sleeping during class. This was ironic because, on the one hand, they said that they felt *sorry* for their teachers, as mentioned in the previous theme. On the other hand, they reported feeling comfortable when sleeping in the presence of their teachers. The comfort they felt seemed to come from this atmosphere of acceptance of students sleeping in class and the fact that many students slept during class, rather than their relationships with their teachers. Overall, these seemingly ambivalent emotions coexisted in sleeping students. Student 13 emphasized the importance of creating a *study-friendly* atmosphere as follows.

[Excerpt 4.18]

Researcher (R): So, do you have any suggestions for your teacher?
Student 13 (S13): I wish … that teachers could create an atmosphere conducive to study. I think that's the most important thing. I … I've never been to a good school, but I think that students in those schools would study hard and compete with one another.
R: You mean among students?

S13: Yes … I heard that students in those schools don't sleep during class.
R: Uh-huh.
S13: Because everyone in class studies hard.
R: Uh-huh.
S13: Creating an atmosphere.
R: I see. You mean an atmosphere that encourages everyone to study hard during class, right? Or do you mean something else?
S13: I think students are not allowed to sleep during class.

Student 13 was the one who mentioned *feeling sorry for his teacher but feeling comfortable while sleeping*. He attributed sleeping in class partly to other students who created an atmosphere conducive to sleep during class and partly to teachers who were unable to control these students. Student 13 also compared his school with a so-called *good school*. Although he did not specify what he meant by *good school*, he explained the characteristics of a *good school* as a school *where students study hard, competing with one another, so they do not sleep during class*. Unfortunately, he distanced himself from this type of school because he was one of the many sleeping students at his school, where sleeping in class was considered natural. His comments showed that he was strongly influenced by his peers. When sleeping in class became a norm followed by the majority of the class, it was extremely difficult for students to sit up and listen to the lecture. Thus, one may argue that although Student 13 slept during class and felt comfortable doing it, deep down he wanted his teacher to wake him and the other students to make the lesson more dynamic. In this sense, by feeling sorry for his teacher when he slept on his desk, Student 14 showed that part of him felt guilty, but another part criticized his teacher for not waking students during class.

The fact that many students slept during class was also illustrated in the students' drawings. Student 36 drew a realistic picture of her class when asked to explain the meaning of English classes. Unlike Student 13, she did not blame her teacher for not waking students during class. Instead, she described her teacher as hardworking and wanting to teach many things to her students. However, students, including Student 36 and her best friends, usually fell asleep during class, as shown in Fig. 4.4. Student 36 explained her drawing as follows.

[Excerpt 4.19]

Student 36 (S36): It's during class. It's during class, but I'm not in class. I'm very far from the rest of the people. I mean, I sit at the back of the class, even farther than that.
Researcher (R): Farther. Then, what about the woman in the front? Is she a teacher?
S36: Yes, she teaches us very hard. She tries her best to make us understand the content. So, I try to listen to her, but I'm there.
R: Do other students listen to the lecture?

Fig. 4.4 A picture drawn by Student 36

S36: Well, yes and no. My close friends, they sleep during class. This is Sarang, and when you look on that side, this is Jihyo. You can see Yena in the middle. Dain often sleeps during class, and this is Hyoseo who always sleeps during class.

R: What about you?

S36: I try not to, but sometimes I sleep.

When Student 36 explained her drawing, she talked about herself first before mentioning her close friends. She said she was physically in the class, but she did not focus on her teacher. It should be noted that she did not specify her position among the other students of the drawing. Instead, she wrote her friends' names one by one, indicating that they all slept during class. Then, she gave the researcher specific information about the depth or frequency with which her friends fell asleep during class. This showed that she was paying attention to her friends during class. In addition, the fact that they all slept helped her *feel at ease*, because at least she did not sleep all the time. In other words, the presence of other students and what they did during class had a significant effect on sleeping students.

4.1.3.2 Other Students Are Much Better Than Me

The perceived grouping of students varied. That is, students felt comfortable sleeping during class because they were part of the majority group. In this sense, being a member of the *sleeping-in-class group* offered them a psychological safety net that members of the minority group did not have. The students' perception of grouping was as follows: *We, the underachievers* versus *They, the overachievers*. The distinction between these two groups seemed similar to the previous theme on teacher discrimination between sleeping students and honor students. However, this distinction was different: in the first theme, sleeping students mainly criticized their teachers for distinguishing between them and honor students, while here they expressed their frustration with not being able to be a member of the honor student

group, no matter how hard they tried. In this sense, these honor students were not simply the top students in class, they were the *overachievers* who made sleeping students the *underachievers*.

Nine out of 65 students expressed their frustration explicitly. They said that their efforts betrayed them because of the large number of *overachievers* in their classes. It is worth noting that these nine students were from School B located in an affluent area of Seoul. As discussed in the previous chapter, most students at this school had previously attended English kindergarten, requiring their parents to pay a high monthly cost for their children's English education. In addition, many students from this school had traveled or lived in various foreign countries, offering them many opportunities for exposure to English compared with students from School A. As these students had been exposed to English from an early age, they did not expect to be part of the *underachiever* group. However, when they entered high school with many students with similar backgrounds, they realized they were wrong. Student 26 told her story as follows.

[Excerpt 4.20]

Student 26 (S26): These students … they are all good at English. I mean the students of this school and this area. Still, I didn't expect to be placed in the *poor class*. But when I checked my class, I was placed in that class. Oh my goodness … I was shocked. I was so shocked and I thought, "OK, I'm not an 'English type' student." I think that was the moment I stopped studying English. Yes, that was the moment. I stopped taking private lessons and thought, "Maybe I can study English by myself." However, I quickly realized that I couldn't be one of these top students, no matter how hard I tried. I was in the *poor class* anyway with students like me and it seemed that I would never be able to change class. From there, I completely stopped studying English and thought that I couldn't do anything (laughing). So … so I think that was the moment that I lost interest in English. When I was young, I went to an English kindergarten and I really liked English. I also loved having conversations with foreigners in English. But … from the day I was placed in the *poor class*, I started to dislike studying English.

The most distinctive theme in Student 26's statement was probably the fierce competition among students who had received a similar level of parental support in an affluent area of Seoul. But more importantly, students who experienced a *comparative disadvantage* when competing with similar students were likely to feel devastated by reality. In other words, the gap between students' expectation level and reality drove them to the extreme, such as giving up studying English completely and sleeping during English classes. They might be able to improve their grades if they studied hard. But the problem was not the scores they could get, but the comparison with other students.

Fig. 4.5 A picture drawn by Student 61

As expected, these students were under extreme pressure. It was difficult for them to escape from the *poor class* when other students studied as hard as they did. They were frustrated and started to sleep in class, but were under pressure to study English to go to a good college in Korea. In short, they faced a dilemma: they did not like studying English, but they had to. In this inescapable situation, they were tired of studying, but they also had problems with their parents. Student 61's drawing illustrated the case well (Fig. 4.5).

Student 61 who identified herself as a *sporadic sleeper* once asked her teacher how to study English effectively. But her teacher simply told her to listen to the lectures several times and that she would have an *a-ha moment* at some point. Yet, this *a-ha moment* never happened, leaving her feeling that her teacher was not listening to her, as the previous theme revealed. She felt helpless because she did not know how to study English and was frustrated that she could not get good scores on English tests, no matter how much she studied. Nevertheless, she could not completely give up studying English because she knew it was an important subject to go to college and become a police officer. She was stressed and often argued with her father, as she explained when talking about her drawing.

[Excerpt 4.21]

Researcher (R):	Are you done? Can you explain the picture you drew, Eun-hee?
Student 61 (S61):	This is me here.
R:	You are much prettier than that.
S61:	Whenever I think of English, I feel dizzy and upset, so …
R:	Yes, I can see it's raining here.
S61:	But can you see this part? Here is an English book.
R:	The book doesn't get wet, does it?
S61:	No, it doesn't get wet. English is difficult, but I need it to go to college. So, I protect it.
R:	I see. You have to study it anyway, right? It stays out of the rain. That doesn't look good, does it? By the way, do you go to a private English institute? Do your parents push you to study English?
S61:	My mom listens to my opinion, but my dad … because I'm an only child …
R:	Oh, you're an only child.
S61:	Yes, so my dad expects a lot from me. So … my dad pushes me a bit more than my mom. He … he often compares me with my friends because I'm not good at English.
R:	You must be stressed.
S61:	I often fight with my dad.

For Student 61, English was like a bitter medicine: she knew she needed it, but it was too bitter to swallow. Thus, she wanted to protect her English book, even though she felt sick because of English. It was difficult to know if her father was aware of her inner struggle. However, according to her statement, he was not. He added an extra layer of stress by comparing her with her friends who got good scores on English tests. Again, this *comparison with others* led her to argue with her father. Classified as an *underachiever* even by her father, she could only live in a gloomy weather, as depicted in her drawing. What she and the other sleeping students really needed was emotional support that could boost their self-esteem and practical methods to improve their English proficiency.

4.2 Interpretation

Since there has been plentiful research on (de/a)motivation, we will classify and discuss the results into cases with known demotivation or amotivation, and new cases with Korea-specific origins. As seen in the analysis section, the sleeping students in Korean English classrooms showed various *micro-level* reasons of sleeping. Notably, some of them were explicable with the previously studied concepts of demotivation and/or amotivation. There were also newly observed themes that emerged from this study such as corporal punishment and comparison

to other students who also sleep during the class or who are too good at English. We believe that these bidirectional interpretations help us understand the *sleeping-in-class* phenomenon more profoundly.

4.2.1 Cases with Known Demotivation or Amotivation

The perceived difficulty or boredom of English (classes) was prevalent demotivators in other countries. American high school or college students complained about irrelevant or repetitive class activities (Oxford 1998). In Hungary, high school students mentioned "negative attitude toward the features of the target foreign language" (Dörnyei 2001, p. 152).

In Japan, secondary school students were demotivat ed because of an inappropriate level of class activities and courses, or because English classes were too focused on translation, grammar, and vocabulary memorization and seemingly lacked practical application except for college entrance exams (Falout et al. 2009; Kikuchi 2009); students got disappointed with their performance in exams and held negative affect toward English as a foreign language (EFL) for a long time in their learning history (Falout and Murayama 2004) and thought that English classes dealt with too many, too long, and too difficult passages (Sakai and Kikuchi 2009); in hindsight, Japanese college students critiqued their English classes in secondary school emphasized memorization of texts and vocabulary unendurably.

In Vietnam and Saudi Arabia, students had negative attitudes toward English because it is difficult to pronounce or has large vocabulary with a complicated grammar (Al-Khairy 2013; Trang and Baldauf, Jr. 2007). In Bangladesh and Iran, students stated that they had been demotivated because of difficulty or inability to succeed with English subjects (Alvania and Sehat 2012; Quardir 2017). Students complained about teaching methods and insufficient chances to use English in Vietnam (Trang and Baldauf, Jr. 2007), Iran (Alvania and Sehat 2012; Hosseini and Jafari 2014), and Saudi Arabia (Al-Khairy 2013).

In previous studies in Korea, difficulties of learning English have also been picked out as a significant direct factor affecting students' lower performance or one of the most influential demotivators; high school students lost purpose or interest in learning English and were dissatisfied with teaching styles or English grades/lessons (K. J. Kim 2012; T.-Y. Kim et al. 2017). Such boring classes led to lower grades caused them not to participate eagerly, which lowered their grades, which in turn caused them to have lower interest in English, and so on in a vicious cycle (Lee and Kim 2014).

These prevalent demotivators invite a variety of theoretical considerations. In-class sleepers who had such perception are not well-prepared academically: They must have insufficient *cultural capital* or inappropriate *habitus* in Bourdieu's (1986) sense. Their English proficiency hasn't been accumulated sufficiently for the

level of high school English. Maybe some of them haven't developed literacy practices (Heath 2009) or more generally BEATs (or beliefs, emotions, and action tendencies) (Dweck 2017) fit in schooling.

Those English-bored students were discontent with the teaching styles or contents. They might have given it a try in the past but experienced no significant improvement in English proficiency. Some of the students must have had different needs and goals in their pre-actional stage of motivation (Dörnyei and Ottó 1998). They said they wanted to learn English as a language, not as a subject. That is, they wanted to have communicative competence in English; they must have strong motivation with the ideal/ought-to L2 selves as their goals (Dörnyei 2009). What is ironic is in fact that this is exactly in line with the *official* goals of English education in the Korean national curriculum. In reality, however, such *legitimate* student goals and official national demands didn't enter into the calculation of their schools that were busy in satisfying regulations on schooling such as the nine-grade grading system and orienting students toward preparation for KSAT exams that mainly test receptive, mostly reading, skills.

These considerations reveal that some sleep in English class because they are not given a full freedom of choice in English learning. When a learner is given freedom of choice, he/she feels that he/she is the source of a behavior and comes to have a sense of autonomy. This sense of learner autonomy is crucial for a success of learning (Deci and Ryan 2000), so the Korean government and secondary educators cry out for *self-directed learning* as a crucial ingredient of their national educational process (Sect. 7.1.1). However, they maintain a high level of control in terms of the content and goals of the national curricula. They don't allow students and/or teachers to define their educational goals and contents, and they want the national curricula to be implemented faithfully. This means that they encourage teachers and students to exert their agency in voluntarily consenting to, complying with, and accomplishing the educational goals that they set up and imposed.

Teachers' not listening to student voices as a demotivator is related to the teacher/student relationship. It opens into Oxford's (1998) teachers' not caring for students, as an instance of unacceptable teacher/student relationship. Around it also reverberates teachers' *unwillingness to listen to and understand their students* (Sosa and Casanave 2007), the school's *systematic silencing* of *students' voices* (Fine 1991), and slightly *disagreeable teacher behaviors* (Falout et al. 2009).

This indicates that some in-class sleepers wanted to have their voices heard to their teachers, but they experienced that there was no two-way communication channel open. The teachers simply imposed in their own ways the contents they selected or that are specified in the textbooks they selected. This has created an academic *culture of silence* (Freire 1970/2000a): Students are regarded as incompetent, so they are expected to lend their ears to teachers; then they are well taken care of by the competent grown-ups. This means that they had no way to exert their autonomy or to be related to and accepted by the dominant class of teachers in school. Their competence couldn't be obtained either. The consequence was that

they couldn't pursue their well-being, growth, and social integration. They cannot but pursue antisocial processes to secure their psychological needs.

Teachers' discrimination of low achievers against honor students is in line with "showing favoritism" (Dörnyei 1998; Trang and Baldauf, Jr. 2007, p. 90), or with "busy with some good students in class and neglected low proficiency students" (Quadir 2017, p. 133). This should be based on teachers' student classification based on habitus (Panofsky 2003; Rist 1970/2000), which led to unconscious discrimination of lower class students in America.

The psychological needs of such in-class sleepers, at a deeper level, would not have been satisfied (Deci and Ryan 2000): They would not feel effective in their interactions with the teacher or their classmates and would not experience chances to express their capabilities, or they didn't want to be competent in terms of the current grading system based on *unhealthy* capabilities [*competence*]; they would not feel connected to, or being cared for by, the others around them, and they couldn't be nicely related to their teachers either, who didn't recognize or respect their autonomy in determining their learning content [*relatedness*]; and they would not behave in English classes autonomously in legitimate ways [*autonomy*]. They might have either the belief that they are unable to study English [*ability*], or that the task requires more efforts than they can mobilize [*effort*], or that the task is not attractive or valuable enough [*task*] (Legault et al. 2006). In a highly competitive atmosphere, they would not trust the others [*trust*]; they would not be able to predict a future when they speak English well [*predictability*]; their *self-esteem* or *social status* in class would not be high enough, particularly if they had perceived teachers' discrimination of them against honor students; it would have been really difficult to maintain their selves in coherent ways [*self-coherence*] (Dweck 2017). In despair, they might have fallen asleep to escape from current pressing situations. Some of them, however, could not say farewell to English, but they didn't know how to get closer to the difficult subject.

Any combination of such frustrations naturally must have undermined their well-being, growth, or socialization integrating external regulations. The students had been developing self-protective processes such as pursuing alternative relationships in peer groups satisfying their own needs for relatedness and resistantly engaging in antisocial behaviors like in-class sleeping.

From a sociocultural perspective on learning (Leontyev 1978; Engerström 1999), they refused to remain members of the in-class learning community, because they could not find as useful mediators the contents, the teachers, the rules, or the division of labor of the activity system existent in English classes. They didn't want to invest time and energy in such *useless* operations. The community of learning did not target to learn the kind of English they needed, so they refused to become legitimate peripheral participants (Lave and Wenger 1991). They could not forgo their identities as English users to become learners of *impractical* test English through *unacceptable* practices.

4.2.2 New Cases of Demotivation or Amotivation

English fever (Krashen 2003) in Korea has caused early study of English to boom. Parents sought to secure chances to send their children abroad at their early age (Lee 2016); others afforded to send their kids to expensive English kindergartens so that they could learn English naturally without pain. Many of such children continued to be exposed to English use or be instructed for academic English sometimes using American textbooks or in preparation of competitive foreign language high schools or international high schools in Korea. When they have arrived at public high school, the English language subject tends to be a piece of cake.

Because the English Classes are too Easy. Unlike difficulty and boringness of English, no case has been reported in previous studies that students fall asleep because the classes are too easy. Even though it was only one participant who told this way, the existence of this type of in-class sleepers tells a lot about ailing English education in Korea. They don't think that the English for academic tests targeted in class is an impractical one. They simply had learned already everything worth to know about high school English. Their English proficiency far exceeds the current class objectives.

When they lay face down on the desk, they simply didn't care about their social relationship with their teachers. This is partly shown in Teacher 6's report: "There was one student, a male student, in a middle school who had formed a good relationship with me, without considering study or others. He came to me after classes to boast that he does not sleep in my classes although sleeping in all other teachers' classes. Because humane relationships are separate."

Sleeping in class, in fact, was to them pursuing the most practical, efficient way of life in school: saving their time and energy.

Teachers' physical punishment is not allowed in school in Korea, so teachers' physical violence on students was mentioned only with regard to private education. Some in-class sleepers said they stopped studying English because they had been physically punished in public. In previous works as well, teachers' physical violence was only reported in the context of private institute, that in Korea (Kwak 2004). But verbal violence was reported in previous literature as yelling at students (Chambers 1993).

Violence is a tool for oppression leading to dehumanization (Freire 1970/2000a). Psychologically, corporal punishment brings forth a negative labeling effect on the afflicted (Becker 1963; E.-K. Kim 2000). If done openly, it can amplify the effect. The afflicted student believes the teacher, and hence classmates as well, have appraised him or her as a problematic student. He/she is affected by the appraisal of important others, and the *reflected appraisal* leads to form a negative sense of self as a problematic one. If he/she feels that the punishment is not fair, he/she can turn defiant and undertakes more delinquency (Park 2012; Sherman 1993). This must be a defensive behavior to protect his/her self-esteem (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998), but

he/she is to lead a maladaptive life in school, potentially relying on physical violence in personal interaction.

Because Others Go Asleep In-class sleeping should also be understood in terms of group dynamics. In some classrooms, it is so prevalent that it has become part of class culture now in Korea under the teacher's tacit approval. Some students (can and do) sleep in class because others do as well. This cultural phenomenon is allowed differently from teacher to teacher in particular courses. In this sense, this is strikingly different from those cases sporadically mentioned in previous studies: It was mentioned as an explicit antisocial behavior shown by some in private study in the UK (Willis 1977), alluded to with *acting out* occurring in Canada (Dei et al. 1997), listed as a type of maladaptive behavior in Japan (Falout and Falout 2005). It was mentioned as a consistent behavior over a semester only in Korea (Kwak 2004).

The pragmatic logic is very simple. If they go asleep, it is better for the students who want to study covering the predetermined contents as scheduled. Otherwise, the *nonun aideul* ("playing kids") will produce unbearable noises chatting among themselves, abruptly make irrelevant comments or raise unfit questions, or move around in the classroom paying no attention to the teacher. Teacher 12 related that in a rural middle school some in-class sleepers made meaning of their sleeping practices as being cooperative to teachers who tried to teach; otherwise, they would interrupt classes with noise!

Once the practice is accepted in a pedagogical culture under the ideology of efficiency, it contaminates more students and invites them to participate if any condition is formed (Ratner 2000). In this situation of division, the teacher can have only a few students listening to him/her, while most students are sleeping in class. The consequence is sometimes a marginalization of the majority!

Because too Many Classmates are Good at English Many low achievers said they went asleep because they could not see any hope for improvement of their grading. They felt that the proficiency gap between them and other students seemed too huge to fill in. In Korea, high school students must be graded on a curve into nine grades. Even if your proficiency in English improves to a certain extent, unless you do not surpass your classmates in regular or official tests, the improvement does not help you much in college entrance. If your English becomes better, it will ultimately function as a substantial affordance in college. Because of no immediate use for test-based evaluation, however, those students cannot perceive this long-term, practical consequence of studying English now. This is a serious side effect of the fierce competition-based education in Korea. And this demotivator was never reported or explicitly discussed in previous studies.

In a sense, in-class sleeping in Korea is an act of pursuing efficiency or of resisting unacceptable humiliation. When there was no hope for gain, the majority of in-class sleepers were reserving their time and energy by sleeping in class; a minority were struggling to have their self-esteem afloat by sabotaging adults' intention. Teachers saved their emotional energy and physical time by allowing naughty students to sleep before their eyes; they closed their eyes on to such given-up kids only caring for those who want to study awake. In a sense, the

teachers were in slumber; perhaps so was the entire school. The public schools were for education to such kids in slumber only in name. They were driven to dehumanization despite the claimed ideal and were simply kept in a pen! Probably, they were being brainwashed by the system to believe that they are worthless beings (Eom 2014).

English fever and in-class sleeping seemed to corrupt English education in Korea from the inside out. Most of the in-class sleepers had problems in keeping up with the curriculum. Some of them could afford to secure help from private education. Others didn't care to resort to such supplementary or alternative routes, but some of them only studied, if at all, for about a month right before regular exams. Since students shouldn't fail, some teachers had to provide lots of hints on exams through summaries, rehearsals, and/or a list of expected questions for the exams. It was a way of covering up the educational failure. Students then advanced to the next year and would eventually graduate. As long as they obtained a high school diploma, they or their parents made no complaints. Teachers and school were satisfied as long as their students made no troubles publicly and some elite students entered the top-class universities that are objects of envy to everyone and would help their alma maters maintain their reputation for good education. Teachers and students pursuing efficiency or exterior gloss were conniving in concealment of real educational bankruptcy!

After an interview in December 2014 in School A, the voice recorder was turned off, and the participants in the session were leaving the interview room saying a goodbye. One pianist aspirant uttered, "It's like a jail. Teachers are like jailers."

4.3 Cultural Actions at the Micro-Level

Cultural action for humanization requires science and philosophy. It will need sound reasoning based on facts and evidence, to denounce existential problems, and a hopeful annunciation of the desired conditions under which the problems are solved for better humanization (Freire 1970/2000b, 1974/2013). In this section, we will talk about how we can improve the current situation and eventually make English education more inclusive by focusing on changes in teachers' perceptions regarding sleeping students, students' psychological needs, group dynamics, and finally students' academic needs.

4.3.1 Turning Around Toward Students

The most fundamental cultural action for humanization for teachers to take in Korea is to *turn around* to their students. Comber and Kamler (2005) report how such

turning around happened in a 3-year project where pairs of old and new teachers involved and collaborated as researchers in Australia. The project's core problem was unequal literacy outcomes among children, and its core spirit was "learning about a child in the context of their family life and community activities" (p. 6). In this process, the teachers came to fight against *deficit thinking* of the problem as originating from the at-risk students' academic and cultural *deficiency*; rather they viewed it "in relation to the *structure* and *design* of the teacher's curriculum and pedagogy" (p. 9). To wake up in-class sleepers, something similar should happen in Korea as well (Noh et al. 2016).

Restore their status in your heart and mind. As a homeroom or English subject teacher, you should seriously reflect on *your* in-class sleepers: Fundamentally, who are they? Who are you to them? How do you want to be accepted to them? As a matter of fact, they are *your* students. You have been *commissioned* to teach them as well. They are *human beings*. Then they should be treated as human beings. Whether you value or devalue them, each of them is a unique human being who has no replica in this universe: Just like you and us. Even though they sleep in class, they are also *our sons and daughters* in *our* country. Then they should be treated as *our* children. Don't treat them as beasts. Don't treat them as simple objects: sacks of barley borrowed in. Our *critical consciousness* should be raised against our own perceptions and practices (Freire 1974/2013).

In our Korean tradition, shouldn't those in-class sleepers also be able to sing *Teacher' Gratitude* on Teacher's Day? "Teacher's gratitude is like the sky. The more we look up to it, the higher it grows. You've taught us: Be truthful; be upright. You are a parent of our minds and hearts. Ah, we thank you for your love. Ah, we will reward you for your gratitude" (written by So-Cheon Kang, translated by the authors).

Build up relationship with your in-class sleepers. As the homeroom teacher or English subject teacher, you are officially in a much higher social position in classroom than your in-class sleepers. Generally, it is easier for a person with power to take initiative in restoring relationship. Approach them first. Teacher 9 said she memorizes student names as early as possible in the first month of the new year; she *calls* them *by name* in class. They do not lie face down on desk. Have a talk individually. Teacher 11 said as homeroom teacher he talks to each and every in-class sleeper. When he goes into a classroom as English teacher, he notices three types of in-class sleepers: athletes, rebellious ones, and exhausted ones. He calls the rebellious later individually and has a sincere talk with them. If he signals that he listens to them seriously, he experienced, some of them begin to participate a little bit more. Teacher 12 says to in-class sleepers, "Let's schedule a counseling. It's okay to give up English, but let's have a talk." Teacher 6 also noticed that students do not sleep in the classes of teachers who establish a close rapport with students: They treat them maximally without prejudice, listen to them as occasion serves, shows concern to them, calls them by name, tries to have a chat with them, gets physically close to them in class, and so on.

Teacher 5 had an experience of teaching tough dropouts from regular schools in an alternative school in Chungcheong-do, Korea. She said relationships with

students formed dramatically when she answered and opened the door in the dormitory to students who came to knock on her door around midnight or even one o'clock in the morning! They came in and hung around or talked an idle talk about an hour. She saw them open their hearts from next day! In a sense, she was accepted into their private worlds, which means that a channel of communication had opened up.

Listen to in-class sleepers truly. When you have a talk with an in-class sleeper, at least sometimes, give him/her your full attention. Weigh each word and understand each sentence. Peck (1978) provides a beautiful exposition of the psychotherapeutic process triggered by attentive listening. Listening attentively is a difficult labor, but it teaches him/her that he/she is a *valuable* person. The more he/she feels valuable, the more he/she will say valuable and insightful things. Then you will realize that he/she IS valuable, and you will *learn* about him/her. Lastly, "the more [he/she] know[s] that you value [him/her], that you consider [him/her] extraordinary people, the more *willing* [he/she] will be to *listen to* you and afford you the same esteem" (p. 126, emphasis added). Knowing more about him/her, you will be able to teach him/her a valuable thing. This is an amazingly virtuous cycle!

True listening, Peck continues, essentially requires "the discipline of bracketing, the temporary giving up or setting aside of one's prejudices, frames of reference and desires so as to experience as far as possible the speaker's world from the inside, stepping inside his or her shoes" (p. 127). This involves "a total acceptance of the other" (p. 128). If he/she senses this acceptance, he/she will feel bolder and more "inclined to open up the inner recesses of [his/her] mind to the listener" (p. 128). He calls this a *speaker/listener unification*, which extends and enlarge ourself and always gives new knowledge. Teachers as well as students *truly grow up* through such experiences of unification.

Peck's exposition is reminiscent of Rogers' (1961, 1969) psychotherapeutic approach to learning demanding congruence or realness, empathy, and unconditional positive regard or acceptance, and it shows that humanistic education will work to wake in-class sleepers up. This leads us to pay an in-depth attention to their psychological needs.

4.3.2 Thinking in Terms of Psychological Needs

More generally speaking, waking up in-class sleepers requires providing ways for them to have their basic psychological needs satisfied: *Predictability*, *acceptance* ("relatedness"), *competence*, *self-esteem/status*, *control* ("autonomy"), and *self-coherence* (Deci and Ryan 2000; Dweck 2017). In the last section, we have seen that attentive listening can satisfy the needs for acceptance and self-esteem/status. We will elaborate the first three basic needs first, and then the remaining compound ones.

The Need for Acceptance The homeroom and English subject teacher must invite and accept in-class sleepers into communal relationships with themselves and

their classmates [*acceptance*] (Rogers 1961, 1969). The students need positive social engagement: supportive relationships. The teachers need to understand, and view the world from, the in-class sleepers' perspectives; they need to put themselves in the students' shoes [*empathy*]. This type of understanding requires communication as a prerequisite: They need to talk with and truly listen to them (Peck 1978). When the researcher interviewed in-class sleepers, Students 19 and 20 said after the session, "We feel so better after we've said off our chests!"

To repeat a little bit, teachers need to deal with and approach the students in slumber with humanistic warmth, suspending judgment and saving their dignity [*unconditional positive regard*]. In Hiroshima, Japan, for example, Ms. Sosa could salvage Hideki, a so-called *weed*, when she approached him with a humane outreach (Sosa and Casanave 2007). Noticing him looking outside the window, she went to him after class and said, "Isn't it nice? Yeah, I wish I could go out too" (p. 243). The teachers need to be congruent with their own real feelings and thoughts [*congruence*]. Authenticity matters. They shouldn't tell lies; rather, they should devote sincerely to the reality (Peck 1978).

Optimal predictability is "the desire to know the relationships among events and among things in your world" (Dweck 2017, p. 692). To satisfy this desire, teachers need to discuss with students about fundamental issues like (1) the purpose of (English) education in high school, (2) the meaning of college education, among others. Questions can be posed: What consequences will (lack of) English proficiency bring forth in the immediate educational context and in the future? For example, students need to understand that authentic proficiency in English has more significant results in their lives than in their grades in high school, and that English competencies will open up a new world and help them overcome the linguistic barrier that obstructs the scope of their experiences and life itself.

In this way, facts should be presented and discussed with in-class sleepers, and questions should be raised including "What kind of life do you want to lead?" Decisions should be made by the students.

Competence In-class sleepers also have a need for competence, "desire for skills to act in and on [their] world" (Dweck 2017, p. 692). In our context, the skills should be related to the English language and sub-competencies to exert in the in-class social world. Perhaps, the multiple intelligence theory (Gardner 1983) should be taken into consideration in designing learning activities (Larsen-Freeman and Anderson 2011).

In-class sleepers should be given chances to shiningly mobilize some of their competencies. With their competence need being satisfied, they will deem that English classes are good to them and are probably helpful to their acquisition and *use* of their skills in English.

Their teachers would be able to notice that if conditions are met, such sleepers become active, capable, and critical.

The need for trust is a combination of the needs for predictability and acceptance. Students should be able to expect and feel that they are and will be accepted by teachers and their classmates. They should recognize that the classroom is a *safe* place in which they can relax and can *talk their heart off*. They should know that

their homeroom teacher will trust and support them. To gain trust from in-class sleepers, the homeroom teacher needs to be conscientious: punctual in time management, thinking in the shoes of the students, and so on. The students should know that their homeroom teacher and classmates are on their side. The class should become a genuine group or community (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998; Lave and Wenger 1991).

Control is the combination of predictability and competence and includes *agency, autonomy, and self-control* (Deci and Ryan 2000; Dweck 2017). When students understand the order of the world (including the class or the school they reside in) and come to be aware of themselves as agents, they want to use their competence to act on it: e.g., to make or change its rules or order to suit their interests. For satisfaction of this need, they should be given more chances for control: They can be invited to set up or change class regulations democratically (Crookes 2013). They can be further invited to raise their voices about the operation of the entire school (Maehr and Midgley 1991).

In *existential* classroom, the teacher can look for a teachable moment to celebrate students' *authenticity* (Hunter 1993): When any student shows a peculiar or unusual interest, say, in game English, the teacher can encourage him/her to pursue it as a personal project and share his/her expertise with the entire class. The class can then have a follow-up discussion on the importance of English for specific purposes. In this way, the presenting student can have experience of building control and self-esteem and pursue his own way to build up his/her own essence (or realize his/her full potentiality).

Further, Hunter continues, students are better asked imaginative-divergent questions such as "What do you think …?", or evaluative and hypothetical questions like "What is your opinion …?" (p. 3), so that they can deal with their own personal meanings, produce their own authentic opinions, and make creative inferences of their own.

Self-esteem/Status is a compound need coming from the combination of acceptance and competence, which is based on *self-evaluation* (Dweck 2017). For this need, students need to be aware of their own merits and establish their own standards and values. Their *self-awareness* can be developed and supported by means of activities already developed in *humanistic education* (Moskowitz 1978). *Humanistic activities* can be included to supplement the materials that are already used, and they must accentuate the *positive* aspects of the teacher's and the students' selves. In particular, *low-risk* activities are recommended with themes like "[1] something I'm glad happened, [2] what I like about myself, [3] my happiest memory, [4] my greatest success, [5] something I feel proud of, [6] a time I was treated very fairly" (p. 27). In this way, such humanistic activities are concerned not only with students' own selves, strengths, self-images, feelings, memories, and so on. They also deal with students' sociality of relating to one another, and of sharing themselves and even their values, which will help "enhance a climate of acceptance" (p. 24). Discussing personal values will assist students to (re-)examine,

establish, and confirm their own standards or values. In Korean secondary schools, where relative grading is imposed, it should also be discussed whether relative grading should be the only standard for students' worthiness or their standing relative to one another (Griffiths and Keohane 2000, also, for various activities of *personalization*). In-class sleepers should learn that they can pursue their own unique competencies and status.

In terms of scientific bases, students should be given chances to discuss *multiple intelligence* theory (Gardner 1983) and what it implies about the value of individuals, of collaboration, and of education. They should also be taught that not only intelligence but also such personality traits as creativity, leadership, and others are needed for successful life in the globalizing world of the twenty-first century (Psychology Help Center 2019). Further, they should be taught that intelligence is malleable, they would then improve in conscientiousness (Blackwell et al. 2007). Students should realize that they can co-exist in win/win relationships with one another. They should be encouraged to develop their own expertise in English for specific purposes suiting their own interests: for example, English for sports, for dancing, for food culture, for mass media, for popular culture, and so on. If they cannot speak as fluently as the well-off students who had benefited from the capital of their wealthy family background, they can develop their own reading and writing skills. And it should be taught that becoming a self-made man/woman is a more valuable achievement. Responsibility should be taught for local communities and national and global societies. How to build a community should be taught as well (Blenkinsop 2004).

Self-coherence, according to Dweck (2017), indicates "the need to feel that you are psychologically intact and rooted" (p. 695). It interconnects to all psychological needs, so it is affected by the results from their pursuit. It consists of identities and meaning, which function as powerful motivators to seek "one's full potential and meaning in life" (p. 696). The first component must include Dörnyei's (2009) ideal and ought-to L2 selves, if ever set up; the second must be relevant to questions like "What do English class in school mean to you?"

Educational interventions regarding identities will have to be made in two directions: First, how can we help our students develop healthy identities? This issue must relate to recognizing, respecting and/or appreciating their social roles, social categories, and self-perceived capabilities. As shown earlier, the humanistic or existential pedagogy will be helpful in this respect.

The second direction regards to a more L2-specific identity adoption: How can we help our students set up ideal or ought-to L2 selves? Its solution will help build up their motivational bases of English learning. It might include a dialogue about the purpose of English learning. Is there any reason why you should learn English? If the students want to stay in and finish high school, they will have already formulated a kind of ought-to L2 selves. Their deliberation and decision-making will be done between open choices whose consequences they will have to take in (Hunter 1993). Since high school diplomas demand students to take English classes, in-class sleepers need to have certain motivation to study English and invest some time and energy in it.

We have seen that many psychological needs are related to the group dynamics that students experience in classroom. Let's discuss this aspect in the next section.

4.3.3 Thinking in Terms of Group Dynamics

As part of cultural action to wake up in-class sleepers, first of all, teachers should become aware that an English language class is to be a real *group* (see Chap. 2). Its members interact with one another, it is a distinctly recognizable unit that its members identify with, its members have a common purpose of learning English, it endures for some time, and finally a member affects its other members with a behavior or achievement. It can grow mature naturally, but its growth is better attended to.

Closely related to the awareness is the fact that the teacher is a member of the class group. He/she is its designated leader who is responsible for its growth and care (Gay 2010). It means that the teacher should be able to think in the group (as its member) and with the group (as its leader).

If a class does not grow into a healthy group, it can be like "a group of 'tourists' momentarily coming together to do individual tasks with little investment in relationships with others" (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003, p. 56). It cannot function well to achieve the tasks of learning it exists for. This aspect is especially significant in the Korean high school context because its objectives are so heavily skewed to the development of cognitive skills in preparation for students' college entrance, that it tolerates or even produces in-class sleepers.

4.3.3.1 Thinking in Terms of Group Development

Group comes into existence and develops in a relatively fixed order of phases: Formation, transition, performing, and dissolution (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998).

The Phase of Group Formation According to Dörnyei and Murphey (2003), it is important to lead the class into a group growing healthy *from the beginning*. Students in a new language class psychologically experience emotions such as anxiety, uncertainty, lack of confidence, shyness, and awkwardness. They are basically concerned with safety and inclusion, and significantly dependent on and deferent to the authority of the teacher as designated leader.

A healthy group is born when its members eventually *accept* one another despite the *likes* and *dislikes* they experience at the initial stage. Teacher can look for chances to accept in-class sleepers into the class group. To promote this process, at first *autocratically* and then more and more *democratically,* the teacher can lead students to come to learn about, locate close to, contact, interact with, or cooperate with one another; to successfully complete whole-group tasks, involve in extracurricular activities, experience joint hardship, feel common threat, or participate intergroup competitions as a group, and to observe the teacher's being friendly

with and supportive to students. As Teacher 9 practices, above all, it is important for group members to know each other's name, which is to recognize their presence. To promote this bonding process, teachers can also implement *icebreakers* or move students around regularly to improve their contacts or interaction.

In a group, the members make up and follow norms. This happens consciously or unconsciously for efficiency of functioning. Such group norms can then be understood as *normal* ways of doing things in at least two domains of group life: social and procedural (Oyster 2000). Social norms reflect the group's common values and the ways that its members relate to one another, while the procedural is about how they collaborate. The teacher leader can deal with in-class sleeping in specifying class norms.

The norms of a group are better discussed explicitly and accepted willingly and democratically by the majority of the members as group rules. In this regard, Dörnyei and Murphey (2003) provide a succinct list of suggestions for teachers. As the group leader, introduce yourself and your beliefs to your students in a write-up. Ask them to discuss, and make suggestions to modify, the norms you suggest for the class. Have a discussion of such student suggestions to arrive at group consensus. When consensus has been made, write and display the final list of class norms so that it can continuously be reminded. Practice what the rules specify.

The phase of group transition arises when the safety needs of group members are somewhat satisfied (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003). Now they engage in arguments and debates more freely. They want to *liberate* themselves from their *leader dependency*. Through this phase, the teacher must assume a *democratic* leadership. The students must be able to speak up their different views and alternatives to existing norms. This can be understood as a counteraction to the powerful teacher role from the initial phase. With persuasion the teacher leader must prevent at-risk students from falling into the silly habit of sleeping in class.

Rules of the class should be updated democratically if some prove counterproductive or detrimental to the group life (Wilson 2005). The teacher or a student can identify their concern and put it on the table for class members to discuss. The members arrive at consensus to modify the norm. Finally, they have the modified version written and hung up on a wall.

It is important to spend enough time to set, negotiate, validate, and model the norms. When the group has firmly *internalized* them, it copes with possible deviators and maintains discipline. It can utilize group pressure to enforce rules and bring forth desirable behaviors (Cohen and Lotan 2014). The dominant group of students will support the teacher; they will (in)directly put down or even *ostracize* rule violators.

The Phase of Performing Group In healthy environments, the group becomes balanced and cohesive and has a "well-defined internal structure that includes agreement on norms, roles and decision-making procedures" (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003, p. 54). The teacher needs to transit from a democratic to an *autonomy-inviting* leadership more and more promoting learner autonomy, but he/she must purport every member to be part of class performance.

Cohesiveness consists of *interpersonal attraction* among members, common *commitment to the task*, and *pride in group membership* (Mullen and Copper 1994). When group cohesiveness is high, language learning takes place more effectively (Senior 2002). It decreases the tendency of *social loafing* and *free-riding*. (Clément et al. 1994). It can be enhanced by promoting intermember acceptance as in group formation, having time together, enhancing the feeling of *groupness* through features of dress, class photos, etc., and making public commitment like in class newsletters, among others (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003, pp. 67–69).

In the long term, the teacher needs to make efforts to maintain and adjust class norms (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003, pp. 41–48). He/she can use wall charts, teacher behavior, regular reminding, and newsletters, among others, to maintain group norms. He/she can even formulate it into a learning contract which specifies what are allowed, what are disallowed, and what are required. He/she needs to find ways to connect the class norms to the school rules or hidden curriculum, if needed, trying to modify the latter.

An effective way to incorporate at-risk students in class operation is to assign them explicit roles such as timekeeper, information-getter, or whatever appropriate. Roles can occur naturally and informally or can be assigned formally by the teacher leader. Discussing self-fulfilling prophecies, Tim Murphey relates his experience of imagining that Einstein might have failed French due to his teachers' low expectation toward him, and taking a drastically different approach to at-risk students (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003): "I had a couple of students in my classes … that I labeled 'lost and lackadaisical'. One day in class, instead of ignoring their passivity as I usually did, I put it in my mind that they were both young Einsteins and were going to grow up to amaze the world. When I approached them, I noticed that I did it differently – it was with respect and awe and curiosity that I talked to them. I found out that the boy was a part-time mechanic and fascinated by engines. The girl was a musician in the local orchestra and that was her passion. We talked about these things briefly…. My feelings of awe and respect continued as these two began to open up more and more, first giving me greetings in English and later daring to ask questions in class and then commented on things they liked and didn't like. After a few weeks they even became passionate about learning English and becoming interactive collaborators with their fellow students. They went from 'lost and lackadaisical' to 'assertive learners' within a month" (p. 127). This story illustrates that we live up or down to the role that our important people expect of us. The teacher leader is one such important people to potential in-class sleepers.

Another way that Tim Murphey recommends is using *near peer role models*, "peers who are close to the learners' social, professional and/or age level, and whom the learners may respect and admire" (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003, p. 128). Their positive attitudes or actions can be spread to group members including potential in-class sleepers, so that the at-risk students may correct theirs on their own.

The phase of group dissolution "helps to consolidate what the group has accomplished and helps to erect bridges to the future" (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003, p. 55).

What should draw our attention is that any group can skip one or more phases of group development, or that it can get stuck at a particular, immature stage. The entire class should form and develop as a group including in-class sleepers, so that the entire class can learn more effectively.

4.3.3.2 Thinking in Terms of Group Culture

Class as a group comes to have a group culture (Maehr and Midgley 1991). Since students bring in their habitus (Bourdieu 1998) or BEATs (Dweck 2017) from outside, their culture is affected by the subcultures in their families and communities outside of school (Eom 2013) or by their media-consumer culture (Kenway and Bullen 2005).

When asked about her requests to teachers, Student 1 said that she wanted teachers to *adjust* to students and used the complex verb *matchu-e ju-da*: *matchu-da* can translate into verbs like *(to) adapt, adjust, assemble, personalize, piece[put] together, set, tune,* among others; *ju-da* means *(to) give*; together, the complex verb will even mean *(to) play up to, flatter, humor, please*, etc. She illustrated the process with sometimes giving out candies, telling jokes or funny stories, using game activities, and/or being encouragingly responsive to students' participation. What her comments allude to is a cultural chasm between students and teachers. It should be teachers who need to reach out to students residing in a drastically different culture.

Teacher 4's despairing experience vividly illustrates these desperate needs on the teacher's side. She taught English more than 20 years and actively serves as a senior teacher helping new teachers to adjust into the school system or providing workshops and mentoring and the like to in-service teachers. She moved from a school like School A in a relatively poorer area to a school like School B in a very affluent area. She said:

[Excerpt 4.22]

Teacher 4 (T4): Last year I had one class, a really serious class. It was a second year male-student class of liberal arts. When I moved here last year, I wanted to quit my career because of the students. […] To a really serious extent I fell into depression, I really hated coming to the school. I didn't know how to deal with them. […] The reason I was that bankrupt was because I couldn't understand the students fully, these learners, their dispositions and so on. Without their understanding, I tried to do in my own ways? In schools I taught previously, students followed whatever I did, so I did in older ways without deliberation, as I thought right?

She learned that she had to *understand* her students and *adapt* her teaching style to them. Each class has a different culture with a different set of members with different dispositions and objectives. Teachers should take this into serious

consideration. Surely enough, such a class culture would be a subcomponent of the school culture to be discussed in Sect. 5.1.3.

4.3.4 Cultural Actions Regarding Students' Academic Needs

They need to know how to identify students' academic needs, motivation, and psychological needs via "survey questionnaires, personal interviews, placement tests, classroom observation, and self-report" (Kumaravadivelu 2012, p. 39): multiply for triangulation.

The student voices we listened to have provided seeds to plant in the desolate territory of secondary schooling in Korea.

4.3.4.1 Regarding the Difficulty of English Classes

When asked for their wants, students said that it would be nice if they could have classes with (1) detailed, easier step-by-step explanation, (2) slower pacing, (3) a focus on those not attending private institutes, (4) processes of checking up students' understanding of the content, (5) repeated explanations until they understand, and so on. More specifically, some wanted teachers to provide (6) at least one supplementary class detailing grammatical terms, or supplementary handouts for catching up grammar points. Some even asked to provide pronunciations in usual printouts, to reduce the content, or to give easier exams (with directions in Korean).

Programmed instructions (Rogers 1969) can immediately satisfy most of these student *needs.* Teachers can explain grammar points or terms more thoroughly. They can record and offer such classes through various channels of communication including online platforms like YouTube. Surely enough they can also provide supplementary materials (handouts or electronic files). For this purpose, teachers can collect more systematically the whereabouts of the video clips or classes already available on line from the Educational Broadcasting System and others. These various forms of programmed instructions will be very useful to quench the thirst of in-class sleepers filling up holes in their knowledge and encouraging them to move on.

Contract learning classes (Rogers 1969) are another type of educational service that teachers can consider introducing from time to time as needs arise. After introducing target contents briefly, they can let more advanced students autonomously study what they need to grab further individually or in a group. In this way, they can allow extremely advanced students to fly freely in English. They can then pay closer attention to and spend time with slower learners. In fact, Shim and Lee

(2017) report a case which shows its effectiveness with slow high school learners of English in Korean context.

Peer instruction or others can also be utilized if they are acceptable locally in the class or school culture.

Regarding tracked courses, participants responded positively or negatively depending on their past experiences. The system will be very beneficial to educating all students effectively if it is managed more thoughtfully and scientifically. First, students should be given *freedom* to choose among the advanced, the regular, and the supplementary classes. If they are assigned to a particular class against their full will, they can be stigmatized as low achievers and their psychological needs for control and self-esteem are thwarted and can lose motivation for L2 learning itself.

Generally speaking, teachers don't seem to want to teach a supplementary class. When assigned to such a low-level class, teachers can have their self-esteem be hurt since they may think that their teaching capability is devaluated by their head teachers and colleagues. An easy prevalent practice seems to be that if possible, such classes are assigned to *temporary* teachers without sufficient experience. Such teachers frequently won't know how to teach *difficult* students; the students will notice their mistreatment by the school, and it will aggravate the problem! A better solution is that the most experienced teacher or the head teacher takes charge of such students in need of greater care. Alternatively, voluntariness and freedom are adopted as the basis for class assignment. Whichever solution is pursued, the same teacher should teach through the entire year.

Learning how to learn is one of the most important skills in such a fast-changing era as the current one where information expands at a tremendous rate (Rogers 1969). How to study English is what the students who have difficulties with English classes must be helped with. Individual care, encouragement, and checking up are needed.

4.3.4.2 Toward a Variety of In-Class Activities

Participants said they wanted use of a variety of materials and activities in class: (1) more use of videos or movies with subtitles, (2) fun activities like quiz games, (3) more (personal) stories from teachers, (4) chances for reading aloud (as in private institutes), among others. Key words included more *balance* and *harmony* among memorization and use.

This leads to another important category of their wants: (1) more communicative use, (2) native speaker instructors, (3) more basic, practical, realistic contents, and exams, and (4) diversification of performance assessment. Some even asked for English for their careers, i.e., English for specific purposes! Key words are oral communication, practicality, and authenticity.

These student needs can be met with more practical, communicative activities focusing on expressing students' thoughts and feelings. These activities can be helpful to those students who sleep because the class contents are too easy for them. In fact, Student 45 wanted to have freedom to be creative in using English.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have presented our analyses and interpretations of participant' responses regarding their English classes and made suggestions for cultural actions to remedy the problem of in-class sleeping. Students poured out their sighs, lamentation, complaints, and/or grudges. To many in-class sleepers, English classes are too difficult to keep abreast with; to many others, they are boring: too exam-oriented, impractical, uninteresting, boring, and meaningless; to some, they are way too easy. Many of them complained that teachers didn't listen to their opinions, did treat them differently from honor students, or had caused unbearable violence to them that is verbal in school or even physical in private institutes. Some said they slept because others did, couldn't earn good grades because of the relative evaluation system however hard they tried; some even complained about the insincere atmosphere in English classes.

We have noticed that the difficulty and boredom of English classes are found in the category of chief demotivators in previous research in European and Asian countries, but that sleeping because of excessive ease seems a Korea-specific phenomenon. We thought that the students' perception of communication severance and their resistance invite psychological and sociocultural understanding: In a sense, their psychological needs were thwarted, which drove them to demotivation or amotivation, and a school culture accepting the practice aggravated the problem.

Cultural actions for humanization of in-class sleepers, we believe, will begin with one teacher or a group of like-minded teachers who decide to *turn around* and view them as *human beings* with a *legitimate right to learn*. Their teachers will restore their status in their heart and mind, build up *true* relationship with them, and listen *truly* to them. Second, their teacher(s) will want to take their psychological needs into consideration: acceptance, predictability, competence, trust, control, self-esteem/status, and self-coherence. The teacher(s) will also attend to and care for their class so that it will *grow* into a *healthy* group with benign group dynamics and group culture. On the basis of such turnaround and consciousness raising, they will be able to wake the in-class sleepers up from their slumber. When they become *alive* psychologically, lastly, the teacher(s) will respond *effectively* to student *voices* regarding their *academic* needs. Their creative actions will include systematically providing programmed instructions and supplementary handouts and information, leading students into contract learning, peer instruction, or tracked courses, etc. for their maximal satisfaction. Needless to say, the teacher(s) will try to provide a variety of in-class activities and at the same time teach them to become competent in how to learn English.

References

Al-Khairy, M. H. (2013). English as a foreign language learning demotivational factors as perceived by Saudi undergraduates. *European Scientific Journal, 9*(32), 365–382.

Alavinia, P., & Sehat, R. (2012). A Probe into the main demotivating factors among Iranian EFL learners. *English Language Teaching, 5*(6), 9–35. https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v5n6p9.

Becker, H. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance*. New York, US: Macmillan.

Blackwell, L. S., Trzesniewski, K. H., & Dweck, C. S. (2007). Implicit theories of intelligence predict achievement across an adolescent transition: A longitudinal study and an intervention. *Child Development, 78,* 246–263. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2007.00995.x.

Blenkinsop, S. (2004). *Choice, dialogue, and freedom: Towards a philosophy of education based in existentialism*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, US.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Westport, US: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason*. Stanford, US: Stanford University Press.

Chambers, G. N. (1993). Taking the 'de' out of demotivation. *Language Learning Journal, 7,* 13–16.

Clément, R. Z., Dörnyei, Z., & Noels, K. A. (1994). Motivation, self-confidence and group cohesion in the foreign language classroom. *Language Learning, 44,* 417–448.

Cohen, E. G., & Lotan, R. A. (2014). *Designing groupwork: Strategies for the heterogeneous classroom* (3rd ed.). New York, US: Teacher's College Press.

Comber, B., & Kamler, B. (2005). *Turn-around pedagogies: Literacy interventions for at-risk students*. Newton, Australia: Primary English Teaching Association.

Crookes, G. V. (2013). *Critical ELT in action: Foundations, promises, praxis*. New York, US: Routledge.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry, 11*(4), 227–268.

Dei, G. J. S., Mazzuca, J., McIsaac, E., & Zine, J. (1997). *Reconstructing "drop-out", a critical ethnography of the dynamics of Black students' disengagement from school*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Dörnyei, Z. (1998). Demotivation in foreign language learning. Paper presented at the TESOL '98 Congress, Seattle, WA, March.

Dörnyei, Z. (2001). *Teaching and researching motivation*. London, UK: Longman.

Dörnyei, Z. (2009). The L2 motivational self system. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 9–42). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Dörnyei, Z., & Murphey, T. (2003). *Group dynamics in the language classroom*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dörnyei, Z., & Ottó, I. (1998). Motivation in action: A process model of L2 motivation. *Working Papers in Applied Linguistics* (Thames Valley University), *4*, 43–69.

Dweck, C. S. (2017). From needs to goals and representations: Foundations for a unified theory of motivation, personality, and development. *Psychological Review, 124*(6), 689–719. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000082.

Ehrman, M. E., & Dörnyei, Z. (1998). *Interpersonal dynamics in second language education: The visible and invisible classroom*. Thousand Oaks, US: Sage.

Engeström, Y. (1999). Activity theory and individual and social transformation. In Y. Engeström, R. Miettinen, & R. Punamaki (Eds.), *Perspectives on activity theory* (pp. 19–38). New York, US: Cambridge University Press.

Eom, K. (2013). *Kyosa-do hakkyo-ga duryeopta* ('Teachers are scared of schools too.'). Seoul, Korea: Ttabi.

Eom, K. (2014). *Dansoksahoe* ('On-and-off society'). Seoul, Korea: Changbi.

Falout, J., Elwood, J., & Hood, M. (2009). Demotivation: Affective states and learning outcomes. *System, 37,* 403–417.

Falout, J., & Falout, M. (2005). The other side of motivation: Learner demotivation. In K. Bradford-Watts, I. Ikeguchi, & M. Swanson (Eds.), *JALT2004 Conference Proceedings* (pp. 280–289). Tokyo, Japan: JALT.

Falout, J., & Maruyama, M. (2004). A comparative study of proficiency and learner demotivation. *The Language Teacher, 28*(8), 3–9.

Fine, M. (1991). *Framing dropouts*. Albany, US: State University of New York Press.

Freire, P. (1970/2000a). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Freire, P. (1970/2000b). *Cultural action for freedom* (2000 ed.). Cambridge, US: Harvard Education Press.

Freire, P. (1974/2013). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed.). New York, US: Teachers College Press.

Gardner, H. (1983). *Frames of mind: The theory of multiple intelligences*. New York, US: Basic Books.

Griffiths, G., & Keohane, K. (2000). *Personalizing language learning*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Heath, S. B. (2009). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Linguistic anthropology: A reader* (2nd ed., pp. 343–363). Malden, US: Blackwell.

Hosseini, S. A., & Jafari, S. M. (2014). Possible demotivating factors for secondary school students. *International Journal of Language Learning and Applied Linguistics World, 5*(3), 188–201.

Hunter, G. (1993). Existentialism: Practical classroom application. *The Educational Forum, 57*(2), 191–196.

Kenway, J., & Bullen, E. (2005). Globalizing the young in the age of desire: Some educational policy issues. In M. W. Apple, J. Kenway, & M. Singh (Eds.), *Globalizing education: Policies, pedagogies, & politics* (pp. 31–44). New York, US: Peter Lang.

Kikuchi, K. (2009). Learner voices: Listening to our learners' voices: what demotivates Japanese high school students? *Language Teaching Research, 13*(4), 453–471. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168809341520.

Kim, E.-K. (2000). The effect of corporal punishment on self-labelling and delinquency. *Journal of Korean Counseling for Children's Rights, 4*(1), 121–136.

Kim, K. J. (2012). The structural relationship between demotivational factors and English achievement for high school students. *English Language & Literature Teaching, 18*(4), 71–92.

Kim, T.-Y., Kim, Y., & Kim, J.-Y. (2017). English learning resilience, motivation, and demotivation of Korean students: A Mixed Method approach. *Educational Research, 69,* 61–94.

Krashen, S. (2003). Dealing with English fever. *Selected Papers from the Twelfth International Symposium on English Teaching* (pp. 100–108). English Teachers' Association: Taipei, ROC.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2012). *Language teacher education for a global society: A modular model for knowing, analyzing, recognizing, doing and seeing*. New York, US: Routledge.

Kwak, Y. (2004). *A Study on the cause and process for giving up English learning: Focused on the abandoned English learners in high school.* Unpublished Master's thesis, Pusan National University, Busan, South Korea.

Larsen-Freeman, D., & Anderson, M. (2011). *Techniques and principles in language teaching* (3rd ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York, US: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, M. W. (2016). *Early study-abroad and identities: Korean early study-abroad undergraduates*. Singapore: Springer.

Lee, S.-M., & Kim, S.-H. (2014). Factors affecting Korean college students' motivation and demotivation in learning English. *The Journal of Linguistic Science, 68,* 287–312.

Legault, L., Green-Demers, I., & Pelletier, L. (2006). Why do high school students lack motivation in the classroom? Towards an understanding of academic amotivation and the role of social

support. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 98*(3), 567–582. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.98.3.567.

Leontyev, A. N. (1978). *Activity, consciousness, and personality*. Englewood Cliffs, US: Prentice-Hall.

Maehr, M., & Midgley, C. (1991). Enhancing student motivation: A school-wide approach. *Educational Psychologist, 26,* 399–427.

Moskowitz, G. (1978). *Caring and sharing in the foreign language class: A sourcebook on humanistic techniques*. Boston, US: Heinle & Heinle.

Mullen, B., & Copper, C. (1994). The relation between group cohesiveness and performance: An integration. *Psychological Bulletin*, 115, 210–227.

Noh, W., Park, S., & Chang, K.-S. (2016). *Research on educational support for general high school Low achievers with reference to math and English subjects* (I). RRI 2016-2. Korea Institute of Curriculum & Evaluation (KICE), Seoul, Korea. http://www.kice.re.kr/resrchBoard/view.do?seq=228&s=kice&m=030101. Accessed 11 August 2019.

Oxford, R. L. (1998). The unravelling tapestry: Teacher and course characteristics associated with demotivation in the language classroom. Demotivation in foreign language learning. Paper presented at the TESOL '98 Congress, Seattle, WA, March.

Oyster, C. K. (2000). *Groups: A user's guide*. Boston, US: McGraw-Hill.

Panofsky, C. P. (2003). The relations of learning and student social class: Toward re-"socializing" sociocultural learning theory. In A. Kozulin, B. Gindis, V. S. Ageyev, & S. M. Miller (Eds.), *Vygotsky's educational theory in cultural context* (pp. 411–431). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511840975.021.

Park, C.-H. (2012). The legitimacy of corporal punishment, social bond, and juvenile defiance. *Korean Criminological Review, 23*(1), 355–383.

Peck, M. S. (1978). *The road less travelled: A New Psychology of love, traditional values and spiritual growth*. New York, US: Simon-Schuster.

Psychology Help Center. (2019). Which traits predict job performance? Resource document. American Psychological Association. https://www.apa.org/helpcenter/predict-job-performance.aspx. Accessed 2 February 2019.

Quadir, M. (2017). Let us listen to our students: An analysis of demotivation to study English in Bangladesh. *The English Teacher, 46*(3), 128–141.

Ratner, C. (2000). Agency and culture. *Journal for The Theory of Social Behavior, 30,* 413–434.

Rist, R. (1970/2000). Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. *Harvard Educational Review, 70*(3), 257–301.

Rogers, C. R. (1961). *On becoming a person*. Boston, US: Houghton Mifflin.

Rogers, C. R. (1969). *Freedom to learn*. Columbus, US: Charles E. Merrill.

Sakai, H., & Kikuchi, K. (2009). An analysis of demotivators in the EFL classroom. *System, 37,* 57–69.

Sherman, L. W. (1993). Defiance, deterrence, and irrelevance: A theory on the criminal sanction. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 30*(4), 445–473.

Shim, H.-O., & Lee, H. (2017). The influence of contract learning on the self-directed English writing of high school students. *English21*, *30*(2), 89–116.

Sosa, M., & Casanave, C. P. (2007). Difficult students: Who, why, and responses. In K. Bradford-Watts (Ed.), *JALT2006 Conference Proceedings* (pp. 240–248). Tokyo, Japan: JALT.

Trang, T. T. T., & Baldauf, R. B., Jr. (2007). Demotivation: Understanding resistance to English language learning—The case of Vietnamese students. *The Journal of Asia TEFL, 4*(1), 79–105.

Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labour: How working class kids get working class jobs*. London, UK: Saxon House.

Wilson, G. L. (2005). *Groups in context: Leadership and participation in small groups* (7th ed.). Boston, US: McGraw-Hill.

Chapter 5
Analysis and Actions at the Meso-Level: School

Abstract This chapter draws on in-depth interviews with participating students and teachers, using data on meso-level school situations. It addresses two research questions: *What meso-level factors contribute to some students falling asleep in class?* and *What can be done about the phenomenon of sleeping in class?* One of these meso-level reasons was the pedagogical practices that focus solely on test scores and college entrance exam. Next, the analysis foregrounded sickly evaluation policies and different characteristics of school cultures as additional reasons. These were interpreted by means of basic structure of secondary education and the nature of local cultures. As ways to remedy the undesirable aspects of Korean education, cultural actions are proposed with regard to school leaders, in pursuit of safety, care and hope, and for flexibilization of Korean secondary education. The following sections describe in detail the reasons, their interpretation, and the advocated cultural actions.

5.1 Analysis

The most prevailing theme that the students and the teachers commonly pointed out regarding the reason why the students fall asleep during English classes was the biased school culture. Both the students and teachers mentioned that the English proficiency was evaluated only based on the test scores including midterm and final. They also pointed out that the tests were promoting infinite competition among the students because they all applied norm-referenced tests. A particular type of test, called *Su-neung* (수능 shortened form of 수학능력시험, 修學能力試驗, Korean Scholastic Aptitude Test, KSAT hereafter), was especially related to the second aspect of school culture: unconditional pursuit of college degree. The students and teachers were entrapped with the ideologies of *going to college anyway*, and this in turn, influenced the sleeping phenomenon of the students. The last aspect of school culture was about undemocratic atmosphere prevalent in Korean schooling system mainly from the perspectives of the teachers. The followings show the respective themes in order.

S.-H. G. Ahn and M. W. Lee, *English Classes in Slumber*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-1010-6_5

5.1.1 Biased School Practices

5.1.1.1 After All, It's All About Exams

The main theme of the school culture was its strong orientation toward exams based on fierce competition. In Korea, students are required to take at least two official exams per semester, midterms and finals, and performance assessment. Midterm and final exams are usually done using traditional paper-and-pencil tests, while performance assessment is done using various types of evaluation, including listening tests, writing tasks, speaking tasks, vocabulary tests, and attitude tests. Performance assessment was designed to counter the disadvantages of the former by assessing student performance in a variety of nontraditional ways. Performance assessment scores are part of the midterm and final exam scores, which account for a significant portion of students' final grades for each semester. However, regardless of the type of assessment, students' final grades are evaluated based on a norm-referenced test system, which ranks students according to their grades. Therefore, comparison with other students is a prerequisite in this type of evaluation and students are exposed to endless competition with their classmates. As a result, the level of English proficiency is entirely determined by their test scores. Twenty-three out of 65 students mentioned this issue of *school exams*. Student 30 explained the interrelationship between school exams and falling asleep during English classes.

[Excerpt 5.1]

Student 30: You know, we're always in a hurry in English class. I mean, we have to take exams, like midterms and finals, and we have to cover a lot of things in one textbook. If the teacher says that we need to cover a certain amount of material in the manual for the midterm or final exams, then we have to do it. Thus, it doesn't really matter whether you're a fast or a slow learner. You have to cover the material within the time limit. So, teachers are also in a hurry. We are all short of time and teachers cannot explain everything in the allotted time, so they usually skip some parts. They probably know that they need to explain some things in more detail, but realistically, it's impossible. So, we don't have time to ask questions or understand the lessons. We listen to the teacher and say, "Ah … OK …," and then we need time to digest the lessons, right? But there's no time for that and time flies, so the lessons end while you space out.

Student 30, who started to sleep during English classes after entering high school, wanted to learn *practical English* to use in her part-time job. She stated that she had to serve foreign customers as a clerk in a convenience store and felt that she should be able to communicate with them. However, as she mentioned, she could not help falling asleep during English classes because English at school was only for exams. Although she tried to pay attention in class, it was not easy because the

slow learners were not at the center of the classes oriented solely toward midterm and final exams. The teachers' job was to cover the content of the tests under extreme time pressure, not to check the comprehension of individual students. However, teachers could not be blamed as long as there were exams.

Unsurprisingly, *slow learners* like Student 30 were often lost during lessons and became *left-behind students*. Student 32, who started sleeping during class in middle school, said that he was asleep for nearly 80% of English classes at the time of the interview. Obviously, his grades were not good. He complained that English exams at school were too difficult for him because they were used to rank honor students who were already good at English in a sophisticated way. He pointed out that the questions were *tricky*, so *left-behind students* could never choose the right answer, even if they tried to understand the class content. He wanted to learn *real English* to speak with foreigners, but the school exams were too far from his needs. School exams were just a tool to position him at the tail of the normal distribution curve, but ironically, as long as he stayed in the current school system, he could not avoid the exams. For him, English was equivalent to school exams, as shown in the middle of Fig. 5.1 (시험 in Korean means exams in English).

The issue of *tricky* questions in school exams was also raised by teachers. Seven out of 12 teachers admitted that the current school exams were not for special students, as they were used primarily to rank students from top to bottom. Furthermore, the most important thing was the exam scores, so there was no room or time to give feedback to each student. As soon as one exam was over, they needed to prepare for the next exam. Therefore, only the students who could keep up in this hectic system could be the top-ranking students. Teachers were aware that most students, including students sleeping during class, could not achieve good exam results. As a result, they could only play a minor role in the school focused on honor students. They also felt bad for these honor students, because to rank them, they had to come up with *tricky* questions to force them to make mistakes. In this

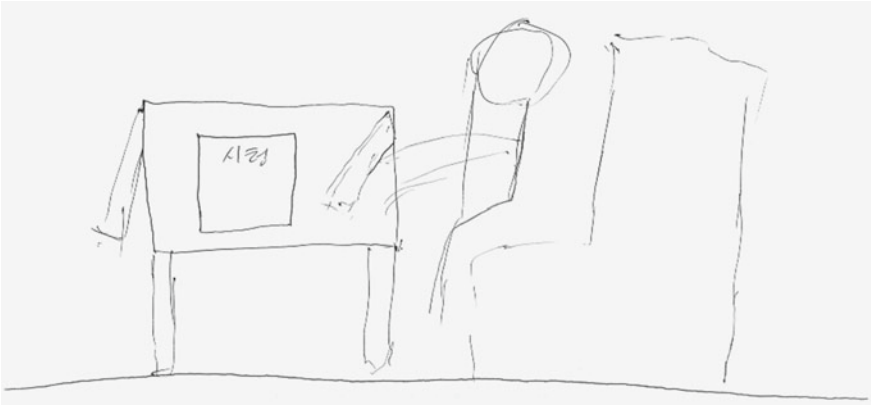

Fig. 5.1 A picture drawn by Student 32

sense, school exams were not a fair assessment to improve students' level of English proficiency, but a discriminating tool to place them somewhere in the normal distribution curve.

Teacher 4, who had taught in different types of schools, expressed her concern about coming up with exam questions. Before joining her current school with a number of *A-level students* in English, she worked at schools where many students were *left-behind students*. In her previous schools, she had to lower the difficulty of her exam questions because most students could not answer difficult ones. However, in her current school, she could ask *tricky* questions to distinguish between good and best students.

[Excerpt 5.2]

Researcher (R): There are many excellent students in your school now, so to rank them, you need to …

Teacher 4 (T4): I have to come up with really difficult questions. I try to. […] Anyway, it's funny that I had to revise the questions thousands of times in my previous school to make them easier. While in this school, I am distressed because I have to come up with as many tricky and difficult questions as I can.

One noticeable thing in Teacher 4's statement was that teachers, like their students, were under pressure because of the exams. The main reason for her stress was that she needed to adjust the level of her exam questions in accordance with the different levels of her students. If her questions had been too difficult, students at her previous school would not have been able to answer them, which would have made it difficult to rank them in the student pool. However, if her questions had no discriminating power, students at her current school could not be ranked. In conclusion, school exams were used not only to teach English skills properly, but also to consolidate the competitive pyramid structure of Korean English education. They literally governed students, regardless of their level of proficiency and the teachers who created the exam questions.

5.1.1.2 You Must Go to College Anyway

Another theme mentioned by students and teachers was the dominant ideology in Korean high schools that all students must go to college. Ten out of 65 students explicitly mentioned that they had to study English to go to college. Among these 10 students, four expressed frustration because they did not know how to study, even though they wanted to. Two of them stated that they had already decided on their future job, which did not require a high level of English proficiency. The rest of them had not decided on future directions, but they did not want to study English. However, these 10 students unanimously reported that they had to go to college and that English was necessary to do so. Student 44, who wanted to become a TV celebrity or a comedian, started studying English in an English kindergarten.

He said that he slept *less* during English classes than in other classes, because English, along with mathematics, was one of the most important subjects for going to college. He did not like English, as described in the first picture he drew of the relationship between himself and English by depicting one person (English) dragging a handcuffed person (himself). Nevertheless, he strongly believed that he needed English to go to college.

Student 44's strong belief that he had to go to college and that English was an important tool for doing so was well depicted in his drawing. Figure 5.2 describes the English class as a car connected to a road leading students to college. Although his dream of becoming a TV celebrity or a comedian did not require learning English, he thought that a college degree was a *must*, regardless of his future career. This *motiveless motivation* to go to college was also represented in other participants' drawings, indicating the prevalence and unconditional acceptance of the *you must go to college anyway* ideology, even among sleeping students who gave up going to college.

The issue of going to college was also directly related to one particular form of exam called KSAT. Many local scholars have pointed out that this national-level test limited the form of Korean English education with washback effect. The 12 teachers who participated in this study also stated that the KAST controlled everything, including student study patterns, parental strategies to support their children, and the focus of classroom activities in English classes. Teacher 6 complained about these.

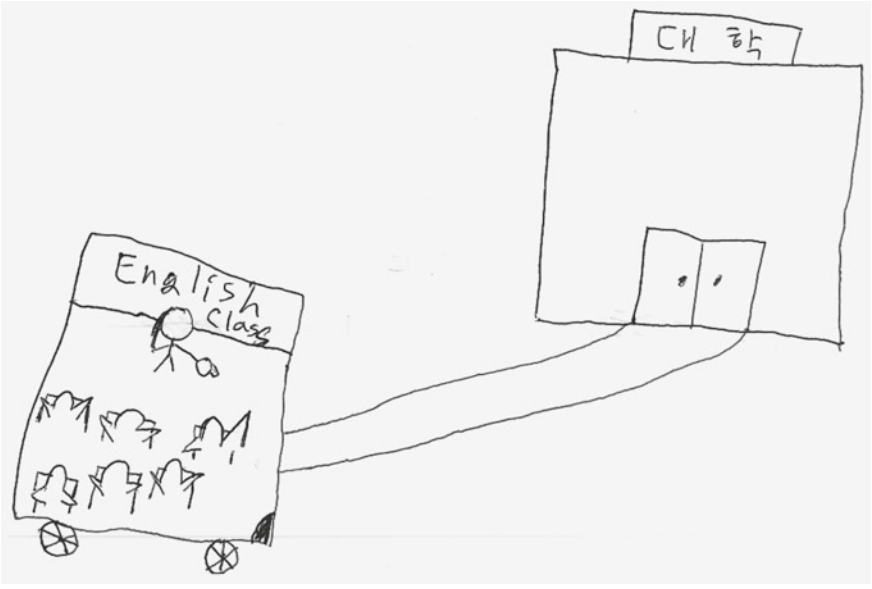

Fig. 5.2 A picture drawn by Student 44

[Excerpt 5.3]

Teacher 6 (T6): Sometimes I talk about this issue with other teachers. We all feel heavy because we have to face this problem every day. And you know what? This issue is not only for English teachers. The conclusion is that *the zenith of the educational pyramid is the college entrance exam*. I mean, all teachers think that. There are some teachers who want to implement new teaching methodologies, such as … such as flipped learning that was popular last year or other popular ones. But even these teachers admit that these methodologies are useless unless they can contribute to the college entrance exam. You know, there are national-level trials, such as the *free semester* program or *the academic credit bank system*, but they must ultimately be linked with the KSAT. Today, strategic information on how to go to college is shared by parents and students, and if they think something is not useful for the college entrance exam, they simply ignore it.

Teacher 6's comment revealed two important points about the current Korean school culture. First, the main stakeholders in education (teachers, students, and parents) shared the same ideology, namely, that the college entrance exam or the KAST was the ultimate goal of students' school life. In other words, they all assumed that students should go to college after graduating from high school. Although teachers *felt heavy* about this reality, they could only accept it. Second, although various trials were conducted at the teacher level and at the national level to change this focus on the college entrance exam, they failed to change the deep-rooted ideology of students and parents. The only criterion for determining the success or failure of teaching methodologies or education policies was whether they helped students go to college.

Obviously, it was difficult to find the exact source of this never-changing ideology of *you must go to college anyway*. Teacher 11 attributed this to parents who felt that high school should prepare students to go to college. According to her, although some students did not want to go to college, their parents still thought that they had to go to college anyway, which limited the educational direction and practices of teachers. In Excerpt 5.4, Teacher 11 first gave her opinion on why students fell asleep during class, attributing it to the KSAT, before discussing differences between students and parents.

[Excerpt 5.4]

Researcher (R): You mean they sleep because they think they don't really learn anything at school.

Teacher 11 (T11): Right, we use Educational Broadcasting System (EBS) materials, just like private academies, so it makes little sense for them to repeat the same thing twice. Also, it's hard to care for every *left-behind student* during class, so teachers usually focus on mid-level students. So, I guess *left-behind students*

may think that private academies are better because they give them small group instructions based on their proficiency level.

R: You mean that students with a low level of English proficiency have difficulty understanding the content at school because it is too difficult for them.

T11: Yes, and actually they are annoyed when they have to study, I mean, regardless of the subject. There are a number of students who do not want to go to college, so they believe that English classes that focus on the KSAT are meaningless for them. It's just so complex. I mean, everybody wants different things, but we just can't meet those needs, so we have to give them very general instructions.

R: Hmm … everybody wants different things, but teachers cannot meet those needs.

T11: To be honest, I think teachers try to meet the needs of parents. There are so many parents who do not accept their children' refusal to go to college or who deny that their children's level of English proficiency is very low. They strongly believe that high school exists as a preparation organization for college. Yet teachers are not so different from parents. They focus on students who are good at studying and can go to college, and those who are not are marginalized in the current school system. We should be able to accept these students at school, but obviously we can't, and I think that's why we face the issue of sleeping students.

Before Teacher 11 explicitly mentioned that English classes focused on the KSAT, she alluded to it by saying that her school and private academies used the same EBS materials. As noted earlier, EBS was originally created to improve accessibility to education for students living in remote areas. Today, it offers various types of educational TV content to students of different ages. Because of its high accessibility to students, the Korean Ministry of Education decided to link the EBS materials with the KSAT, so up to 70% of reading passages and listening test items are closely related to the actual KSAT. The original purpose of the Ministry of Education was to reduce the financial burden on parents who had to bear the cost of their children's private academy education. Ironically, this caused a huge washback effect, so high school English teachers had no choice but to use these EBS materials rather than textbooks.

The problem was that these EBS materials filled with endless exercise questions were not appealing to students, especially those who did not want to go to college. Indeed, English classes focused only on finding the right answers to the college entrance exam did not interest them. However, their parents never accepted their choice and insisted that they go to college anyway. Caught between these two education stakeholders, the school had to choose its position and stood on the

parents' side. This led to the abandonment of many students who rejected the dominant ideology of *you must go to college anyway* and chose to sleep during class.

5.1.1.3 Too Rigid Curriculum Implementation

Another theme mentioned by students and teachers was the rigid curriculum implementation at school. The first phase was related to the performance assessment mentioned in the previous section. Four out of 12 teachers indicated that the use of performance assessment did not meet the original purpose of using different types of assessment, other than traditional paper-and-pencil tests. However, as Teacher 5 stated, the localized meaning of performance assessment was different from its original intent. As her children had attended elementary school in Canada, she was able to compare the meaning of performance assessment in Canada and Korea. Here are her comments.

[Excerpt 5.5]

Teacher 5 (T5): In Canada, performance assessment focused on specific things, such as what students did in class, their level of performance, or their characteristics. I mean, we stayed there for 10 months and received two report cards in two semesters. When I looked at my kids' report cards, there were checklists that the teacher had to fill out. For example, "his English reading is advanced" and things like that. But under these checklists, the teacher wrote comments that you needed to read carefully. These comments were very specific: for example, he was good at this but needed to improve in that area, or he participated actively in some activities but showed little enthusiasm for other activities. This is the meaning of performance assessment in Canada …. In Korea, although the name is the same, performance assessment refers to something completely different, namely other types of tests on top of paper-and-pencil tests. In other words, in Korea, the teacher evaluates you all the time like, "Of course, you have to get good scores on the midterm and final exams, but you should also be good at quizzes and vocabulary tests because everything will be scored. I will add all scores and give you the final score." Therefore, the fundamental concept is totally different. You know, Canadian students also study for exams, but not like Korean students. Because everything is scored, Korean students have to study all the time.

Teacher 5 pointed out that the Korean performance assessment was more like a formal test that converted student performance into a final score, while the Canadian performance assessment was designed to inform students of their strengths and weaknesses based on certain achievement criteria. When the Korean

Ministry of Education started to implement this *alternative assessment*, it was supposed to evaluate students' performance in foreign languages from various perspectives. Unfortunately, the formats used were similar to traditional ones, such as *quizzes and vocabulary tests*. Moreover, the way it was implemented was simply another way to rank students from top to bottom. In short, the original purpose of this *alternative assessment* was completely misinterpreted in the Korean school context.

This misinterpretation also occurred with another school policy called *level-differentiated English classes*. According to the students who participated in the interviews, this type of class is common in middle school and in some high schools. Schools usually mix students from two or three classes, rank them according to their test scores, and divide them into *advanced-intermediate-beginner* classes. Almost all participants (58 out of 65) were familiar with the way these level-differentiated English classes worked, but their feelings about the classes were ambivalent. Among these 58 students, most were placed in beginner classes or moved between intermediate and beginner classes. Nine of them indicated that they liked being in beginner classes because their teachers taught English step by step in accordance with their proficiency level and they could ask questions freely, regardless of other students. In contrast, 13 students did not like these classes because they were ashamed to be at this level and their teachers did not pay attention to their teaching style.

These contradictory reasons seemed to depend on the teacher factor, but two common themes were mentioned by both groups of students. First, they felt that this level-differentiated class policy was meaningless when the assessment methods did not match their proficiency level. They criticized the fact that all students had to take the same exam formats when they learned *simpler and more basic* things in level-differentiated classes. As a result, they remained at the same level, no matter how hard they tried in the beginner classes, reinforcing the *advanced/intermediate/beginner* hierarchical structure. Second, they complained that the policy did not take into account their desire to learn English that would specifically contribute to their future plans, such as becoming a cook, a hairdresser, an athlete, a composer, or an entertainer. In other words, these students did not want classes that taught them *simpler and more basic* things, but English for specific purposes (ESP) classes, which the rigid curriculum failed to satisfy.

Teacher 8 and Teacher 9 also addressed these issues from a critical perspective. They had negative feelings about level-differentiated classes, especially in terms of assessment. In addition, they mentioned self-esteem issues among students and teachers who taught in beginner classes.

[Excerpt 5.6]

Teacher 8 (T8): I think the current curriculum is not ready to accept *the prodigal son returned ideology*, so students only focus on their level and not on the areas they need to improve based on achievement criteria. When I counseled students from foreign language high

schools, those whose achievements were placed in low-level grades were fully soaked with a sense of defeat, I mean, even though they were all good at English.

Researcher (R): I guess they compared themselves with better students.

T8: I think this shows the failure of level-differentiated classes. Why do we need to rank students? The current system requires us to rank the students, all of whom are excellent in my school's case, until there's one student at the top. What a waste of manpower!

Teacher 9 (T9): I really want level-differentiated classes to disappear. You know what? The teachers responsible for beginner classes also suffer from a sense of defeat, just like their students.

T8: She's right. These teachers believe that they teach beginner classes because *they* are at the low level. I hate the expression *low level*, so I tried to call it differently, like *belief, love, and hope*. But after a while, the class was called *low level* again.

T9: If students choose to be in this class, that's fine. But grouping them against their will is too cruel.

T8: I also think that the assessment should be different based on their level. I mean, the role of assessment is to guide students based on their level, such as "If you're a beginner in English, then this is enough" or "If you're an advanced learner, then you should be able to do this," things like that.

Teacher 8, who provided students with counseling services on college entrance, had strong negative feelings about level-differentiated classes, calling them *failure*. This seemed to be directly related to the characteristics of foreign language high schools. These schools are a type of specialized school originally created to provide intensive instruction in a variety of foreign languages, including English. But in reality, they are perceived as *A-list* schools that send the majority of their students to prestigious universities. Therefore, students who were able to enter these schools were already good students, but because of the rigidity of the current curriculum implementation, they had to be ranked again. As a result, they could only feel a sense of defeat, consistent with the feeling of shame of sleeping students in general high schools.

It was surprising that this sense of defeat prevailed not only among the students, but also among the teachers who taught them. It showed that the strict curriculum implementation, which did not take into account the characteristics of different school contexts, affected the mental state of teachers and students. Moreover, the discussion between Teacher 8 and Teacher 9 revealed that this inflexibility of curriculum implementation was the main reason for the fierce and cruel competition that rejected *the prodigal son returned ideology*. In the current rigid school system, once students are excluded from the competition, they can never be accepted as main characters in the classroom. Overall, this example clearly illustrated the section title *unhealthy school policies.*

5.1.2 Sickly Evaluation Policies

5.1.2.1 They're Still Too Young

The first theme related to improper evaluation policies was revealed during the discussion among teachers. In fact, there is a national education administration system called the NEIS (교육행정정보시스템, 敎育行政情報 System, National Education Information System), established to enhance the overall efficiency of the administration and improve teachers' work environment. All student records in Korea are kept in the NEIS from the time they enter elementary school until they graduate from high school. Teachers can keep track of all students, and all student information is available to the parents, the metropolitan and provincial offices of education, and the Ministry of Education. According to the teachers, the computer system is more practical than the paperwork, but some side effects can occur, especially in relation to the phenomenon of students sleeping in class.

Teacher 7 was one of three teachers who explicitly mentioned the issue of writing comments about sleeping students as a teacher. She said that she was reluctant to describe students sleeping in class and preferred to leave the section blank. According to the original purpose of the NEIS, she was supposed to write detailed reports about her students. However, she feared that these students would face disadvantages in the future if she wrote negative comments. She was stressed because of these sleeping students, but recording the facts was another issue. She had the following reasoning: *Even though they sleep in my class, they are still young students. How can I write bad things about young students who still have a long way to go in the future?* Here are Teacher 7's comments.

[Excerpt 5.7]

Teacher 7 (T7): Well, you can write anything as a teacher. But you can't write "This student always sleeps in my class" or something like that. If teachers have to write about these students, most of them leave the section blank. I do the same. I would rather leave the section blank than write negative comments about these students.

Researcher (R): What's the reason for this?

T7: You know, student records are kept for 50 years. So, even if the students are overly active, as teachers, we try to write only good things about them, and if … if they only have negative characteristics, then … then we don't write anything. Yes, it's quite burdensome. Students will use this record for other purposes in the future, such as … going to college or getting a job. I mean, if they want to use this record to go to college, then it is very important. Of course, people will notice the type of student they are by looking at their attendance record, but if they find negative comments from a teacher, it will negatively affect their future more seriously than their attendance record. Most

students who don't have a good academic record can't go to college and have to find a job immediately after graduation, so …

R: I think that if they know that sleeping in class will be recorded in the NEIS, they will probably sleep less in class.

T7: Oh, some students know that. I mean, some homeroom teachers tell their students things like, "This record will be kept for 50 years." But they don't care because they don't know how important it is at the time. They'll recognize its importance when they grow up, I mean when they start making money.

Her main reason for leaving the comment section blank when dealing with sleeping students was the duration of this record in the computer system. In other words, once the record was created, it became irrevocable. Teachers knew they had to follow the rule by writing down the characteristics of *not very good students*, including those sleeping in class, but they also knew what kind of future was ahead of them. The choice to leave the comment section blank could be considered a compromise, as they could not create a new story for them. Although attendance records and academic records provided a lot of information about these students, teachers were reluctant to confirm or aggravate these records by adding factual comments, such as "This student always sleeps in my class."

Although teachers tried to protect sleeping students and other *left-behind students* by not adding negative comments to the NEIS, the students were not grateful, according to Teacher 7. Students who did not care about their attendance or academic records also did not pay attention to their teacher's comments about them. It was the teachers who actually cared about their records and their future. In other words, teachers faced a dilemma, which made them feel burdened. They knew they could not prevent these students from sleeping in class, no matter how much they threatened them with their records in the NEIS, but they also knew that these records were kept for 50 years. Arguably, different teachers may have different attitudes about whether to write negative comments about troublesome students. However, as Teacher 7 stated, *avoiding writing negative comments* was a dominant school culture that prevailed among teachers.

5.1.2.2 Too Sloppy System of Student Discipline

The next theme was related to another evaluation policy, student discipline. It was surprising that the majority of students who participated in the interviews (43 out of 65) mentioned that teachers did not wake them up when they slept during class. Furthermore, knowing that their teachers would not wake them, most students did not feel sorry for them or guilty of sleeping in class. Only four students expressed these feelings, while the rest of the students said that they were tired, bored, or even comfortable after sleeping during class. Student 3 who slept in various classes, including English, mathematics, and music, was not afraid of getting poor attitude scores in her performance assessment, like many other students who slept in class.

In addition, she showed that some teachers thought that sleeping during class was better than talking with other students.

[Excerpt 5.8]

Student 3 (S3): I just don't feel like studying English because … because I don't know most of the content.

Researcher (R): You just don't feel like studying English … hmm … OK … Then, what about your score if you sleep on your desk? I mean, if you sleep during class, doesn't it affect your score, especially your performance assessment?

S3: Yes, it affects my score.

R: It does. You mean, does sleeping affect the score … or do teachers lower your mark because you don't participate in class when you sleep?

S3: Well, it depends on the teachers. Some teachers lower the mark, especially the attitude score, if you sleep in class, but other teachers do that when you talk with other students. Each teacher has a different perspective, so it's hard to say …

R: I see, it depends on the teachers.

S3: Yes.

R: So, that means … do some teachers think that sleeping doesn't disturb at least the flow of the class?

S3: Yes, they think so.

Student 3 was one of the students who felt that English classes were too difficult and had been sleeping during English classes since middle school. According to Student 3, there was no defined system or policy disciplining students, including those who slept in class. As there were no guidelines to follow, teachers decided on their own position, usually in accordance with their school and teaching philosophy. The teachers themselves decided to punish or ignore the sleeping students, and if they chose the former, they also had to decide whether to lower or not the attitude score in their performance assessment. Ironically, lowering the mark was not threatening enough to correct their sleeping habit, as it did not affect their position as *left-behind students*. Although Student 3 did not mention this clearly, teachers were probably aware of the indifferent and distant attitude of students toward their efforts to get them to participate in class by implementing individual-level policies, including penalties.

Some may criticize these teachers for ignoring sleeping students, by considering them as better students than those who talked with other students or drew attention by doing something else during class. However, the strategy of *avoidance* or *leaving them alone* of teachers cannot be unconditionally criticized. Six teachers shared their experiences with sleeping students. When they were novice teachers, they tried to wake them up, without fully understanding the situation of the students or the specific school context. However, over time, they met various students: students with different reasons for sleeping, students willing to study during class, teachers who used the *leaving them alone* strategy, they faced traumatic experiences waking

some sleeping students, etc. This process was well described by Teacher 3, who was a novice teacher at the time of the interview. At the beginning of the semester, she could not understand why so many students slept during class. She was also offended because by sleeping in class, students dismissed her preparation efforts, such as finding fun stories to tell during class. Therefore, she tried to wake them up, but had to deal with traumatic situations that made her confused about her role as a teacher.

[Excerpt 5.9]

Teacher 3 (T3): So, I tried to wake them up, but they reacted very aggressively. After that, I … I felt a little … (laughing) reluctant to wake up sleeping students …

Researcher (R): What kind of aggressive reactions did you face?

T3: For example, when you wake up students sleeping on the desk, usually they at least try to sit up and focus on the lesson, if only for a few minutes. But the ones I woke up were … one just waved his hand like this, saying that he couldn't do it, and the others … their facial expressions were … well, how can I say this, they were obviously very irritated, so I immediately knew how they felt. I think their reactions made me feel frustrated, and I … I'm new in this teaching field, I actually don't know well how I should treat those students.

R: Hmm … they must have had obvious disgusted facial expressions.

T3: Yeah, you're right. Their facial expressions clearly said, "Don't talk to me!"

R: Did they say anything to you? I heard from some teachers that some students swore at them.

T3: Fortunately, not yet, but I think I'm heading very close to that stage (laughing). You know, they may not say the words, but I can read them on their faces.

As Teacher 3's statement showed, the *sloppy* school system forced teachers to take full responsibility for controlling sleeping and sometimes rebellious students. Would Teacher 3 have continued to wake up sleeping students after a few years? Would she have taken full responsibility after realizing that there was no viable school-level protection for her? Looking at the situation holistically, the possible answers were rather negative, but she was not the only one to blame, even if she stopped waking them up. Similarly, Teacher 12, a very experienced teacher, argued that there should be intervention at the institution level, especially when dealing with sleeping, marginalized, and unruly students. He pointed out that institution-level intervention existed, such as the *flunk system*, but it was never used.

[Excerpt 5.10]

Teacher 12 (T12): I think there should be institution-level intervention, so that teachers can have some level of authority to control these

students effectively. In fact, there is a *flunk system* for each semester in the current school system, but …

Researcher (R): Oh, really?

T12: Yes, but no student has ever failed in reality. Not a single student in the whole nation. Even if a student gets a score of 10 out of 100, no one will ever say, "We have to hold him back for one semester." I mean, there is a system but in name only.

R: Then, why isn't it used in the field?

T12: No one wants to be shot.

R: Excuse me?

T12: No one wants to be shot.

R: I see. You mean the teachers.

T12: Yes, I mean the teachers, the principal, and the vice-principal, all of them. Who will take responsibility for failing students? If a student is held back for one semester, he should be able to retake the same course, but is this possible in the current school system? No way … If a student says to a teacher, "I can just graduate from school, why are you bothering me?" then there's nothing to say.

R: I see.

T12: Yeah, my passion for teaching is useless when students say things like that.

Teachers and students did not know about the *flunk system* because there had never been a case in the whole nation, so it had no power. In addition, using this disciplinary system involved problems at different levels, such as creating another level in the system allowing students to retake the same courses, giving teachers the authority to use this system, and more importantly, persuading students to accept the *flunk system*. The last level, which was the main factor determining the success and failure of the system, seemed difficult to implement, especially if the criterion for failing was solely based on students' attitude (including sleeping), because students could not even accept the relatively objective criterion of grades (10 out of 100 in T12's statement). Without a stable and supportive system for teachers to exercise their passion for teaching, Teacher 12 is undoubtedly the future of Teacher 3.

5.1.2.3 Too Loose System of Teaching Management

In addition to the *sloppy* system of student discipline, there was an issue with the school management system. Here, school management specifically referred to the penalties imposed on teachers who did not wake up students sleeping in their classes. Thus, while the student disciplinary system focused on students, the school management system targeted teachers. The previous section revealed that most teachers did not wake up sleeping students for a variety of reasons. The fact that no regulation

prohibited or punished the *abandonment* strategy of these teachers was another reason contributing to the phenomenon of students sleeping in class. Student 19 and Student 20 shared shocking stories of their experiences with their respective English teachers. These teachers not only let the students sleep, but they also expressed their boredom in the presence of students. These stories unfolded as follows.

[Excerpt 5.11]

Student 20 (S20):	I think teachers discuss among themselves how they can teach English more easily, especially for students like us. I think it's part of their responsibility, I mean, they chose to be a teacher, so they should think of things like, "Oh, these students don't seem to understand the content. How can I better explain things to help them understand?" But some teachers seem to have only one thing in mind: "Oh my god, I want to leave work soon."
Researcher (R):	You mean, in your opinion.
S20:	Yes, when they give a lesson.
S19:	They actually said to us, "I want to leave the office now," or something like that.
S20:	Yes. They told us, "I want to go home now. I don't want to be in charge of after-school activities." They said these things in our presence.
R:	Did they say these things to the students?
S20:	Yes. To be honest, how can we trust this type of teacher?
R:	So, that's why you don't trust teachers?
S20:	That's right. Teachers are not interested in our learning. They think of teaching as a job, a tool to make money, I guess.
R:	You mean as just a job?
S20:	Yes, I think so. For them, it's just a job.

Student 19 and Student 20's stories showed that some teachers viewed teaching as *just a job* and students were aware of that. Students also complained that they could not trust teachers who saw their job as a tool to make money. In other words, students had expectations of the role of teacher, which went beyond their mere presence in the classroom during the allotted time, regardless of the students' level of understanding. Students expected a sense of duty involving teaching based on their level. However, their expectations were shattered when their teachers distanced themselves from their students by saying, "I want to leave the office now." For sleeping students, often *left-behind students*, like Student 19, Student 20, and seven others, the non-commonsensical reactions and treatment of teachers not only meant that they abandoned them, but also that they were a burden preventing them from making money easily.

Some may wonder how teachers could explicitly say these things to their students. The answer was related to the current policy defining a competent teacher in the Korean school system. Obviously, many teachers cared about *weaker and*

marginalized students, including those who slept in class, and tried to use various teaching methodologies based on their proficiency level. However, their efforts, which were difficult to calculate in scores for the performance assessment of teachers, did not give these hardworking teachers any practical advantage. Indeed, teachers needed to collect *scores* to become school administrators, such as school vice-commissioner, principal, or vice-principal. However, no school management system compensated these teachers or punished those who were not enthusiastic, like those mentioned above.

The only recognition that these hardworking teachers could expect was positive comments from their students in the teacher evaluation. According to Teacher 5, who was once responsible for collecting the teacher evaluation results of the entire school, reported that students knew who cared about them sincerely. She said that some teachers *lived a happy life* at school by distancing themselves from their students, while others struggled with troublesome students. Although the students were young, they heard the reproaches of the second group of teachers and trusted them. In contrast, the first group of teachers who told her to "Mind your own children. These students are hopeless," could not win the trust of their students. In addition, students knew that the school was only a workplace for these teachers.

However, regardless of the number of positive comments, it did not have a significant effect on the scores collected for promotion. Teacher 5 described the interesting grouping of teachers mentioned by a university president in a TV discussion program. She described the following three types of teachers.

[Excerpt 5.12]

Teacher 5 (T5): Well, he said that the first group included teachers concerned with education, the second those who paid attention to promotion, and the third those interested in both. According to him, our education can have a silver lining only if the third group of teachers become administrators. But in reality, only those who pay attention to their own promotion take these positions because the whole system is like that. If we want to be promoted, we have to pay attention to the system, not the students. When I listened to him, I thought, "Wow, he's very accurate! How does he know that when he is not a teacher?" Then, he added that the problem is not just about the second group of teachers becoming administrators.

Researcher (R): Uh-huh.

T5: The more serious problem is that once they become administrators, they are uncomfortable with the first group of teachers sincerely concerned with education. So, they socialize with similar teachers who want to be promoted, keeping their distance from the first group. Therefore, this similar group of people becomes the majority who has the power.

Teacher 5's story, like that of four other teachers, showed that the school management system was *results oriented*. Therefore, teachers wishing to be

promoted and occupy a position of power should pay attention to school administration or obtain a higher degree. As a result, many teachers' self-efficacy was low when struggling with troublesome students, which led them to believe that their dedication to student education was worthless compared with paying attention to their future in the teaching field. Obviously, some teachers were satisfied with the recognition of their students in the teacher evaluation, although none of the teacher participants mentioned it. Yet, the loose school management system could not attract many teachers who had already walked away from the phenomenon of students sleeping in class.

5.1.3 School Cultures Matter

5.1.3.1 Different Degrees of School Dependency

According to Teacher 6, schools experience different degrees of *school dependency* in students and their parents. In more rural areas, they enjoy a higher degree of school dependency, but in more wealthy areas the degree of dependency is lower.

[Excerpt 5.13]

Teacher 6 (T6): School D was in a rural area, so the school dependency was pretty high. There were not many private academies near the school and many students took after-school classes provided by the school. I remember there were times that some students could not get into the classes because they were all full. I think I felt more comfortable when I tried to do something with my students. School T was in a big city, and it did not provide the students with after-school classes at all because there were so many private academies near the school. I think the students themselves did not expect to gain anything from the school.

High schools like School A and School B appeared to exemplify the two school-dependency orientations. One year before the interview, Teacher 4 moved to the current high school, School B, which was located in an extremely affluent neighborhood. She recalled having a really hard time adjusting to this new environment (Sect. 4.3.3). She compared the schools at which she had previously worked with the school at which she was currently working.

[Excerpt 5.14]

Teacher 4 (T4): The students here in this school are very selfish…very selfish and…I think they are also distressed, I mean, extremely distressed because of their parents. It doesn't really matter whether they are good at studying. All of them are stressed out because of their grades and their parents, who expect a lot from

> them. This gives me a lot of stress, too. In the previous school, both the students and parents did not pay much attention to how the evaluations were conducted, so I did not get a lot of stress because of that. However, the students in this school get stressed because of little things such as one point or other in their tests. I think this is the main source of my stress, yes, that's it.

In previous schools, she could do whatever she thought was appropriate in her classes; she and her classes were highly regarded by her students, and she was also satisfied with her own classes. However, she was often upset at her current school. When she collected student feedback after finishing each unit, some anonymously wrote unfavorable comments. In the year-end student evaluation of her classes, about ten students who were highly proficient in English commented that she should not waste time on low-level students. This was the first time in her career that she had received such feedback. Parents also called to complain about her classes; they said she should not spend time doing *strange* activities like cooperative learning and should only support students who could keep up with the class pace. Students who were assigned easier tasks did not like her cooperative activities either, as they felt that they were discriminatory. The tasks she assigned were far too easy for high-level students but were too difficult for low-level students. Students did not like the cooperative or group activities at all and instead asked to do individual tasks.

When Teacher 4 introduced new ways of teaching in her previous schools, they were never distressing for her and were simply accepted. In her current school, however, she had to explain everything with theoretical bases. If the students and their parents did not like what the teachers attempted to do, they protested. Teacher 4 said that she had reflected on this and realized that she and her students had slipped into a strained relationship, and without constructing a healthy rapport with them she would never be able to educate them effectively. This vividly illustrates how the general atmosphere in schools can differ depending on the region, even within the same city (in this case Seoul). Teacher–parent relationships can be formulated differently and teacher–student relationships can be defined differently.

5.1.3.2 Unfair Practices in School Administration

Another theme that was linked to different school cultures was different ways that social unfairness is embodied in school sites. Four teachers explicitly mentioned that they had to do a lot of administrative work in the current top-down hierarchical school structure. They criticized that many administrators, especially principals and vice-principals, asked teachers to do some meaningless or absurd administrative work more often than not. They did not stand on the side of front-line teachers. The teachers also said that this attitude was incited by the metropolitan and provincial offices of education (Sect. 6.1.1); these offices were on the side of the school administrators and did not listen to the teachers even if they filed a civil complaint.

Teacher 5, who talked a lot about the heavy working load of the teachers, shared a story that reveals a case of school administrators favoring their insiders. It happened in a characterization high school she had worked. The school managers wanted to obtain a project fund provided by the local office of education and illegitimately revised the curriculum in the direction disadvantageous to students. Such a curricular revision must be decided on in an official committee meeting including all the chairs of school subjects, but they cunningly excluded the chairs including her who they thought wouldn't agree. When she protested later that she wasn't informed about the meeting schedule, they pretended that they called her and others but were not answered. She was very angry because the changed curriculum was not helpful for the students and the process of changing the curriculum went against the official school regulations. She thought it was a kind of misconduct that the administrators did in order to get some extra points for their insiders' promotion. She problematized it and quarreled loudly in the principal's office with the managers and the research director of the school. She recalled, "Anyway, it was hardly possible for them to listen to a young female teacher." In return, the administrators reduced the class hours of the English subject and reduced teaching positions to fill by one, which meant that she had to move to another school.

Teacher 5 suspected that doing such a research project or a research school was quite beneficial in promotion to the vice-principal and the research director. And this is confirmed by the Korean Regulations for Promotion of Public Educational Officials (Article 41). In a sense, those involved in the curricular change exchanged the soundness of the school curriculum with additional points that would benefit them personally. They lacked a sense of publicness. And in-class sleepers remain invisible. She thought that our high schools must get rid of such unfair practices. She also pointed out a generous attitude that showed up at a higher level and boosted up school administrators' peace-at-any-price attitude.

[Excerpt 5.15]

Teacher 5 (T5):	In my opinion, this is a matter of perception. I mean, people's attitude toward school principals in Korea is like … well, it's like, "OK, he has had a tough job taking care of the school, so he deserves a peaceful life at the end of his term."
Researcher (R):	I see.
T5:	People see him as a man who will soon retire.
R:	Who thinks that? The administrators of the school at the upper level?
T5:	Yes, yes.
R:	You mean the administrators of the provincial office of education.
T5:	Yes, you're right. So, for example, even if you file a civil complaint at the provincial office of education, they generally conclude that nothing's wrong unless there is clear evidence, like embezzlement. That's the way it is. So, I think … um … I believe that they should be stricter than they are now.
R:	OK.

T5: We forgive them simply because they have been in the field for a long time.
R: Um-hum.
T5: I think that kind of atmosphere is detrimental to education in general.

According to Teacher 5, there *existed* an official system for teachers to complain about injustice at the higher levels of the hierarchy system. However, it was extremely inefficient because the norm that governed the official system was contradictory. The general norm for the absurdity experienced by teachers was a relaxed attitude, clearly favorable to administrators. As a result, teachers could not protect their autonomy or establish educational authority and this practice was naturally accepted by all actors in the field. In other words, the norm explicitly promoted the practice of impractical administrative requests and implicitly encouraged teachers to become *apathetic outsiders* of education. As Teacher 5 mentioned, if the current Korean school system cannot overcome this peace-at-all-costs attitude, it will be difficult to hope that teachers truly dedicate themselves as educators in the future, as no one will want to bear the inconvenience of expressing one's opinion for a better education and a better future.

5.2 Interpretation

In this section, we try to provide interpretations of this meso-level analysis about *sleeping-in-class phenomenon* with four themes. First of all, we will explore the characteristics of Korean secondary education with a keyword, *control*. Then we will move onto the next theme, which seems quite contradictory to this *controlled nature,* the school culture without direct confrontation. We then compare different school cultures especially in relation to socioeconomic factors represented as different regions in this study. Finally, we consider the last theme, the current teacher promotion system, critically as it implicitly encourages the school culture that the teachers who want to be promoted should focus mainly on administration issues.

5.2.1 The Controlled Nature of Secondary Education

The Government's control of secondary education has imposed a very detailed national curriculum and the current normative assessment system, which in combination with educational credentialism among parents have driven high school education into the current exam- and college-focused school practices.

Both high schools which the student participants were recruited from should *faithfully* follow the national curriculum by covering the government-authenticated textbooks they had decided on and the students had to buy. Teachers are basically

expected to cover all the contents and make test problems on their basis. In this way, the national curriculum is strictly implemented in high schools in Korea.

Scholastic performances in English education in the student participants' high schools are to be classified into five grades in their very first semester: From the top, each 10% is given an A through a D; then the remaining, an E. From the second semester, they are classified into nine grades each year until they graduate: In the order of the top to the bottom, 4% (first grade), 7% (second grade), 12% (third grade), 17% (fourth grade), 20% (fifth grade), 17% (sixth grade), 12% (seventh grade), 7% (eighth grade), and 4% (ninth grade); the distribution is symmetric and the grades should razor-sharply divided (Kim et al. 2018). With this system, it is impossible to promote a psychological environment to promote task-focused mastery goals, self-efficacy, and a spirit of challenge (Elliot and McGregor 2001; Maehr and Midgley 1991).

This system naively presupposes that students' scholastic outcomes will constitute a normal curve in a particular school site, which is not the case. In nationwide mock KSATs), for instance, High School A used to have about one student belong to the first grade level in the entire school, whereas High School B had all except two students do so in one class of about 25 students (Teacher 4). In the second case, English tests must become more difficult to differentiate and assign the large bulk of students highly proficient in English into the nine-grade evaluation observant to the fixed percentages. Although highly proficient in English at foreign language high schools, connectedly, Teacher 8 witnessed that students are *soaked with a sense of defeat* if they are forced to belong in the fifth and sixth grades in the English subject evaluation. Their sense of competence and self-esteem was terribly drained (Deci and Ryan 2000; Dei et al. 1997; Dweck 2017). This shows clearly that the ridiculous presupposition significantly contributes to student demotivation or amotivation, and that it is blatantly inappropriate for management of achievement tests in particular individual schools, but it has been maintained thus far.

Since quotas are fixed in college entrance, high school students below the fourth grade have virtually no chances to enter decent 4-year-course colleges or universities through rolling admissions in Korea, and this means that the students who went *broke* due to the in-school grading system have to narrowly rely on their results from the KSAT, administered by the Government only once a year. For these students, third-year English classes have to deal with problems from EBS reference books, which are completely meaningless to those who have no interest in college education. The pedagogical uniformity drives many students into slumber.

From the Perspective of In-class Sleepers The normative evaluation system is at the very core of the educational process in Korean high schools. Lower grade in-class sleepers complain about it but do not expect lots of change to occur because they understand clearly the nature of the systematic patterns of control embodying the ideological values of competition and liningup for comparative selection (Lave 1991). Many of them would quickly perceive that they cannot hop onto a higher grade because of the thick layer of students already good at English. In other words, their *access* to English (Janks 2010) is denied by those with wealthier familial backgrounds; in the activity setting of classroom, they can use nothing as mediators

or instruments for their learning (Engeström 1999). When they don't want to go to college or have any hope for entering a decent 4-year college, therefore, there is no perceivable reason for them to participate in activities in English classes. When they cannot keep up with the class, they give it up and fall asleep (see Lamb 2009). Even though not satisfactory, they don't drop out because they can get a high school diploma anyway by just coming to school: sleeping through classes and hanging around with similar-minded friends.

Higher grade sleepers may mostly know the content already, they listen to the teacher only selectively not expecting much. They make sense of English classes as for preparing exams, through which they expect to earn good scores and grades and high school diplomas, which are needed for their parental satisfaction and for college education.

From the Perspective of Teachers Teachers cannot change the Government's systematic patterns of control as public employees, either, that define the pedagogical structure of the entire school. They feel they cannot do much about it individually (Ham and Kim 2015; Park 2012); younger generations of teachers are more individualistic and efficiently take care of their own business, but they are not very interested in group actions (K. Eom 2013b). Some of them agonize over these problems but only in private talks; they do not venture to begin a public dialogue. Many make negotiations with the reality. When Teacher 6 introduced renovations individually, for example, he couldn't persist through the resistance from students and their parents, who could utilize the system of civil complaints. Some others like Teacher12 have tried to make impacts on the pedagogical culture, but they can rarely find cooperation, unity, organization, and cultural synthesis among teacher colleagues which are vital to schoolwide cultural actions (Freire 1970/2000a, b).

From the Perspective of School Administrators The keenest interest of many academic high school administrators is to have a good result in college admission. They encourage teachers to give their best class to *studying* students so that more of them can go to more prestigious colleges or universities. They are also concerned with running the school smoothly and successfully lining up students with no serious parental complaints. They seem to set no account on in-class sleepers as long as they stay in class and make no serious disturbance. Their school has to have no defect to the eyes of outsiders including administrative auditors. The bearers of this one-dimensional value prefer *playing* students to sleep in class.

5.2.2 A Culture of No Direct Confrontation

The outwardly splendid system of student evaluation covers up the dark and ugly interior of some high schools in Korea. Many teachers said they keep silent about in-class sleeping when they put their qualitative evaluation of student performance in the NEIS system; schools flunk no low achievers; school administrators don't expect or ask teachers to educate all students waking up in-class sleepers. This set

of practices betrays the official raison d'etre of high schools and seriously undermines the credential value of high school diplomas.

What is the reason for such practices? Institutionally, they are related to another striking feature of Kim et al. (2018): The document of academic assessment guidelines does not specify about or mention *scholastic failure*. Since each high school must set up its own regulations for management of students' scholastic performance, local schools might voluntarily specify under what conditions students would flunk, but they seemingly don't dare to (apply them, if any).

Mentioning no scholastic failure must not be of mistake or accidental omission. If it was intended, its only decent interpretation should be that the educational authorities don't want to produce *repeaters* because they would constitute a financial or socioeconomical burden on their governance. They would surely complicate high school systems in an inestimable way. Teacher 10 and Teacher 12, however, pointed out that lack of flunking in high school lets low-achieving students give up studying too easily.

Culturally, this may be related, at a deep level, to the Korean culture that doesn't advocate direct confrontation, which is more fundamentally derived from the culture of honor or face-saving (Stewart and Bennett 1991). Direct confrontation generates a huge amount of burden on face-saving. Most teachers, for example, don't include the bad behaviors of in-class sleeping when they make comments on students' performance and behavior in the NEIS system. They apparently don't want to ruin the future of their graduates, on the one hand, who might become better persons later. If they failed a student, on the other hand, they and the school would have to go through lots of resistance and protest from the student's parents, none of whom want such a negative comment in their children's records (K. Eom 2013b). This is against their cultural DNA: avoidance of direct confrontation.

Even though some or many students are not well prepared for the current level of high school learning, school efforts to boost them up turn out to have a stark limitation. In recognition of huge differences in students' English proficiency, leveled classes are recommended to be provided (Levine and Moreland 1990), but that provision is not a requirement; rather it is a recommended option. Further, even if low-level students can study in a supplementary low-level class, they have to take the same exams given to all the students in their schools and to fill up the lower levels of grades. It might look fair because their English proficiency is much lower than more highly achieving others, but it means that such lower level students would never enjoy experiences of *success* in school exams. Due to their accumulated experiences of failure, they would voluntarily lower their self-esteem and position themselves as *perennial underdogs*. Is this education helping students realize their different potentials? Outwardly no student is flunked; all of them would graduate. This apparently splendid result is a good way of saving and keeping face without direct confrontation with the problem; it is only a cover-up of internal boils and big sores of *formalism*.

As long as they come to school, they graduate whether they really learn something or sleeping through classes to learn nothing. This is the highest reach of the face-saving culture found in the high school education of Korea. This is an evil

way of deceiving people in a transparent guile who pay tax money for sound education. Most teachers never write honestly that in-class sleepers were slipping through their educational fingers all the time; it is because they do not want their negative comments to mar the future life of such students: Schools and teachers don't want to stain their hands with blood.

When some in-class sleepers use violence to teachers (Excerpt 5.9), school administrators do not protect their teachers administratively and through regulation enforcement; rather the teachers have to deal with it themselves. In some cases, administrators try to persuade *unbending* teachers not to problematize wrongdoing students. Teacher 5 said a witness:

[Excerpt 5.16]

Teacher 5 (T5):	For example, suppose a student cheated in … an exam. Then, if the overseeing teacher has exposed it; surely, it is important to prevent it, but it is the teacher's responsibility to expose it.
Researcher (R):	Right.
T5:	When (s)he has exposed it, the principal or the vice principal bluntly say that he/she has caused a trouble.
R:	Ah…
T5:	It's not a problem he/she made. He/she must prevent it? Surely he/she tried to do so, but cheaters cheat.
R:	Right.
T5:	Then I should catch it when it is seen to me, to my eyes. But when I did… I was afflicted, and I found out many teachers had such experiences. So I argued asking what wrong I did, whether I should close my eyes on cheaters; they WERE high school students. …

The administrative message was clear that teachers should prevent cheating but shouldn't catch cheaters.

Teacher 5 suspected that the absurdity of reprimanding cheater-catching teachers might be related to vice-principals' likelihood of promotion, but it is not confirmed by the Regulations for Promotion of the Public Educational Personnel and Staff. Administrators may don't like to undergo the process of punishing the cheaters: another sort of direct confrontation avoidance. A peace-at-any-price principle that this exemplifies seems to be eating away Korean education. Most teachers compromise with in-class sleepers pursuing their safety and educational *efficiency*. They find no vent.

From the Perspective of In-class Sleepers Within the system of no flunking, in-class sleepers can feel safe whatever they do in class. Their classroom can easily become an *area under rebel control*. It's because in most cases their behaviors are not meddled in by their teachers (K. Eom 2013b). Because of society's concern with students' human rights, the worst thing that can happen to them is getting penalty points, which most in-class sleepers don't care about. Their wayward behavior can contaminate the atmosphere of the class sharply dividing it into

studying and *playing* students. What they learn is how not to participate legitimately to stay peripheral (Lave and Wenger 1991). It crushes all possibility for a student to experience his/her class as a group constantly growing healthy (Agazarian and Peters 1981; Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998).

From the Perspective of Teachers Teachers have many pedagogical and administrative responsibilities in school. When their safety and agency are not guaranteed and supported, they won't venture to wake in-class sleepers up (Jeong et al. 2015; White 1992); rather they will focus their teaching energy on *studying* students. As long as they give class to them, they will keep their jobs. They have been robbed of all means to manage students except for penalty points, comments on the NEIS system. Since most low-level in-class sleepers don't care about the weak teacher leverage, teachers can do nothing.

Some teachers believe that the flunking system should be put in operation, but their opinions don't gather teachers' or administrators' positive responses.

From the Perspective of School Administrators School administrators don't want to specify flunking criteria or apply them, if they have. This step is not demanded by the provincial office of education (Kim and Son 2006). Currently, they have no good pedagogical system to care for repeaters. They find no reason to press teachers to wake up sleepers, most of whom have decided to give up studying on their own will. They are satisfied as long as all the students are lined up smoothly. The system of no flunking has devalued the high school diploma significantly besides as a credential for college admission.

5.2.3 Social Positionings in Different School Cultures

Different degrees of school dependency exert serious influences on school cultures. As in Teacher 6's statement (Excerpt 5.13), they correlate with different popularity of after-school programs. When students depend on and respect teachers more, fewer of them will dare to sleep in class because in-class sleeping not only signifies the unimportance of the content but also of the student–teacher relationship (Kim 2000a, b). As school dependency decreases, students can feel free to sleep in class. That is, school dependency naturally correlates with social positioning (Darvin and Norton 2015).

A malignant form of social positioning may be formulated when the respectful attitude wanes in an urban district like Seoul. Teachers at lower achieving schools might have had more rough students, looked down on their students being unconsciously prone to *deficit thinking* (Comber and Kamler 2005; Sect. 4.3.1), and positioned them in a socially lower position (Panofsky 2003; Rist 1970/2000); when students got bad in attitude and behavior, some teachers might have used rough words (Smyth and Hattam 2004). This imagined scenario may be related to the fact that only with School A participants, resistance was an important motive of in-class sleeping (Excerpts 4.9–4.11 and 4.16). One even said that school is like a jail and teachers are like jailers.

Generally speaking, further, students attending specialization high schools are mostly from family backgrounds of lower socioeconomic status. Teacher 5's story in Sect. 5.1.3 tells us that her students must have been positioned in quite a low social ladder in the school she worked for, especially when few parents had involved deeply enough in their children's schooling to have a leverage to check and resist such a curricular change that will be harmful to their children. In short, in-class sleepers in these school cultures would be put in a lower social position, and so more readily marginalized to a peripheral area.

Such a general low-level positioning was not the case with School B participants. As described around Excerpt 5.14, when Teacher 4 introduced unfamiliar activities, School B students and their parents raised their voices to protest until good explanation was given to them. In School B, teachers had to pay attention to students' and parents' opinions. Further, no deficient thinking would be plausible because many students had superb proficiency in English due to their *excessive* prior learning experiences in private academies. Students and teachers in School B seemed to have relatively equal social status. Even some students went asleep because class contents were too easy and boring. In-class sleepers don't need to fight for a more decent social positioning.

Lower school dependency means higher *hagweon* dependency. Teacher 1 said that about half of the students in School B seemed to have attended a so-called English kindergarten, and that they were *very low in class participation*. Motivation to learn, she reasoned, comes from probing into an unknown domain, but they have already been exposed to English too much; if they get to belong to lower grades, they must seemingly feel *a sense of English deprivation*, lose the will and self-efficacy to study the English subject, and refuse or forsake the language itself, feeling "I don't seem to have aptitude for English."

This account of the teacher highlights a detrimental result of too high a dependency on private English education. Private education costs a lot of money. Wealthy parents must want to equip their children with good English competencies, a very important type of cultural capital in Korea. With that comparative advantage, they expect their children to win over or not get left behind others in schools, and eventually to take a decent social position and economic wealth in this country. The parental strategy is to put their offspring ahead of others in a competitive race of school education. As more and more parents become aware of and practice that trick, however, its expected effects are neutralized. It rapidly goes as *counterproductive* as Teacher 1 observed.

Another painful result is that school education is fatally damaged, and that ordinary students are so intimidated that they lose motivation to study English. Wealthy parents only ask schools to verify and give a diploma to, but not to educate, their kids for their academic abilities; they need normative evaluation because their kids would need others to step on as *underdogs*. They and the Government (un)intentionally conspire to bombard symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1998) on innocent students from lower socioeconomic classes, reproducing the existent social structure (Giroux 2001). This absurdly *unfair* game produces in-class sleepers in schools like School B in wealthy areas.

A third more serious result will be that even if many of their children may earn good academic grades, they are deprived of chances for pleasure of discovery and solidarity in school, and so for the learning that comes from *others* (Blenkinsop 2004). Some of them had already become *less considerate* when they claimed selfishly that Teacher 4 should give up low achievers to move faster with them: Their psychological justification must be, "Well, if they don't study, it's their own choice." Students in this atmosphere cannot attain competencies for sociological imagination (Mills 1959): They cannot learn how different choices and practices available to individuals are related to or constrained by different historical chances and socioeconomical factors functioning at the macro-level in a society. As for in-class sleepers, they are not generally debased in the social ladder in School B, but they are clearly marginalized even there.

5.2.4 Favoritism in Teacher Promotion

In a hierarchical society like Korea, a promotion onto a higher stair of administration will always have a fatal attraction. Especially when teachers don't have good means to control students, many of them will be likely to opt for the track of administration and to seek a favoritism of school leaders who are to evaluate their performance. Further, the current administrative system is not good at recognizing teachers' genuine efforts to educate students truly because these are difficult to quantify; in contrast, teachers' administrative services can be readily counted and constitute evidence for the teacher performance appraisal.

These shortcomings in performance appraisal may induce the administrative favoritism that Teacher 5 seriously criticized, not being of help in solving the problem of in-class sleeping. According to her, the current system of promotion doesn't promote teachers on to an administrative position unless they are concerned with and strive for promotion earnestly. A bigger problem it generates is that administrators so promoted are uncomfortable with and so distance themselves from teachers who are genuinely concerned with education itself; instead, they associate with those who are entirely devoted to promotion; eventually such people come to steer the school. Through influences among cultural dimensions (Ratner 2000a, b), the deficiency in objective appraisal techniques eventually helps deteriorate front-line pedagogy to the degree that in-class sleepers cannot but be allowed for.

Such administration-focused school leaders with the attitude of complacency wouldn't recognize and support teachers' educational innovations (Buske 2018; Ham and Kim 2015; Park 2012). Such promotion-oriented members will only use education for their own personal advantages. If we have such situations in schools, we cannot expect democratic empowerment to happen between administrators and teachers because the former would only expect the latter to comply with their intention and policies. We can't expect teachers' healthy initiatives to improve pedagogical practices. Further, such social splitting will surely be detrimental to a

healthy growth of the entire school community as a group (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998). It will hinder its productive functioning, which will be a huge loss for most of its members. This means that they can never find out ways to wake in-class sleepers up.[1]

5.3 Cultural Actions at the Meso-Level

Cultural actions for humanization at the school level can be undertaken by any group of stakeholders in schooling sites: by students, teachers, administrative staff, and administrators, among others. In this discussion, we will focus on cultural actions for school leaders including teachers and administrators, those for safety, respect, and care in school, those in counseling and career planning for students, and lastly those for academic curriculum and evaluation.

5.3.1 Cultural Actions for School Leaders

As in other groups, the leaders in a school group are most influential in determining the nature and functioning of the group. They include teachers of subjects, career counselors, nurse-teachers, the chairs of academic subjects, chairs of departments, the master teacher, the vice-principal, and the principal. If they want to solve the problem of in-class sleeping, they have to radically and systematically examine all facets of schooling: the educational philosophy of the school including its identity, teachers' group identities, pedagogical processes, educational consequences, schooling policies, and the management, among others.

5.3.1.1 Consciousness Raising on In-Class Sleeping

Teacher 6 accepted in-class sleepers as a systemic problem requiring fundamental transformation: "System-wise, [Korean education] has a structure that produces these kids inevitably. This problem will exist in all high schools over the whole country. […] They turn out to be losers as they follow the system, but we cannot enfold them all. It's because there are so many kids in schools and in a sense those sleepers come to be ostracized as a minority."

[1]As Teacher 5 related, favoritism can exert its influence in other directions as well. School administrators can even unjustly promote the interests of their insiders; they can in turn be favored by educational authorities at higher levels outside school. Such private favoritism is difficult to detect or uproot because it carries the official system on its back. Further, it is related to the ideology of groupism and the culture of seniority that buttresses the bureaucratic system in schools and in higher institutions of education to be dealt with further in Chap. 6.

Since they are a hindrance to the normal flow of teaching, Teacher 6 reported that in-class sleepers are often isolated into a separate low-level class, but he has seen no teacher be concerned about ways to provide them with substantial classes; "they are out of mind of many teachers." In teachers' common thinking, in-class sleepers never change, and they should live in their own ways. He used the adjective *fundamental* repeatedly, saying this problem is too difficult to solve.

Since in-class sleeping is so prevalent and requires a fundamental and radical change, many school leaders now seem to accept it as an everyday affair. Teacher 12 alluded to this aspect of *naturalization*: In his view, in-class sleeping is so *routinized* that it has even become a *good* sign which allows teacher and *studying kids* to focus on the subject content.

Around the end of interview, Teachers 10 and 11 opened their hearts:

[Excerpt 5.17]

T11: … In fact, it's a lot serious, Professor. Really serious. I put it a little bit mildly, but when … it is hot or something, 80% or 90% [of the students] fall asleep, or like that.
T10: When they sleep, we deplore, 'What am I doing here?' or like that.
T11: Yes, a sense of shame … Something like that, we always talk about …

At the beginning of their interview, Teacher 11 said about 40% of the students in a class lay their heads on the desk, and that the percentage goes up to 60%–70% if including those playing with a cell phone. The expressions like "what am I doing here?" and "a sense of shame" indicate that this situation was not a life of teaching they dreamed of before they became teachers.

Dialogue is needed. Like anyone, teachers can raise their consciousness through dialogue, which is "the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (Freire 1970/2000a, p. 88). This process requires a profound *love* for education and students: an act of commitment, bravery, and freedom. The encounter also requires *humility*, with which all dialoguers attempt to learn together. The process also requires "an intense faith in humankind, faith in their power to make and remake, to create and re-create, faith in their vocation to be more fully human" (p. 90). Teachers' faith in each other and in students is a priori needed.

Dialogue based on love, humility, and faith produces mutual trust between the participants and leads to a closer partnership among them. This process also requires *hope* for improvement of the situation, and finally *critical thinking* that recognizes the indivisibility between the world and the people and "perceives reality as process, as transformation" (p. 92).

A teacher community of learning will lay out a good straw mat for dialogues. The members of the community will be concerned about the present, existential, concrete situation they and their students are located. They will be able to immediately perceive a basic contradiction in in-class sleeping: Classrooms are for conscious learning, and sleeping doesn't involve conscious learning and is to take place in bedrooms; sleeping that occurs in a classroom is inherently contradictory.

In the learning community, the members should pursue a *structural* understanding of the existential phenomenon. They should place it in the context of the entire educational system, of the entire society and culture, and of their historical epoch. If it is true that the current educational system in Korea inevitably produces in-class sleepers (as Teacher 6 intuited), how does it happen? Why is it inevitable?

The community members should also collect their own, other teachers' and students' perceptions of the phenomenon, and of the educational system, as part of the world. Human perceptions are crystalized in their language and thought. Teachers, for example, described in-class sleepers with various expressions with different semantic nuances: kids "with no thought" (Teacher 1); kids "with no will to study" (Teacher 2); "friends resisting passively" (Teacher 5); "kids with a background," "difficult kids" (Teacher 7); "system deviants," "kids with no reason to study," "kids with illness of the mind," "*maljong* ('lowest kind of man') unworthy of associating with," "kids far outside the hands," "at-risk kids" (Teacher 6); "kids who will explode a grenade" (Teacher 8), "students who gave all up," "kids who have been pushed into an academic high school" (Teacher 11), "kids sleeping in exhaustion" (Teacher 10), "kids who haven't survived," "kids who haven't received attention" (Teacher 12). The different words reveal the participants' different perceptions and understandings of in-class sleepers.

A structural understanding of reality is needed for genuine consciousness (Freire 1970/2000a, b). The community members need to have a dialogue with in-class sleepers. They also need to collect objective facts from other sources like mass media or academic articles; they then need to understand the relationships between in-class sleeping and the other aspects of the society. From such a structural perspective, we can think critically for a more accurate, structural understanding of the phenomenon. Teacher 5, for example, has intuited that we need to revisit fundamental questions: What is the meaning of education? In the name of education, is it really okay to continue to line up students? As more and more students commit suicide, is it really okay to leave them as they are? The first two questions of hers are about the value and nature of education. The third question is about consequences of the current educational system. Her plead was, in a sense, "We should examine the phenomenon and the nature of education thoroughly as part of the entire society."

Regarding the third question, Teacher 5's teaching experience told her that the causes of adolescents' suicides are mostly very similar: school violence or depression about school record, and in the interior of the second resides an abnormal relationship with parents. In fact, Yonhap News's (2018, April 26) report supports her claim with statistics. According to the news agency, the topmost cause of death of teens in Korea is suicide: "[T]he suicide rate per 100,000 for those aged 9-24 stood at 7.8 in 2016, up from … 7.2 in 2015. […] Many teens and young people are under the gun to get good grades and do well academically, which has been cited for causing them to feel suicidal,…" This is in fact the highest among the developed countries.

Teacher 5's first two questions may be related to one of our interview questions: We asked our teacher participants about their idea of ideal English classes. As an answer, Teacher 6 constructed his image of ideal education with notions like

freedom (not pressure) to learn, voluntary choice, pleasure reading, no pushing, and joy of learning, among others, none of which can be applied to the current educational situations in Korean high school. We need to notice that these notions are in fact about deficiencies found in current Korean education and related to humanistic approaches (Sect. 2.3).

A higher level of critical consciousness will be attained when the members of teacher learning community share such hopes as Teacher 5's with one another and notice the huge gap between them and their reality in school, and when they begin to think more critically. Discussing potential dropouts, Teacher 6 said that he thought that we have to succor those students, because they may become those who will bring forth situations that are harmful to somebody [later] in society. He reported he already had students who were connected to gangsters or had been put to jail.

5.3.1.2 Restoring the School into Educational Institution

When they have attained a sufficiently high level of critical consciousness, school leaders should undertake cultural action to restore their high school into an institution of education where genuine learning takes place. They should begin with analysis of the needs of their students in their school. In addition to their academic needs, school leaders should recognize their students' *psychological* needs (Deci and Ryan 2000; Dweck 2017; Sect. 4.3.2): Students' needs for *competence* to express their capabilities; for *relatedness* to be nicely related to their teachers and school mates; for *autonomy* to behave in the school autonomously in legitimate ways; for *predictability* to predict a future with a high school diploma; for *trust* to form a reciprocally trusting relationships with others; for *self-esteem* or *social status* to feel adequately proud in their school; and for *self-coherence* to maintain their selves in coherent ways (Dweck 2017).

Begin with obvious cases of contradiction. For this purpose, school leaders can begin by pursuing a structural understanding of the schooling taking place in their school via schoolwide dialoguing. Teacher 6, teaching in a high school in the Gyeong-gi Province, for example, was especially concerned with the school identity as educational institution. He deplored that high schools are educational institutions for first-year students but that they become institutions for college entrance exams for third-years. As evidence, first, he talked about a student who excelled to win first place in every subject in his current school: the first grade in all. The school management coveted the chance to have a graduate go to the topmost university in Korea, and to regain its fame. The participant, however, felt that the high-achieving student was a total wreck in character: very arrogant, stubborn, and so on. The student thought he better knows than teachers. Teachers didn't want to type in good comments for him in the NEIS system, but the school needed a good result because it had been unable to send any to the most prestigious university in the previous year. The administrators worried about losing parents in the

neighborhood's trust in the school. Under that atmosphere and administrative *pressure,* he had to write in flattering words for him against his own genuine will.[2]

One day in a third-year class, second, Teacher 6 recalled that an in-class sleeper yelled waving the unused English textbook, "Refund me my money for this. If you won't use it, why have you had us buy this?" The student was right, but he couldn't satisfy his demand. He only patted him, "You're a third-year. You have to take the KSAT, right?"

This case must be a tip of iceberg. In all subject classes for third-years, according to Teacher 6, teachers do not use regular textbooks, which students are required to purchase; instead, their classes are almost entirely devoted to working at exercises from reference books that are published by EBS every year. This is so because by the national policy more than 70% of the KSAT items must be tied to that year's EBS reference books every year. The seemingly prevalent practice of expediency in question was also deplored by Teacher 9 in her interview: "What is really sad is that teachers of third-years are watching EBS programs to prepare for their own classes. It's like delivering EBS lecturers', not their own. They don't labor at what to teach."

Then, why should students have to buy the textbooks that will not be used? It's because the local office of education demands that high school education should be based on proper textbooks. In the beginning of each semester, the local office of education requires teachers to submit syllabi for the classes they teach with detailed lesson plans, to prevent such expedient practices in high schools. Teachers of third-years have to use the textbook content for the purpose of the documents officially required, but they don't use it in actual teaching. Teacher 6 deplored the waste of money on the part of students and their parents, the waste of time and energy on the part of teachers, and about its being a forgery of official papers. The local office also collects official exam sheets to check whether the teachers have taught as planned, but it shows its *flexibility* with teachers of third-year students.

It means that the governing bodies of education in his province are driving high schools to eventually become institutions for college entrance exams, and teachers to become criminals regarding official document forgery. School leaders shouldn't silence such students' voices because these are pointing out the existence of contradictory practices and asking for their elimination. Even though the student's practice of in-class sleeping was not desirable, his claim is legitimate enough to have to be graciously accepted.

---

[2]It is arguable whether teachers are always more knowledgeable than students, but in fact everyone including the bright student in question should learn about intellectual humility (Paul and Elder 2014). And this case reveals that as specified in the national law of education Korean high schools should restore their identities as educational institutions fostering the whole person. Its situation may have gotten much better if the school and teachers had adopted a more dialogic approach, which emphasizes learning in community, posing problems, learning by doing, and connecting knowledge and social relations (Wong 2006). The teachers and students could have been able to dialogue for better learning based on evidence and with reciprocal respect. If any stakeholders of high schools forsake their integrity, a vicious cycle takes place to worsen the entire system. Because of teachers' tendencies to inflate student evaluations, in fact, universities take them into consideration when they assess high school graduates' applications with suspicion.

Apply an overarching framework. In addition to collecting such internal contradictions, school leaders can reexamine their entire functioning, for example, by means of an overarching framework like TARGET (Ames 1992; Epstein 1987; Sect. 2.2.2), which identifies *task, authority, recognition, grouping, evaluation,* and *time* as six areas of schooling:

1. [Task] What does the school ask *our* students to do? Will the tasks meet their academic *and* psychological needs?
2. [Authority] What type of governance does school authority focus on: authoritarian or democratic? Will the current type meet *our* students' academic *and* psychological needs?
3. [Recognition] What and who does the school recognize? Will the current practice meet *our* students' academic *and* psychological needs?
4. [Grouping] What grouping practices does the school endorse and use? How do they assign different resources to different groups? Will the current practice meet *our* students' academic *and* psychological needs?
5. [Evaluation] How does the school choose to evaluate student performances? Will the current practice meet *our* students' academic *and* psychological needs?
6. [Time] How is the time divided? Will the current practice meet *our* students' academic *and* psychological needs?

This type of effort will lead to both large-scale overhauling transformations of schooling and their minute adjustments.

The type of task can bring forth an entirely different result. Focusing entirely on solving exercise problems in EBS reference books, for example, doesn't appear to be the only way to help students prepare themselves well for the KSAT. When she gave a class for extensive English reading, Teacher 9 testified, her students realized that reading interesting books extensively turned out to be helpful to their preparation for the KSAT English tests as well as their understanding of English grammar. Teacher 8, further, testified that when he provided English extensive reading classes for his students, one student, who was at the 310th place, almost at the bottom, became a buddy with a top rank student; in some ways, they came to understand each other's sentiments, and there was peer coaching happening. On the day of the final student presentation, with other teachers invited, the 310th place surprisingly volunteered to give a presentation on behalf of his group; truly amazed, Teacher 8 cried. He said he had had such moving experiences of salvaging potential in-class sleepers with extensive reading programs. We can say that such extensive reading satisfied students' psychological needs as well as academic ones.

Authority: Establishing Democratic Administration Teacher 5 criticized school administrators as mostly having no interest in education, as illustrated previously in the case where administrators pursued their own private interests rather than students'. She claimed that teachers' evaluation of administrators should become more effective and bring forth substantive results. This institutional improvement should help them change their consciousness so that they must commit themselves more fully to the public interests. She felt that McGill

University, where she did an intensive language course, had a president who was more sensitive and responsive to student voices.

Teacher 6 confessed that he had *deviation desires* to escape from the systematic patterns of control and to do whatever he thought appropriate to his students in different classes. Teachers should be given more freedom and autonomy in designing their own classes. Students should be invited to set up or revise school regulations. Teacher 5 experienced this in the alternative school she worked for. All stakeholders in school participated in and debated for regulation modification in school meetings. Schools can teach democracy to students and satisfy their psychological needs for autonomy and control. For this purpose, as Teacher 5 claimed, schools can open and maintain a cyberspace for public deliberation.

Recognition should be given to as many students as possible because students have as diverse potentials as they contribute to the school society in different ways. In the same way, it should be asked which teachers are to be recognized. With appropriate modification, the TARGET framework can be immediately utilized to foster desirable educational practices of teachers. Teacher interviews showed that in affluent areas, teachers tended to be more hesitant. The reason was that the teachers were careful not to increase the risk of causing strong oppositions, civil complaints, or lawsuits from parents and students: In that area, if a teacher makes any mistake or anything goes wrong in terms of pedagogical practices or exam grading, the students and their parents raised their voices actively and took even legal actions. This atmosphere shrank teachers' voluntary agency to take initiatives in educational improvement. Such atmosphere should be rectified so that teachers can be genuinely concerned with education itself not worrying about their safety.

Some teachers don't like being evaluated by their students, by the parents of their students, and by colleague teachers, but Teacher 5 believed that schools should educate students to trust the system in terms of their evaluation of teachers. When she was in charge of teacher evaluation, Teacher 5 convened and told student representatives to tell students that their evaluations are 100% safe and confidential. She thought that teachers should accept their students' responses to their teaching, humbly in a sense, because she realized that student responses were accurate: Students recognized correctly who of the teachers really cared for them and for genuine education; their responses were exactly in line with her own judgments that she formulated from having private chats with teachers in the teachers' office.

Grouping will be discussed in Sect. 5.3.3.

The right to student evaluation must be given to individual teachers. Currently, the same regular exams are given to all the students in the same year. The rationale for this policy is that all the students are supposed to learn the same content, as Teacher 11 pointed out as an obstacle, and to be evaluated with the same measures to satisfy the governmental demands for the nine-step grading system. Even though the national curriculum emphasizes creativity and character building, this evaluation system prevents teachers from being creative and innovative in their pedagogical contents and practices. How can a teacher, restricted to be noncreative, help students become creative? One might argue that teachers can be creative in techniques. In-class sleepers cannot be entirely woken up only with techniques.

They need appropriate contents which can stimulate their interests and their meaning-making: Teacher 6 said problem items in the EBS KSAT special lectures are so outdated in contents that they cannot draw students' attention. Teacher 12 reported that when students grow up to become a second year in middle school, they begin to recognize social problems that the society engenders: prejudices, discrimination, isolation, and other problems. They might detect such problems in schools as well. If English is a language, it should be usable to express their genuine thoughts and feelings about their existential situations. They should be given a chance to *name* such problems in their own world. The proper contents, only their teachers can surmise most accurately because they are in constant contact with the students. Then it is absurd to ask teachers to wake up without allowing a proper tool for it.

Teacher 6 says that Korea now has a younger generation of excellent teachers who have been employed through national teacher recruitment tests. They are capable to take individually in charge of fair evaluation of their students, and front-line schools have changed significantly, but the educational institution remains unchanged. School leaders or teachers' organizations should accumulate their voices to persuade parents, governmental bureaucrats, and politicians with empirical and theoretical bases. Schooling practices should be negotiated and appropriately re-institutionalized.

When teachers are properly respected and their rights are legitimately recognized in student evaluation, more teachers can be persuaded to change their attitudes into a more responsible stance. When Teacher 12 claimed that teachers should have concern for students, he was retorted: "What concern are you talking about? Just set exam questions with no problems, just teach. That's enough! Do kids have any concern for us? Do their parents do? Nope!" School teachers in Korea cannot find sufficient support from colleagues or from the management. They were robbed of their discretionary power. They cannot expect any respect from students or their parents. In this situation, no cultural action is possible to enhance teacher attitudes without amending the system itself. The teacher community of learning or the department of the English subject can and should function as a buttress for individual teachers, and they should also bring forth a safer environment in their school.

5.3.2 Cultural Actions for Safety, Care, and Hope in School

As we considered in Sect. 4.3.3, a functioning group is cohesive and has an agreed set of "norms, roles, and decision-making procedures" (Dörnyei and Murphey 2003, p. 54). The set of norms generates intermember trust and a feeling of safety. Since the most basic function of school is for students to learn, the most important norm is that students are to participate in learning activities. In-class sleepers, however, habitually violate this basic norm. Most female teachers we interviewed mentioned that they either experienced student violence or verbal abuse when they tried to wake up in-class sleepers.

For a smooth functioning of the school, the norm violators should be punished, and the punishment should be effective. What can the school do to an in-class sleeper who refuses to wake up? According to Teacher 5, imposition of penalty points is the only substantial way left to force them to comply. If a student earns 40 or more penalty points, his/her case is sent to the school disciplinary committee; in most cases, the disciplinary measure imposed is a labor service in school: e.g., cleaning stairs instead of attending classes. There is, however, no further way to punish him/her even if he/she is insincere in the labor service.

This type of penalty will work with students who desire to learn. But chronic in-class sleepers don't share in such a desire. This means that there is no effective means of sanction for them left (Teacher 11). The consequence is the so-called class collapse (Sect. 1.2). Wayward students do whatever they want to; they even sleep in favor of certain teachers they recognize; they sabotage classes by teachers they oppose to. Exhausted, many teachers only hope for them to go asleep. If they don't feel sleepy, they may negotiate for using smartphones; their wants not fulfilled, they do whatever they want: moving around in the classroom, chatting, making noise, etc. They turn the classroom into a lawless world. This should be remedied (Teacher 1).

5.3.2.1 Remedying the Internal Structure for Safety

Currently, Korean high schools are at the end point of the process of enlarging and protecting student rights from physical punishments and teacher rankism for a few decades now. The pendulum swung too much to that direction, and now is the time to recover the order in school, but in a democratic way this time.

Behavior assistants are needed to isolate students with behavioral problems. This is a first type of punishment for student misbehavior occurring in classroom. Teacher 7 observed that American schools had so-called *behavior assistants*. They take unruly students out of classroom and hand them over to administrators. In the (vice-)principal's office, the students will study by themselves with activity sheets delivered to them. It seems so obvious that Korean high schools should introduce such a course of correction of student misbehavior under the auspice of administrators (Teacher 5). It will work to the extent that the offices are spacious enough to house all of such isolated students. If in-class sleepers are the majority in number, the space for them will immediately run short.

Student attitude to learning should be taught and evaluated. A more fundamental solution is evaluating students' *attitude to learning*. The Lakes School (https://thelakesschool.com), for example, states that in the summer of 2014 it organized a team of teachers and students to list behaviors that constitute student attitude to learning and to classify them into four categories: Relationships, knowledge and understanding, commitment, and efficiency, each of which has five statements. The first clause in the first category is *do what I am asked by my teacher*, which is what in-class sleepers don't do. Hillside High School (http://www.hillsidehigh.co.uk) specifies not only attitude to learning but also *behaviors for learning*. Evaluation of socio-psychological aspects will ease communication

between teachers, students, and parents. We can follow the example of such schools.

Flunking is needed. On the academic side, schools should be able to fail unacceptable student achievements. Our interviews with students and teachers have made it clear that a main reason why in-class sleepers stick to school is the high school diploma as cultural capital (Teachers 10 and 11). Currently, students can graduate high school as long as they come to school on the two-thirds of the school days (Teacher 6). In the last semester, students don't come to school without notice. In-class sleeper will wake up only when the value of high school diploma has to be more authentic. It should require students to invest their time and energy more sincerely.

High school students are never flunked in Korea. Curiously, the meticulous guidelines for academic grading by the government don't mention academic failing at all. In a sense, the Government seemingly wants every kid to remain in school and receive educational services. It allows schools to set up their own regulations, which might specify probably failing. In this *convenient* system, it can make a scapegoat of schools and teachers for any educational failure. Teacher 7, however, observed some American high school students got themselves busy taking summer or winter courses to make up the flunked courses. Only when flunking is implemented, high school diploma regains its cultural value.

Student exportation can be petitioned by school leaders. If ever, it should be enacted to practice with sufficient warnings, to teach students responsibility and consequences. This will need social agreement. Teacher 5 also observed that schools in Quebec, Canada, have a system of blue letters. If a misbehaving student receives a Blue Letter three times, he/she cannot attend any school within the state. It looks like an educational deportation.

These measures are all for teaching the most fundamental principle of democracy: Societal trust in (educational) institutions, and citizens' responsibility not to infringe others' civil rights, which students should learn in school. Korea is failing to teach its future citizens the most basic principle of democracy. Only by strengthening their ways to sanction student misbehaviors and academic failure,[3] high schools in Korea will be successful in teaching democracy, and they can confer a diploma with its *genuine* value regained as cultural capital. Teacher 12 even mentioned that social supplementary classes may have to be recognized with the flunking system legalized.

5.3.2.2 *Success in Life*: A Curriculum Integration Program

Teacher 5 was sure that chronic in-class sleepers would have an *illness of mind*: "they dislike the reality; even when capable to follow the lesson, they fall flat on the

[3]Teacher 10 expected the flunking system will give rise to many civil complaints. A dialogue with parents is needed for rectifying the faults found in schools.

desk into sleep." She believed that its main cause is students' conflict with their parents, which amplifies the need to strengthen counseling and career guidance services for high school students. A cultural action in this regard can be planned and implemented in the *yungbokhap* educational framework, which integrates the curriculum for fostering 21st century core competencies (Cha et al. 2016, 2017).

In the first month or semester of students' first year in high school, school leaders can plan and focus on the *metacurriculum* that deals with the theme of *success in life* in all and every subject: a threaded model of curricular integration (Fogarty 2009).

Penetration into reality is, first of all, what school leaders, along with counseling and career guidance, should help students achieve. During the designated period of time, teachers will relate class contents to the theme in all classes. The entire school will be devoted to help students attain a structural and critical understanding of reality (Freire 1974/2013). This collaborative action will include dealing with the following statements:

1. University education doesn't guarantee anything. It only enhances possibilities.
2. One's own capabilities guarantee a success to *everyone*.
3. The 10,000-Hour Rule: Put 10,000 h into something, and you can become an expert (Ericsson et al. 1993; Gladwell 2008).

Teachers do not inculcate these ideas into students' mind as truth. They only present relevant facts, statistics, and reliable theories. They have a supportive dialogue with students on the meaning of university education and on the importance of one's genuine competencies. It should be the student themselves who will undertake a thought experiment and arrive at their own conclusions.

To support them, in English classes, you can talk about the saying, *Practice makes perfection*, or read and discuss a relevant part of Gladwell (2008). In this regard, students then think about whether they should be depressed from grading, or whether depression from grading is helpful to their everyday practice and future life. They should seriously deal with following questions, among others:

1. Why do you study, for good grades or for deep understanding?
2. What is more important, higher grades or real competencies?

Ordinary high school students will answer Question 1 with *good grades*, because these are believed to be so central to high school life and college entrance; they might tend to value higher grades rather than real competencies. But from a long-term perspective, we all know that students should study for deep understanding, and that real competencies count much more to the world than higher grades from high school. Naturally, the world will ask, "What can you do?" Students should penetrate into this reality.

Understanding oneself should also be included. The school can administer the MBTI test so that students can learn more about their personalities; Teacher 10's school, for example, has first-years go through a checkup for emotional behavior traits so that it can identify students with negative propensity. In English classes,

humanistic activities can be provided for students to think about themselves more deeply to share with one another (Moskowitz 1978).

This type of sharing oneself can be extended so that students share their thoughts about themselves with their parents. This will be of some help in restoring their relationships with their most important others (Becker 1963).

Planning for the future will be a third step. Another truth is that it is difficult and even may not be possible to overtake other students in a situation in which everyone is doing their best, but that each student can improve their own competencies bit by bit as long as they don't give up studying and practicing. In this regard, planning for one's own future is desperately needed. A realistic dream in the future will make the potential improvements more specifically oriented. It will direct students in selecting their further specialization at the tertiary level of education. A graduation certificate from a good university does not guarantee one's good career in the future.

Putting the plan into practice will be the last, but continuing, step. School leaders help students to make action plans and develop strategies to attain their goals.

5.3.3 More Flexibility in Academic Curriculum and Evaluation

Research participants projected more varied and vivid opinions on their academic curricula and evaluation. At the school level, three types of cultural action seem to be required: improving the authenticity of English curriculum and evaluation, leveling classes more humanely, and satisfying student needs more drastically.

5.3.3.1 Improving the Authenticity of English Curriculum and Evaluation

In the current situation, students are understandably keenly interested in regular exams. Whatever they learn, they want to evaluate the content by means of whether it belongs to the coverage of exams; their ultimate questions is, "Teacher, does it appear on the exam?" (Teacher 10).

Because their English exams were largely based on the textbook contents, some in-class sleepers from School B wanted their school to maintain a similar policy: strictly restricting the exam coverage within the textbook content or informing its variations to choose from.

Teacher 4 shared a dramatic story of changing ways of student evaluation. When writing regular exams, she modified passages from the textbook so that students can answer correctly only when they read and comprehend them genuinely; otherwise, students might memorize the contents and answer the questions without displaying

their capability to comprehend English texts. Consequently, *hagweons* nearby recognized the change and publicized they can help students to increase their real reading comprehension skills. Students grumbled but she persuaded them that they should be properly challenged to become a genuinely fluent English reader.

Teacher 9 also supplied students with extra-textbook materials consistent with the themes dealt with in textbooks, and she and her colleagues wrote exams using novel materials as long as they are thematically in line with passages in the textbook. Once students get familiar with such practices, she said, there is no problem with using authentic materials in English classes and for tests. They should be exposed to authentic materials and allowed to express their authentic thoughts and feelings (Moskowitz 1978) potentially changing their reality (Wink 2011), as reported in Cha et al. (2017) and Jang (2017).

5.3.3.2 Leveling Classes More Humanely

Fifteen student participants wanted their schools to provide the low-level class (Levine and Moreland 1990), especially when they had been able to choose among different levels and consequently had had positive experiences of English in middle school. As merits, they said more detailed individual intervention and one-to-one communication, among others: Some wanted to learn about English grammar from basics.

From the opposite perspectives, teachers generally seem to avoid low-level classes (Teacher 2). Some worried that the classroom atmosphere would worsen (Teacher 3). A convenient practice seemed to be that they recruited part-time instructors to take care of low-level students (Teacher 6). Teacher 9 said, "Leveled-classes are cruel; they should be abolished." Teacher 8 also sentenced that the leveled-class policy had failed because teachers would feel a sense of shame that they themselves were of a low level when they are assigned to low-level classes.

Teacher 12 took a more critical approach. He criticized journalists' attitudes saying leveled classes have failed so they should be discarded. If the policy has failed, according to him, we should dig into its details: Why? What is needed? Was the budget sufficient? What about the subject content? Materials? Exams?

Students' freedom to choose among different levels is a crucial element for the successful operation of leveled classes. The most important effect of the free choice is that students can escape from the so-called stigma effect: Their voluntary choice will satisfy their psychological needs for agency and control (Dweck 2017). If they are involuntarily assigned to a low-level class, on the contrary, they can be stigmatized as *low achievers* by their classmates and teachers. Its reflected appraisal leads to form a negative sense of self and a lowered self-esteem, thwarting their psychological needs (Becker 1963; E.-K. Kim 2000a).

Teachers' freedom to choose is also crucial to the success of leveled classes. Low-level classes generally oblige teachers to do a higher level of emotion labor, so they tend to be more tiring. If low-level class teachers feel their self-esteem

lowered, their well-being would be seriously marred as long as they teach there. A system of voluntary choice should be a much better method of assigning the role of teaching low achievers. Perhaps, a lottery or rotation system may be a second best option. If the chairs of the English language subject choose to teach the most difficult students, their leadership will be firmly established. In fact, Ahn and Shim (2016) reported about a teacher participant who had worked as the English subject chair for more than 20 years in a private middle school in Seoul, Korea, but who enjoyed teaching low-level classes. He reduced the amount of class content so that his students were capable of swallowing; he motivated them with material prizes like notebooks and candies, as well as emotional encouragements; his students gained strength to stand on their own feet and expressed their deep gratitude with thanksgiving cards and small gifts: "Teacher, we could understand pleasure of studying English by your favor."

As a matter of fact, low-level students need to be taught by more experienced teachers because they have more intricate needs: academic and psychological.

5.3.3.3 Satisfying Student Needs More Sufficiently

Teacher 12 suggested a more radical transformation of the current curriculum. He thought that the curriculum can become more flexible with sheltered programs or by significantly reducing the teacher–student ratio.

Teacher 8 reported that some students are simply complete underdogs in every and all subjects. They have problems with Korean to say nothing with English. Teachers 10 and 11 also mentioned about students who are illiterate and cannot read. H. Eom (2013a) surmised that about 20% of students are illiterates in Korea in primary and middle schools. He then suggested there is no short cut in helping such illiterates; he designed a program in which college volunteers go to primary schools and read along with an illiterate mentee one-on-one books of an appropriate level to him/her. When it was consistently done for about 6 months, the mentee students became a functional literate. This program that looked silly was most effective: providing actual experiences of reading books. Such students would need a sheltered program; there would be no use of them staying in regular class; they simply have to sleep.

After-school classes, which are already available on the basis of student needs, are another means to provide a more flexible curriculum. In the case of English, teachers can provide courses dealing with English grammar, American drama, English novels, English newspapers, and others (Teachers 1 and 2). Teacher 7 also thought that students who want to study English from its basic facets should take an after-school class. Teacher 6 thought that the tuition tends to be too low to compensate teachers satisfactorily.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has dealt with the research questions at the meso-level of school: What are the meso-level factors that contribute to some students falling asleep in English classes? And what can be done about their negative influences? Major meso-level reasons for in-class sleeping included (1) the pedagogical practices that drive students to compete for test scores and admission into decent colleges or universities, (2) unhealthy policies of evaluation of students and teachers, and (3) different degrees of school dependency and unfair practices in school administration. We have interpreted the three factors as being related to (A) the nature of secondary education externally controlled and so unable to be shaken off at the school level, (B) the Korean culture of no direct confrontation and ultimately of face-saving formalism, (C) social positioning in different schools which can shape the different features of different types of in-class sleeping, and (D) practices of favoritism disempowering teachers having goodwill toward education.

As cultural actions, first, we have proposed school leaders seriously problematize the phenomenon of in-class sleeping and apply an overarching framework to restore the identity of school as *educational* institution from being an exam-preparation site. To improve the safety, care, and hope in school; second, we have proposed that they strengthen student discipline with more institutional and pedagogical assistance to students in social behavior, learning attitude, and learning responsibility. Third, we have proposed that they humanize the English curriculum more by improving its authenticity and practicality, leveling classes based on student and teacher choices, and satisfying students' other psychological and academic needs.

References

Agazarian, Y., & Peters, R. (1981). *The visible and invisible group: Two perspectives on group psychotherapy and group process*. Boston, US: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ahn, S.-H. G., & Shim, S.-J. (2016). Conceptualization of *Yungbokhap* English Education for the 21st century: Weaving the voices of in-service teachers. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal, 24*(2), 149–182.

Ames, C. (1992). *Home and school cooperation in social and motivational development*. Champaign, US: Illinois University, College of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 411 629).

Becker, H. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance*. New York, US: Macmillan.

Blenkinsop, S. (2004). *Choice, dialogue, and freedom: Towards a philosophy of education based in existentialism*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, US.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason*. Stanford, US: Stanford University Press.

Buske, R. (2018). The principal as a key actor in promoting teachers' innovativeness—analyzing the innovativeness of teaching staff with variance-based partial least square modeling. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 29*(2), 262–284. https://doi.org/10.1080/09243453.2018.1427606.

Cha, Y.-K., Ahn, S.-H., Ju, M.-K., & Ham, S.-H. (2016). *Yungbokhap* Education: Toward an expansive (Re)conceptualization. *Multicultural Education Studies, 9*(1), 1–33.

Cha, Y.-K., Ham, S.-H., & Lim, M.-E. (2017). Citizenship education in Korea: Challenges and new possibilities. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Citizenship education and global migration: Implications for theory, research and teaching* (pp. 247–253). Washington, DC, US: AERA.

Comber, B., & Kamler, B. (2005). *Turn-around pedagogies: Literacy interventions for at-risk students*. Newton, Australia: Primary English Teaching Association.

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 35,* 36–56.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry, 11*(4), 227–268.

Dei, G. J. S., Mazzuca, J., McIsaac, E., & Zine, J. (1997). *Reconstructing "drop-out", a critical ethnography of the dynamics of Black students' disengagement from school*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Dörnyei, Z., & Murphey, T. (2003). *Group dynamics in the language classroom*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dweck, C. S. (2017). From needs to goals and representations: Foundations for a unified theory of motivation, personality, and development. *Psychological Review, 124*(6), 689–719. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000082.

Ehrman, M. E., & Dörnyei, Z. (1998). *Interpersonal dynamics in second language education: The visible and invisible classroom*. Thousand Oaks, US: Sage.

Elliot, A. J., & McGregor, H. A. (2001). A 2 X 2 achievement goal framework. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 80*(3), 501–519. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.80.3.501.

Engeström, Y. (1999). Activity theory and individual and social transformation. In Y. Engeström, R. Miettinen, & R. Punamaki (Eds.), *Perspectives on activity theory* (pp. 19–38). New York, US: Cambridge University Press.

Eom, H. (2013a). *Hakkyo sok-uy munmaengjadeul* ('Illiterates within the school'). Seoul, Korea: Wuri Kyoyuk.

Eom, K. (2013b). *Kyosa-do hakkyo-ga duryeopta* ('Teachers are scared of schools too.'). Seoul, Korea: Ttabi.

Epstein, J. L. (1987). TARGET: An examination of parallel school and family structures that promote student motivation and achievement. (Report No. 6). Baltimore, MD: Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 291 504).

Ericsson, K. A., Krampe, R. Th., & Tesch-Romer, C. (1993). The role of deliberate practice in the acquisition of expert performance. *Psychological Review*, *100*(3), 363–406.

Fogarty, R. (2009). *How to integrate the curricula* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, US: Corwin Press.

Freire, P. (1970/2000a). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Freire, P. (1970/2000b). *Cultural action for freedom* (2000 ed.). Cambridge, US: Harvard Education Press.

Freire, P. (1974/2013). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Giroux, H. (2001). *Theory and resistance in education: Toward a pedagogy for the opposition*. South Hadley, US: Bergin & Garvey.

Gladwell, M. (2008). *Outliers: The story of success*. New York, US: Little, Brown & Co.

Ham, S.-H., & Kim, R. Y. (2015). The Influence of principals' instructional leadership on teachers' use of autonomy-supportive instruction: An analysis of three Asia-Pacific countries. *Asia-Pacific Educational Research, 24*(1), 57–65. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-013-0158-x.

Jang, E. (2017, April 7). *4 chasaneophyeongmyeong sidae, gyoyug-eul mutta* ('The era of the 4th industrial revolution asks about education'). Presented at the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education Teachers' Community of Learning Career-focused Education meeting, Changdeok Middle School, Seoul, Korea.

Janks, H. (2010). *Literacy and power*. London, UK: Routledge.

Jeong, D. W., Yoo, J. E., & Lee, H. J. (2015). An analysis on the effect of school autonomy and teacher autonomy. *Korean Journal of Educational Administration, 33*(4), 257–276.

Kim, E.-K. (2000a). The effect of corporal punishment on self-labelling and delinquency. *Journal of Korean Counseling for Children's Rights, 4*(1), 121–136.
Kim, J. Y., Kim, K. Y., Lee, J. H., & Jo, S. S. (2018). *Hagnyeondo godeunghakkyo hageopseongjeok gwallijichim* ('Guidelines for management of scholastic performance in high school'). Seoul, Korea: Secondary Education Division of Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education.
Kim, M. (2000b). 'Haggyo bunggoe', a myth or a reality? *Anthropology of Education, 3*(2), 1–29.
Kim, M., & Son, J.-H. (2006). *Hankukgyoyungron: Jiyang-gwa jihyang* ('Treatise of Korean education: Sublation and orientation'). Kyungpook National University Press, Daegu.
Lamb, M. (2009). Situating the L2 self: Two Indonesian school learners of English. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 229–247). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
Lave, J. (1991). Situating learning in communities of practice. In L. B. Resnick, J. M. Levine, & S. D. Teasley (Eds.), *Perspectives on socially shared cognition* (pp. 63–82). Washington, D.C., US: American Psychological Association.
Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York, US: Cambridge University Press.
Levine, J. M., & Moreland, R. L. (1990). Progress in small group research. *Annual Review of Psychology, 41,* 585–634.
Maehr, M., & Midgley, C. (1991). Enhancing student motivation: A school-wide approach. *Educational Psychologist, 26,* 399–427.
Mills, C. W. (1959). *The sociological imagination*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Moskowitz, G. (1978). *Caring and sharing in the foreign language class: A sourcebook on humanistic techniques*. Boston, US: Heinle & Heinle.
Panofsky, C. P. (2003). The relations of learning and student social class: Toward re-"socializing" sociocultural learning theory. In A. Kozulin, B. Gindis, V. S. Ageyev, & S. M. Miller (Eds.), *Vygotsky's educational theory in cultural context* (pp. 411–431). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511840975.021.
Park, J. H. (2012). The effects of principal's leadership style on support for innovation: Evidence from Korean vocational high school change. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 13,* 89–102. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-011-9182-9.
Paul, R., & Elders, L. (2014). *The miniature guide to critical thinking: Concepts and tools* (7th ed.). Tomales, US: Foundation for Critical Thinking.
Ratner, C. (2000a). Agency and culture. *Journal for The Theory of Social Behavior, 30,* 413–434.
Ratner, C. (2000b). Outline of a coherent, comprehensive concept of culture. *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*, *34*(1 & 2), 5–11. http://www.sonic.net/∼cr2/culture.htm. Accessed 11 June 2018.
Rist, R. (1970/2000). Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. *Harvard Educational Review, 70*(3), 257–301.
Smyth, J., & Hattam, R. (2004). *"Dropping out", drifting off, being excluded: Being somebody without school*. New York, US: Peter Lang.
Stewart, E. C., & Bennett, M. J. (1991). *American cultural patterns: A cross-cultural perspective*. New York, US: Intercultural Press.
White, P. A. (1992). Teacher empowerment under "ideal" school-site autonomy. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 14*(1), 69–82.
Wink, J. (2011). *Critical pedagogy: Notes from the real world* (4th edition). Boston, US: Pearson.
Wong, S. (2006). *Dialogic approaches to TESOL: Where the ginkgo tree grows*. New York, US: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Yonhap News. (2018, April 26). Suicide No. 1 cause of death for S. Korean teens, youths. http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20180426000581. Accessed 13 January 2019.

Chapter 6
Analysis and Actions at the Macro-Level: Society and Culture

Abstract This chapter draws on data from in-depth interviews with the student and teacher participants, specifically those regarding macro-level social and cultural situations. It addresses two research questions, *What are the macro-level factors that contribute to some students falling asleep in class?* and *What can be done about the phenomenon of sleeping in class?* As causes of the phenomenon, the data analysis has identified efficiency-based national policies, dissonance among school, home, and students, irresistible temptations from private academies and media and cultural industries. These macro-level factors are interpreted as arising from Koreans' pragmatic orientation toward education as means for ascension, socio-cultural side effects of planned education, and parental and student indulgence in cultural services. This chapter suggests cultural actions for parents, for educational authorities, and for students. The following sections describe the factors, interpretations, and cultural actions in detail.

6.1 Analysis

There were three phases in social and cultural reasons why the students fall asleep during English classes. First, the national-level policies, often represented as the Ministry of Education in the teacher participants' discourses, were pointed out that they were too rigid and oppressive. Second, both the student and teacher participants commonly said that there was a serious disconnection between school and home, pointing out that in many cases, the sleeping students had issues at home. This theme was particularly related to the *regional differences*, which indicated the socioeconomic status of the parents implicitly. The issue of *hagweon* (학원,學院, private academies) was another theme in this section, revealing its ambivalent roles in Korean education system. Lastly, the students commonly mentioned that they got physically tired because they spent much time playing computer games or doing SNS at night. Some of them pursued alternative courses of learning or worked as part-timers until late at night so that they actually ran out of sleeping time. The followings show the respective themes in order.

S.-H. G. Ahn and M. W. Lee, *English Classes in Slumber*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-1010-6_6

6.1.1 Efficiency-Focused National Policies

6.1.1.1 Rigid Ministry of Education

In the previous chapter, teachers indicated that they suffered from the undemocratic decision-making process of the hierarchical pyramid structure, with the Ministry of Education at the top, the metropolitan and provincial offices of education below, various school levels, and teachers at the bottom. At the meso-level, they focused primarily on the two layers of school administrators and the metropolitan and provincial offices of education. In this macro-level analysis section, they specifically targeted the rigidity of the Ministry of Education. Although the length of their comments varied significantly, the 12 teachers mentioned that the Ministry of Education was so oppressive that there was little room left for more autonomy.

This theme was well illustrated when teachers talked about the national curriculum and college admissions policies. Teacher 12 complained that the national curriculum changed too often and was not contextualized enough, so the content was simply a copy of the ESL curriculum. As a result, the national curriculum was too *high class* to implement in the Korean EFL context, which he thought was the main reason for students sleeping in class. He believed that the discrepancy between the national curriculum and the field was a vicious cycle: it made students sleep during class, they could not get good exam results, their parents were worried they sent students to private academies, students stayed up late, and then fell asleep during class. He also criticized the fact that whenever the Ministry of Education changed the national curriculum, the only real changes were the textbooks, such as better print quality, and some restructuring of the curriculum content.

He also complained that the national curriculum was a *must* that all teachers had to follow. Thus, he wanted teachers to have the opportunity to choose some of the content in the curriculum. Indeed, he pointed out that there were structural problems inherent in the phenomenon of students sleeping in class, caused by the rigid national curriculum:

[Excerpt 6.1]

Teacher 12 (T12): Yes, I think this is obviously a social issue, I mean, like the KSAT, and the national curriculum, and so on. Speaking of the national curriculum, I think that teachers should have the right to choose what to teach in the curriculum content. But as you know, the current national curriculum leaves no room for freedom of teaching. The Ministry of Education always uses foreign examples, but can it simply present the minimum achievement criteria and let teachers decide what to teach based on these criteria? Will something bad happen if we do that? I don't think so.

The rigidity criticized by Teacher 12 was also mentioned by Teacher 10 who talked about the national curriculum governing college admissions policies. Teacher 10 complained that the rigid national curriculum forced education stakeholders to only focus on the college entrance exam as the final destination of students. In this context, teachers could only follow the national curriculum and the expectations of students and parents, leaving behind their own autonomy to practice *the true meaning of education*. Moreover, the rigid national policy did not give universities the opportunity to select the students they wanted to educate by controlling college admissions policies. Although there are other ways to go to college, including the rolling admissions system, the college entrance exam is regulated by the Ministry of Education.

[Excerpt 6.2]

Teacher 10 (T10): In the past, the teacher factor was very important. But today, the average teacher is younger than before and many teachers speak English fluently. I think these teachers have no problem adjusting the national curriculum to their own classes, I mean, adapting it in accordance with their students' proficiency level. Of course, some may not be able to do it, but I think there's no room for teachers to do their job because of the curriculum implementation that only focuses on the college entrance exam. […] The current college admissions system is totally controlled by the KSAT or the Ministry of Education. In my opinion, universities should have more autonomy in terms of selecting students for their schools, which will provide more flexibility in English classes in high school.

Interestingly, Teacher 10 also considered the issue of the rigid national curriculum to be a *structural problem*. This term emphasized the hierarchical structure of the Korean education system, with the Ministry of Education at the top as mentioned by many teachers, but it also implied that the entire education system could not be changed unless the Ministry of Education changed. The current system may be very efficient for the Ministry of Education to control the different parties involved in education, but the question is for whom should this efficiency be pursued? The answer to this question should always be *the students*.

6.1.1.2 Undemocratic Decision-Making Processes

Five teachers who participated in the interviews mentioned their disempowered position in the strictly hierarchical school structure. Contrary to the expectation that teachers have a certain level of autonomy that gives them authority as educators, they complained of having to follow the orders or requests of *the upper level*. They

described the solid structure of the current Korean school system with the Ministry of Education at the top, the metropolitan and provincial offices of education below, various school levels, and teachers at the bottom. Because of the one-way and top-down communication between these education stakeholders, teachers had to follow the decisions of the other three levels. They complained that the teacher level always had to do a lot of work and that people at the other three levels played no practical role in education. Teacher 8 and Teacher 9 discussed this unfair structure of the school system that placed excessive responsibility only on teachers.

[Excerpt 6.3]

Teacher 8 (T8): I know that the Ministry of Education has recently proposed an elective subject system. This sounds good, but the real problem is whether the school can offer students a favorable environment for this system. For example, let's say a student wants to take English literature as an elective, he will have to do a lot of things. He will have to take it as an after-school class, meet another teacher in addition to his current English teacher, and take the course only during the designated time. Who will meet all of these needs, except a teacher? Can it be done at the school level? Can students do that by themselves? No way. I've always thought that teachers should take full responsibility, despite the policies and regulations set by administrators. Moreover, the responsibility that teachers should assume is about the result, not the process.

Researcher (R): By process, do you mean the national curriculum?

T8: I mean the national curriculum or teaching practices that teachers use with their students. There's a clear hierarchy between professors and teachers at the lower level. If something goes wrong, it is not the policy made by professors and administrators, but the teachers who are always blamed. The whole society criticizes teachers saying, "It's all because of you. You should have changed the teaching methodologies."

R: Are there any good ways to improve this situation? In a way, it seems acceptable that the national curriculum only gives very general guidelines to teachers who choose what they'll do with their students. I heard that it is the method used in Finland.

Teacher 9 (T9): You know what? They say that teachers can do it now. But there are so many teachers who do not have the ability to control their own autonomy. They simply don't know how to adjust the achievement standards of the national curriculum to their current students. Thus, they simply submit their report mentioning that they've reorganized the achievement standards. I think there should be teacher training programs for that. Actually, it should have been taught in pre-service teacher institutions.

In this long discussion, Teacher 8 and Teacher 9 highlighted several interesting points about the undemocratic decision-making process, especially from the point of view of teachers. First, there *was* a distinction between theorists and practitioners. In Teacher 8's statement, theorists were referred to as professors and practitioners as teachers, and the relationship between these two stakeholders was described as hierarchical. In addition, teachers were mediators between professors and students, as they orchestrated policies to meet the diverse needs of students. Second, Teacher 9 complained that society blamed teachers even when something was wrong at the theorist level. In the current top-down structure of the decision-making system, teachers had no way of making their voices heard by theorists, but were thought to be the main decision-making body, or *punching bag*, in education.

Finally, this undemocratic decision-making process could be mitigated by teacher autonomy, but teacher education programs were needed to help teachers use their autonomy in the given context. According to Teacher 9, teachers could theoretically reinterpret and reorganize the top-down national curriculum, which rarely happened in reality because they were not used to do it. That is, teachers were also blamed for not using the bottom-up or interactive decision-making process, although they did not learn how to do this in pre-service and in-service teacher training programs. Overall, the undemocratic and demanding school structure put teachers in the hot seat in many ways.

6.1.1.3 Tight Educational Budget

The Ministry of Education's pursuit of efficiency was well illustrated by three teachers who mentioned the limited budget support of the Ministry of Education. More counseling teachers and career guidance teachers were needed in the field, but because of the *lack of budget*, there were not enough teachers placed in schools that really needed them. As the ratio of these teachers to students was very high, counseling and career guidance programs at school were unable to give students quality and up-to-date programs based on their needs. The high ratio of students per teacher was not just the problem of these special programs at school. According to Teacher 12, the large number of students, and thus the high student-to-teacher ratio, was the main reason for the complex educational problems of Korean society.

[Excerpt 6.4]

Researcher (R):	OK, this is the last question. What do you think is the biggest problem of Korean education? You can also suggest solutions.
Teacher 12 (T12):	Well … this is a very serious question. I wonder if I'm qualified enough to answer it.
R:	Well, you talked about a lot of things, including the structural problem and …

T12: Hmm … The biggest problem of Korean education is … I think that reducing the number of students per teacher is the answer. Without this, I don't think any teaching method or effort will work in Korean English classes.

R: What's the ideal ratio, then?

T12: I think if they cannot reduce the number of students per teacher, it will be good to put two teachers per class.

R: You mean in one class?

T12: Yes, in one class.

R: I see, we may need more classrooms if we hire more teachers.

T12: So, I think 10 students per teacher sounds good. I think we can use pre-service teachers by requiring them to have work experience as a substitute teacher before applying for the national teacher certification exam. I mean, we are not supposed to exploit them or anything, but the most important thing to reduce the ratio is the expansion of the budget.

Teacher 12 was one of the most active participants in the interview and criticized the many problems related to the phenomenon of students sleeping in class. Before giving his opinion on the biggest issue of Korean education, he pointed out that the Ministry of Education spent little money on the things needed, wasting its budget on unnecessary ones. He took the example of the special budget for *left-behind students*. According to him, the Ministry of Education paid the teachers who taught these students in the pull-out morning classes an additional fee of about KRW30,000 (approximately US$27) per student. But teachers did not like teaching these classes, first because they struggled with students who did not participate in regular classes, and second, because they did not think that the monetary compensation (about KRW200,000, approximately US$178 per month) was worth their time and effort.

In Excerpt 6.4, Teacher 12 mentioned a different issue: reducing the ratio of teacher to students to 1:10. He suggested several methods to achieve this goal, such as placing two in-service teachers in one class or using pre-service teachers as substitutes by requiring them to have an extended teaching practicum before taking the national teacher certification exam. However, he knew that these methods were not fundamental solutions to solve the most serious issue of Korean education, the high ratio of students per teacher. He returned to the issue of budget expansion, suggesting that hiring more teachers was the best solution. Despite the Ministry of Education's efficiency efforts, its intention was rarely properly implemented in the field. The delicate issue of budget execution is a good example.

6.1.2 Dissonance Among School, Home, and Students

6.1.2.1 Disconnected Relationship Between School and Home

The next theme was about the effect of home on school. Specifically, the parent factor was intertwined with the phenomenon of students sleeping in class. As family circumstances are private, few students discussed them explicitly. Student 18 was one of three students willing to discuss his family situation. Student 18 stated that he generally slept in almost all classes, including English, and woke up at lunchtime. He was one of the few students who did not attend private English academies because of his disadvantaged family situation.

[Excerpt 6.5]

Researcher (R):	Can you … would you mind sharing your family situation?
Student 18 (S18):	Well … My grandfather is currently in the hospital.
R:	Oh, is he?
S18:	Yes, and my father does not come home often.
R:	Oh, OK.
S18:	Yes.
R:	Did he … run away from home?
S18:	Well, I guess he did, I mean he doesn't contact my family often.
R:	OK … he doesn't contact your family often. Then, does your mom make a living?
S18:	Yes, my sister and my mom used to make a living, but now my mom is at home because she's sick.
R:	Oh, OK, your mom is sick now.
S18:	Yes.
R:	Then does your sister support your family?
S18:	Yes.

Under these circumstances, no one paid attention to Student 18's school life; therefore, he found no reason to focus on studying at school. His life was difficult despite being a teenager. For him, sleeping during class was symptomatic of his disconnected relationship with his family and the resulting psychological burden. The dryness of his delivery throughout the interview, even when discussing his runaway father and sick mother, also suggested that he was deeply hurt. Therefore, his demotivation of learning English or any other subject could be seen as a warning sign he was sending to the world.

Teachers who struggled with these sleeping students noticed the problems brought by students from home. Four teachers shared similar stories of sleeping students from disadvantaged families. Teacher 6 was one of them. He suggested that sleeping students should be cared for at the societal level because the problems they faced were already beyond the scope of the classroom and the school. He criticized the fact that parents shifted their responsibility to teachers, expecting their

children to be good at school despite their indifference toward them. He also mentioned that school counseling programs could not be effective if parents stayed the same.

[Excerpt 6.6]

Teacher 6 (T6): These students, they're adolescents, so they need more care to overcome puberty. Sometimes they have a serious mental problem, such as lethargy, and … although teachers have learned counseling, we are not experts, right? So, even though we have counseling sessions with them, it is literally impossible to change them. To be honest, almost all of these students have problems at home, I mean they come from disadvantaged families. Of course, the unstable financial situation is the most serious issue, but today there are so many insane parents who should be reported in the news. Children raised by these types of parents are either lethargic or aggressive. It's so hard to take care of all of these children as a teacher.… They are *children at risk*.

Coincidentally, Teacher 4 and Teacher 6, who insisted on the need for change in parents and at home, showed common changes in the emotional patterns of teachers facing student sleeping in their classes. At first, they felt a sense of shame as a teacher. Next, they were angry with these sleeping students. Finally, they felt sorry for them because they could not do anything to help them. They pointed out that the problems faced by these students at home were so deeply rooted in their lives that it was extremely difficult to change them with the efforts of a single teacher. They recognized that it was foolish for parents and the school to expect these students to study hard and that the most effective intervention programs, other than school counseling programs with teachers or professional counselors, should be implemented to help these students *at risk*.

With regard to the types of parents, as Teacher 6 mentioned, there was a category called *insane parents* who probably committed various forms of domestic violence against their children. Except for this extreme category, most parents could be classified into two categories based on their financial situation or socioeconomic status (SES). It should be noted that the 12 teachers mentioned SES as a main factor when describing their teaching experience. Apart from Teacher 3 who was a novice teacher at the time of the interview, all teachers had taught in several schools throughout their teaching years. When describing their previous schools and their current school, they all specified the characteristics of the schools by mentioning the SES of the parents in the areas where the schools were located. This showed that teachers, including those who did not openly discuss issues of disconnection between home and school, were aware of the strong relationship between parental attitudes and parents' SES.

According to the teachers, poor parents and rich parents had different patterns in almost every aspect of their children's education. The first group of parents, with both father and mother working to support the family, did not have time to pay

attention to their children's studies. They could not attend school events or conference sessions with teachers. They could not help their children with their homework or their future plans. But they were worried about their children's education, so many sent their children to various types of private academies. The second group of parents also depended on private education because of their stable financial situation. Most of them were very involved in their children's schoolwork and often ignored teachers and school. They often raised objections to test questions designed by teachers and didn't hesitate to enter hostile relations with them. In addition, some of them did not insist on studying, telling their children that they could live a happy life because they had rich parents.

In both cases, the teachers encountered difficulties. However, three teachers mentioned that it was more difficult to work in a school located in an affluent area, such as School B in this study. Teacher 2 shared a story she heard from other teachers during the interview. The students in her story made unimaginable comments to their teachers when they tried to discipline them.

[Excerpt 6.7]

Teacher 2 (T2): I am not sure whether the student was actually from a rich family or not, but when the teacher woke him up during class, can you guess what he told him? He said, "My family runs a huge restaurant." Yes, that was what he said to his teacher. I guess he meant that he didn't need to study because he came from a rich family. Another story was … I heard it from other teachers. It happened years ago when corporal punishment was allowed. One teacher slightly beat his student because he was so unruly and uncontrollable. But then the student said to his teacher, "Do you have more money than my family?" Yes, that was what he said. The parents of this school attach great importance to money, not to studying. I think students think like that because their parents do.

The stories shared by Teacher 2 may seem unrealistic because of their nonsense, but some students who participated in this study confirmed that these stories were true. When Student 63 said that his dream was to own a big BBQ restaurant, his friends supported him by saying that his rich family could help him open one and that they would like to work there. In addition, Student 65, who supported Student 63, explicitly mentioned that his mother had promised to give him one of her buildings when he was older. His dream was to own that building. For these students, studying English was meaningless because they were already guaranteed enough money to carry out their future plans. However, it was still controversial whether it was acceptable for parents to promote the *money comes first ideology* at the expense of their children's education.

6.1.2.2 Students, Against the Prevalent English Ideologies

The last theme related to students opposed to socially accepted English ideologies was not solely related either to school or home. Instead, it was an overarching characteristic of the previously discussed theme, dissonance between school and home. As argued in previous research on overheated English education in Korea (Lee 2016; Shin and Park 2016), the ideology of *English is a necessity* prevails in South Korea. English is perceived as a versatile tool for success, such as going to a good college or getting a good job, ideals shared by many student participants, as shown in previous sections. However, some students (9 out of 65) were opposed to this widely accepted social norm, defining English as a foreign language, something useless or meaningless.

Student 60, who was deeply frustrated with studying English despite his repeated efforts, described his feeling by drawing parallel lines in his drawing. He represented the irreconcilable gap between himself on the left side (written 나 in Korean, meaning *I* in English) and fluent English users on the right side (written 영어하는사람 in Korean, meaning *people who can speak English* in English). He also drew several *X* under the line to indicate people who can speak English, stating that these people were born to be good at English because they spent time in English-speaking countries or a lot of money to study English. He said that English consisted of *indecipherable letters* and that it was *as meaningless as numbers* for him (Fig. 6.1).

Student 21 also mentioned that English was nothing more than a school subject when first asked what English meant to him. Then, he explained that English was *meaningless* for him, which was why he did not draw a visual representation to describe his relationship with English. It should be noted that his parents tried to support his English studies, but he refused to study. In other words, his parents followed the socially accepted English ideology and wanted him to be an active follower. However, he doubted and opposed the ideology, saying that he would not need English to become a color designer, instead of going to college like other students. This ideological clash between two generations led to a fight, as described by Student 21.

[Excerpt 6.8]

Researcher (R):	So, do your parents support your English studies? Do they support you a lot?
Student 21 (S21):	Well … they hired a private English tutor once and they also sent me to a private English academy. But I stopped everything. I told them I wouldn't do it and we had a big fight. I had a tutor once when I was in first grade in high school, but I quit after two months after fighting with my mom all the time.
R:	Did you?
S21:	Yes.
R:	Why did you quit?

Fig. 6.1 A picture drawn by Student 60

S21: I told her I didn't want to do it from the beginning. But my mom forced me to do it anyway … so I just told her I couldn't do it anymore. I just didn't want to do it because … I didn't need it.

R: I see.

Some may think that Student 21's reaction to his mother was because he had reached puberty and had become a rebellious teenager. However, it was obviously more complicated than that. He had already chosen his future career and considered whether to follow the dominant English ideology in the Korean context based on his own career path. That is, he did not accept this widespread ideology and created his own agency. In other words, society and parents failed to convince some of these sleeping students to become followers of the ideology they defended. Thus, the big fight between Student 21 and his mother was not simply a usual quarrel between a parent and her adolescent son. For Student 21, and others like him, it represented an invisible space to establish his position as a stakeholder in English education. Although he could not avoid English classes at school, sleeping during class allowed him to show his desire to do what he wanted outside of the classroom context.

It was interesting that the reason these students drew a line between English and themselves involved ideals related to the dominant English ideology. For them, English was a useless and meaningless foreign language, because they thought that they would not need it for their future, suggesting that some people would, as illustrated in Student 60's drawing. However, because they were not part of these

people, they saw no reason to study English. Furthermore, the distinction between themselves and the group of people who needed English was binary: they did not plan to go to college, while the other group of people did; they did not plan to get a job that required English, while the others did; they did not plan to go abroad, while the others did. Although students did not explicitly indicate which distinction was more important, the implicit hierarchy between these two distinctions was revealed when they discussed their relationship with English.

[Excerpt 6.9]

Researcher (R):	What does English mean to you?
Student 16 (S16):	Unnecessary subject.
R:	Unnecessary? Why?
S16:	Well, I don't plan to go abroad, so … I don't need a foreign language. I mean, English is only needed by honor students, those who want to go to college or who want to become high officials in the future. Or it's necessary when you have to communicate with people from other countries, which has nothing to do with my future plan.
R:	You said you wanted to go to college to major in sports.
S16:	We don't have to study English that hard, as it is only a small part of the score to go to a college of physical education. We are required to have a basic level of English. It doesn't really matter because I don't plan to live abroad, so …
R:	Don't you think there might be textbooks written in English at the college of physical education?
S16:	There might be. If so, I can ask the person sitting next to me, "What's this?" I think I will be able to read most textbooks if they are not too difficult.

Student 16's English ideology was directly opposed to the general English ideology in the Korean context, but the reason for his contradictory ideology was related to his low self-positioning. In other words, he perceived the world in a binary way, as seen above, and his black-and-white distinction also included people and their relationship with English: those who needed to study English were in a high position while he was in a low position. The former consisted of honor students with a promising future to become high officials. They might have the opportunity to go abroad or meet people from abroad. However, Student 16 did not belong to this group. The only thing he had in common with this group was the desire to go to college. In addition, he distinguished himself from these people by stating that his major, sports, only required a basic level of English, which he already possessed. His assumption that the person sitting next to him in college would be able to answer his question was questionable if (s)he had the same attitude. Nevertheless, he was sure that he would not need English in his future.

As mentioned earlier, these students' reactions to the prevalent English ideology could be an enactment of their agency as stakeholders in the Korean English

education system. Conversely, their conflicting ideals reflected the prevalent English ideology, suggesting that English is necessary to succeed in Korean society and that those who give up studying English should be placed in lower positions compared with them. In short, the theme showing students opposed to the *English fever ideology* in Korea illustrated the societal level of this ideology, which could influence and/or be influenced by dissonance between school, home, and private academies.

6.1.3 Irresistible Temptation: Industries Aiming at Teenagers

6.1.3.1 Ambivalent Private English Academies

In Chap. 4, on the micro-level of analysis and actions of the sleeping-in-class phenomenon, the influence of the private education sector in the Korean education system is demonstrated by the fact that a large number of students (34 out of 65) attended or had attended some form of private English education. In addition, private English academies ranked first among the various types of private English education, including English kindergarten, online classes, private tutoring, and homeschool materials. Some may wonder why these *left-behind students* spent time and money studying English outside of school while they slept during class. Although this abnormal cycle was mentioned by several teachers and students in the previous sections, there was little discussion about why students attended private English academies.

There were two groups of students who attended private English academies. The first group of students went to private English academies to study the school content *prior to* studying the same content at school. In other words, they studied the textbook and prepared for the exams before doing the same at school. As a result, repetitive English classes at school were boring for them. In addition, as mentioned earlier, students stayed up late because classes in private English academies were all after-school programs. This explained why five teachers used the expression *putting the cart before the horse* to describe the relationship between English education in school and English education in the private education sector, especially private English academies. Teacher 1 explicitly pointed out this situation by stating that about 70% of students in her school attended private English academies, believing they could learn *real knowledge* there and not at school. She laughed sadly and added that she knew that these students only came to school to play with other students and receive their diploma.

Although teachers lamented this reversal of the order of host and guest, they unconsciously excluded students who did not attend private academies during class. Three students mentioned that their teachers assumed that students had already learned the content in private academies. Therefore, they often skipped parts of the textbook or did not give enough explanation to students who did not understand the

content. Student 10 felt that this was not fair to those who did not or could not attend private English academies, as teachers only focused on those who did during class. He strongly expressed his negative feelings as follows.

[Excerpt 6.10]

Student 10 (S10):	I want to get rid of all private academies.
Researcher (R):	Pardon?
S10:	I want all private English academies to disappear.
R:	You want all private English academies to disappear?
S10:	Yes.
R:	Do you think we can do that?
S10:	I wish other students couldn't study like me.
R:	(laughing) Why do you think that?
S10:	Why?
R:	Yes, why do you think that?
S10:	You know, the starting line should be the same for everyone, but …
R:	Uh-huh.
S10:	There are students who can go to private academies and others who can't. But teachers only focus on those who can, and it makes it harder to catch up.
R:	Hmm.
S10:	All students are originally the same. I mean, they're like me. If they don't go to private academies, they can never be good with just the things we learn at school. If no one goes to private academies, teachers will teach us better based on our level, right?

Student 10's statement corroborated that of Teacher 1 in that many students attended private academies, so those who did not belonged to the minority. As a result, the abnormal juxtaposition of school and private academy became the norm, placing minority students in the position of *left-behind students*. Although the minority students' reliance on school corresponded to the true meaning of school education, the gap between those who went to private English academies and those who did not created an atmosphere of anxiety: if students did not attend private academies, they would fall behind. Because of this anxiety, some sleeping students also went to private academies, mainly for supplementary lessons rather than following the logic of prior learning. However, as Student 2 mentioned, these students were often tired of going back and forth between school and private academies and did not find private academies useful. As a result, they stopped attending private academies and fell asleep during class. In summary, private English academies were often thought to be the main source of devastation of English education in public schools, regardless of students' level of English proficiency.

In contrast, the second group of students attended private English academies because they offered them a more customized English education, based on their

needs and proficiency level. This *customized education* was not only possible for English, but also for other skills, particularly those related to their future career. Specifically, five students mentioned spending a lot of time in private academies learning cooking, acting, dance, makeup, or Japanese. In addition, the parents of these students were happy to meet their needs in the private education sector, which they could not do in the public school system. For instance, Student 9's parents sent their son to a private Japanese academy because they thought that he would have a better chance of finding a job as a designer, like them, if he could speak Japanese. As Student 9 could not learn Japanese at school, sending him to a private Japanese academy was an optimal educational option for them.

With regard to private English academies, Student 8 specified their advantages over the standardized public school. She stated that she could not ask questions to her teacher or concentrate on studying at school, while she could in her private English academy. Here is her comparison of these two systems.

[Excerpt 6.11]

Student 8 (S8):	If I have a question, I can ask my teacher at the private academy. And if I complete the materials faster than others, I can rest. I mean, I can ask a question individually to my teacher. That's how it works in the academy I attend.
Researcher (R):	I see, the teacher explains the content, and …
S8:	And we work individually.
R:	You work individually … and ask a question individually if you have one.
S8:	Yes.
R:	So, you prefer this method.
S8:	Yes.
R:	What about school?
S8:	Teachers cannot take care of individual students at school. They can only take care of us as a whole group, I think.
R:	Uh-huh.
S8:	So, even if I have a question, I just forget it, I don't ask my teacher. And … I can't concentrate on studying at school.
R:	Why not?
S8:	I don't know. I just can't (laughing).
R:	(laughing) Well, is it because of the physical distance between you and your teacher in class?
S8:	Well, maybe, it *is* pretty far.

The main reason given by Student 8 for sleeping during English classes at school while studying hard at her private academy was that she could ask questions to the teacher freely, without taking into account other students' reactions. The study pace was individualized, so was the question and answer session. Therefore, she felt supported by her teacher. At school, she was just one of many students likely to be considered marginalized, left behind, sleeping students, while she was valued as a

student in her private academy. As a result, the *distance* she described could be the physical distance between herself and her school teacher, but it could also refer to the psychological distance. It is possible that she could not concentrate on studying at school because of the psychological burden that worked as a barrier to active participation in class. For Student 8, her private English academy was a shelter for learning and for her psychological needs.

Overall, the status of private English academies in Korean English education in relation to the sleeping-in-class phenomenon was ambivalent. It was the main source of devastation of the public school system, but it was the ideal place to meet the diverse educational needs of many students. Therefore, which aspect should we value more? This question remains to be answered.

6.1.3.2 Media and Culture Industries

The next theme was the direct reason students slept in class, physical exhaustion. Ten out of 65 students mentioned that they were physically tired because they went to bed late, playing computer games, watching TV or YouTube, playing with their smartphone, or updating their SNS, such as Facebook. They also spent a lot of nighttime playing with their friends outside, in a Karaoke room, a café, or a PC room. Therefore, their sleep cycles were very irregular. For instance, Student 14 stayed up until 2 a.m. and came to school in the morning drunk with sleep. Similarly, Student 17 stayed up all night chatting with his friends on his smartphone. As a result, this lack of sleep led them to sleep in class. These 10 students complained that they were so tired that they could not sit up and focus on the lessons.

Although people in modern society cannot live without the Internet and a smartphone, the degree of dependence of these students on their devices seemed dangerous and could even be considered an *addiction*. The teachers were aware of this and pointed it out as a serious problem. For instance, six teachers mentioned the issue of students going to bed late and identified different media (i.e., SNS, computer games, smartphones) and youth culture (i.e., hanging out with friends) as the main causes. Teacher 7 categorized these causes by taking the example of her students.

[Excerpt 6.12]

Teacher 7 (T7): Some students bring a pillow-sized cushion to school. It's exactly the same size as the desk. Yes, they bring it to school. These kids play games until midnight or hang out with their friends all the time. They're habitual offenders. They even drink alcohol. Yeah, it's sad because it means that their parents never pay attention to them. I feel sorry for them. They actually hang out with their friends and do things on SNS … Yeah, I think that's the main reason. About 90% of students who don't sit up when I wake them up go to bed late and their reasons are usually because they played computer games, hung out with friends, and indulged in

pleasures and entertainment. One of my students always sleeps at school. He told me, "I want to become a professional gamer." But in my opinion, he should try harder to become one. But he always says that. The funny thing is that he doesn't sleep during recess and only sleeps during class. In short, he sleeps and plays with other students at school and after school, he goes to a PC room.

Researcher (R): It's weird if he doesn't fall asleep during class.

T7: That's what I mean. Computer games, smartphones, and friends. These are the main reasons. It's extremely difficult to make these students participate in class if we don't solve these problems first. They have to sleep at home, but if they don't, it's physiologically natural that they sleep at school. This makes them more sensitive and irritable and everything. Yes, I think that's how it works. What should we do? We should wake them up at school, but surely there is a limit.

The students described by Teacher 7 had a life pattern similar to that of night workers: awake at night and sleeping during the day. Their sleep was different from dozing off during class because it was planned by preparing comfortable sleeping conditions with a pillow-sized cushion adapted to the size of their desk. On the one hand, it was understandable because they lacked sleep and had to catch up on sleep as human beings. On the other hand, their selective sleep pattern during the day was inexplicable, sleeping only during class and not during recess. This left their teachers perplexed, wondering, "What should we do?" They were sorry for the situations, such as the parent factor, that triggered their sleep-wake inversion, but they also felt helpless because waking them up during class could not fundamentally solve this issue.

Regarding the reason why these students slept selectively during the day, this was explained by Teacher 12. He shared his experience of talking with sleeping students. These students were *disorderly students* who smoke at school, and during a counseling session with them, he realized that sleeping in class was their way of expressing their favorable attitude toward him. In other words, they said that they would not sleep during class if they did not think the teacher cared about them. They thought that he was a good teacher, so they did not want to disturb his class. As a result, they slept during his class. According to them, if they did not like their teacher, they did other things, such as playing with their smartphone or even watching porn. His story is presented in Excerpt 6.13.

[Excerpt 6.13]

Teacher 12 (T12): They said, "You're a hard-working teacher, so …" So, I told them, "Hey, then what about other teachers? Don't they work hard?" And they answered, "Other teachers are not interested in teaching us." Yes, that's what they told me.

Researcher (R): You mean, they recognize you as a good teacher, so …

T12: So, they sleep in my class.

R: Excuse me?
T12: They help me by sleeping during my class.
R: They help you? By sleeping?
T12: Yes, their intention is "I won't bother you at least."
R: They won't bother you at least.
T12: Yes, that's what they told me.
R: But then, what do they do if they don't sleep? Do they talk with other students if they want to disturb your class?
T12: They do other stuff at the back of the class.
R: I see.
T12: They play games on their smartphones.
R: Do they talk with other students?
T12: Yes. They play games and giggle. They sometimes watch porn on YouTube.
R: Using their smartphones?
T12: Yes. You can do everything with a smartphone today. Other students … I mean, you probably cannot imagine the situation in which you're teaching English in front of students and some of them are giggling at the back of the class … the students who sit next to them all know what they are doing.
R: You mean what they are watching, right?
T12: Yes.

According to Teacher 12, the issue of using a smartphone in class did not stop at disrupting students' sleep patterns. Students were addicted to it and used it during class, even watching porn with other students. Therefore, compared with using a smartphone during class, sleeping was a much more moderate action for which teachers should be grateful, despite the irony.

In addition to the uncontrollable use of smartphones, hanging out with their friends was more than just getting along with their peers. As illustrated in Teacher 7's statement, some students were very close to juvenile delinquency, doing prohibited things, such as drinking alcohol or indulging in pleasures and entertainment. Student 7 explained that she was eager to hang out with her friends because she was scared of losing them and that she felt at ease because the members of her group were not studying either. The discussion with Student 7 was as follows:

[Excerpt 6.14]

Researcher (R): So, you play because your friends play?
Student 7 (S7): Yes … I mean, if I don't play with them, I feel distanced from them.
R: I see.
S7: If I say that I will be in another group, then it's obvious that I won't be close to them.
R: You think so?
S7: Yes, feeling distant is the only result I can think of.

R: I see.
S7: And … I also think, "She's playing, so I can play too." I mean I tell myself, "She's not studying, so why should I?"
R: OK.
S7: Yes … That's it.

Student 7's statement showed how important it was for her to be close to her good friends. More importantly, it illustrated the critical role of peer pressure on the psychological well-being of students. For them, being in the same group and doing the same thing were more important than studying because they felt reassured. Although Student 7's group of friends was probably not considered as a *smart student group* by her teachers or classmates, it was the most important thing in her school life. As a result, she could not stop hanging out with them, spending time and money outside of school until late at night.

6.1.3.3 Juvenile Employment

The last theme was also related to the macro social structure, juvenile employment. Although they were still adolescents, some students were employed by independent businessmen. Four students mentioned that they went to bed late because they had a part-time job, such as working in a convenience store or a gas station. Similar to those who played with their smartphones or hung out with friends until late at night, these students experienced sleep-wake inversion, staying up late and sleeping at school. They also complained of being physically tired, so there was no other way than to fall asleep during class. The main reason why these students were involved in an economic activity at an early age instead of focusing on their studies was financial. Student 5 stated that he did not play computer games often because he worked at a gas station on weekends.

[Excerpt 6.15]

Student 5 (S5): I don't have much time for online games or that kind of thing.
Researcher (R): You don't have time to play computer games?
S5: No.
R: Do you work part-time or something?
S5: Yes.
R: What kind of work do you do?
S5: I work at a gas station.
R: You work at a gas station.
S5: Yes.
R: Then, how many hours do you work per day?
S5: I work only on weekends for about 14 h, 12 h? Saturdays and Sundays.
R: Why do you want to make money then? Do you have something to buy or …?

S5: Well … that's part of the reason … Um … I need pocket money because I'm always short of money. And … and I practice economy every day because I know how hard it is to make money.

It was not clear why Student 5 fell asleep during English classes as he worked only on weekends. However, the important point was that Student 5 voluntarily participated in juvenile employment because he wanted to make money, not because he was the breadwinner of the family. He wanted to earn more pocket money, and according to him, he did not waste it. In other words, he was involved in an economic activity, like many adults in this capitalistic society. Similarly, Teacher 7, who knew their lives outside of school, explained why some students were involved in juvenile employment. Mentioning the problems of the media and culture industries, including computer games, smartphones, and hanging out with friends, she discussed the current state of juvenile employment.

[Excerpt 6.16]

Teacher 7 (T7): I think a number of students work part-time these days.
Researcher (R): Where do they work?
T7: You know, they work at fast food outlets, like Lotteria[1] or Tteokbokki[2] places. Male students sometimes work as delivery men. I don't like it because they have to ride a bike, but they do.
R: They probably need money.
T7: Well, that's actually a complex issue. I mean, some of them need money because they want to spend it, but some students have to support their families. In some cases, they want to earn pocket money because their parents can't give it to them and some students work part-time because of their girlfriend or boyfriend. Other students want to make money because they know that they're not a *study type* person. They think it's better to make money than to waste time hanging out with their friends all the time.

As Teacher 7 mentioned, students who worked part-time were exposed to several problems. First, they usually worked in small stores where they could be exploited by their employers. Obviously, this should not be overgeneralized, but employers in these small businesses might not provide students with formal written contracts or guarantee the legal minimum wage. Second, they were exposed to various types of danger, particularly when riding a bike to work as delivery men. The legal age of a motorcycle license in Korea is 16, but some might not have reached that age while working as delivery men. Therefore, they could be involved

[1]Lotteria is a well-known fast food franchise chain in Korea. It is the Korean equivalent of McDonald's.

[2]*Tteokbokki*, stir-fried rice cakes, is a Korean food that is popular in small snack bars near schools.

in unlicensed driving and car accidents due to their reckless driving. Third, because students wanted to make money for a variety of reasons, it could be difficult for teachers to wake them up while justifying the need to study English. These students needed good reasons why studying English was more important than making money to sit up and focus on English classes.

Student 28 showed that these reasons had to be sophisticated based on the needs of each student. Student 28 also worked part-time in a convenience store and wanted to communicate with foreign customers in English. However, she thought that English at school did not meet her desire to use English as a tool for practical communication with foreigners.

[Excerpt 6.17]

Student 28 (S 28): Now I work part-time in a convenience store and there are many foreigners in my neighborhood. I mean, there is this group of foreign workers working in a factory or a similar place. Anyway, they come to the store quite often. Some of them speak Korean, but others cannot speak Korean at all. But the problem is that I cannot speak English, so when they come to the store, I feel embarrassed. They use body language for me.

Researcher (R): So, you think English is a communication tool that you can use in these situations. Then, what about English classes at school? You can learn English there.

S28: Not really. No. You know, English at school, it's all about the textbook. I mean, there are several themes and vocabulary lists that we need to learn. But I don't need these words to communicate with foreigners while working in a convenience store.

R: So, you think that English is necessary, but not the type of English you learn at school.

S28: Exactly! I guess we learned some useful vocabulary in middle school, maybe, but not in high school.

In Student 28's case, being involved in juvenile employment gave her the opportunity to reflect on the need for English based on her experience of serving foreign customers in a convenience store. In other words, she knew that she could communicate more easily with them if she was good at English. However, she still slept during English classes at school because her classes did not allow her to speak with foreigners. This echoed the first micro-level reason related to the unappealing content of English classes. In addition, it highlighted how English classes at school and the needs of these sleeping and working students could converge. In conclusion, the micro-/meso-/macro-level analyses yielded complex and multifaceted results, that needed to be investigated in an organic way to promote a better understanding of the sleeping-in-class phenomenon of Korean students.

6.2 Interpretation

The influences of macro-level factors on education and their interactions can better be understood from historical and cultural perspectives. In this section, we will connect the characteristics of Korean education revealed in the preceding section of analyses to the traditional values conferred to education and learning, the modern efforts to transform Korean education, and the roles of cultural industry in modern Korean culture. More specifically, we look into the contextualized meaning of education in Korea focusing on its role as means of upward mobility and how these socially conventionalized ideologies are intertwined with the students themselves, their family, and the cultural industry in modern Korean society.

6.2.1 Education as Means for Ascension

6.2.1.1 The Traditional Roots of Exam-Centered Education

The system of civil service examination or *gwageo* in Korea was introduced in the year of 958 by King Gwangjong of the Goryeo Dynasty and continuously used in the same dynasty and the next, Joseon, until its abolition through the Gabo Reform completed in 1895. It lasted in total for almost 1,000 years. The *gwageo* system was originally intended to check the power of the ruling class of aristocrats, who could empower themselves through the *eumseo* ("shadow favor") and the *cheongeo* ("recommendation") systems. Using these, they recruited government officials through their personal connections: the ruling-class people's direct family lines or acquaintanceship. In the two dynasties, which had a caste system, the *gwageo* examination was the only portal through which a lower class person and his family could ascend to the highest caste of ruling class officially and honorably (Yangban 2013).

In preparation for *gwageo* exams, many Joseon people sent children to the *seodang* or a village school for primary education; then to the *hyanggyo* or a governmental town college, or to a *seowon*, a private college in the region, for secondary and tertiary education; and then optionally to the *seonggyungwan* or a governmental college at the then capital city of Hanyang for tertiary education.

When a son passed the *gwageo* examination, he and his extended family ascended on to the highest caste of *yangban* in the Joseon period. A family was a group sharing a common destiny. Its members shared very strong *group ties*, and the family groupness was culturally maintained and strengthened with the collective labor on the rice field, the documents of family genealogy, the intricate system of the coming-of-age, wedding, funeral, and ancestral rites, and the ethics and discipline among family members. For discipline purposes, the fathers maintained a strict stance and mothers were affectionate to children; children were expected to have filial piety, among others.

For selection purposes, the Japanese colonizers of Korea introduced entrance examinations for higher levels of education during the period between 1919 and 1945. Even though they were legally open to anyone, however, educational opportunities were unfairly restricted for Korean children compared with those for Japanese counterparts. Further, academic schools were valued as more prestigious, but technical schools were recommended more to Korean children. Only a very limited number of Korean students could go to secondary and tertiary institutions of education. With higher credentials, they were afforded better job opportunities.

Koreans' exam-oriented education has deep roots in their long history of selection systems in a hierarchical society.

6.2.1.2 National Planning of Education for Economic Ascension

When Korean people partially regained the light of independence and freedom in 1945, the U.S. Military Government transplanted the American system of education in South Korea. When the devastating Korean War (1950–53) was over, Korean governments had to compete with the communist North Korea externally and to reconstruct national economy internally. They sought the most efficient ways to do so by planning and implementing centralized projects of economical and educational development (Jung 2014; Lee 2003).

The Government strictly controlled what contents to teach in what subjects and how. The Korean Education Law of 1949 stipulated that "subjects of schools except for colleges, colleges of education, and informal schools shall be prescribed by a Presidential decree, and their courses of study and class hours, by a regulation of the Ministry" (Article 155). The Ministry of Education was to publish textbooks for primary education and textbooks for policy subjects like Korean Language and Literature, Korean History, and Social Life, and it approved the textbooks for the other subjects.

For this, the Government determines the broad aims of primary and secondary education including major English language education policies (Kwon 2019). And subject specialists are hired to define subject aims and the scope of the contents in the documents of national curricula; abiding by the curricular specifications, textbook writers produce textbooks under contracts with the Government or with publishers. Teachers are to teach their subjects based on textbooks and measure to what extent their students achieved the educational aims and objectives.

Educationists and subject specialists adopted various novel approaches to primary and secondary educational curricula, e.g., centered on subjects (1948–62), experiences (1962–73), disciplines (1973–81), and humanism (1981–1995) (Lee 2003). What was unchanging, however, was the fact that the Governments took a firm control of the scope of educational contents, all pursuing educational efficiency in transfer of knowledge and skills. This made all the fancy approaches and jargons thereof simple decorations of the national curriculum documents. They didn't affect front-line schooling much.

When inflating high school records was problematized, the Government began in 2005 to adopt norm-based assessment in place of the system of achievement assessment, which had been introduced in 1996. In 2011, the Ministry of Education announced that it would introduce the achievement assessment system from 2014 and have the results be used as data for college entrance from 2017. But the policy was criticized as being too beneficial to special-purpose high schools and autonomous private high schools that increased significantly in number that year and its introduction and its use in college admission were originally delayed on to the year of 2018 and 2021, respectively, in vain.

In terms of grading, currently, students engage in a zero-sum game in high school; only 4% can be in the first grade in marking; only 7%, the second grade; only 12%, the third grade; and only 17%, the fourth grade (Sect. 5.2.1). In the current grading system, structurally, the majority of students always cannot satisfy and be accepted by their parents, their most important others; as long as they think in the grading frame of reference, neither they nor their parents will ever be happy and they cannot afford to maintain their self-esteem.

From the academic year of 1996, the Government strengthened the transcript of high school record and had cumulative records of high school students' performance be used for college admission. It should include academic records and personal characters and other achievements that are difficult to quantify or grade and gave a vent to test-focused pedagogy.

The Government also had the Korea Education Broadcasting System (or EBS) be founded in 2000, which began to broadcast KSAT courses in 2004. It then had the EBS reference books be connected to 30% of the KSAT problem items at first, then to up to at least 70% of them from 2010. It politically took this series of actions of EBS-KSAT connection to reduce the financial burdens due to private education, and also the educational gap between students in cities and those in rural areas.

A brief review of the exposition we made thus far illustrates how tightly the Government has controlled the primary and secondary education in Korea. The control began for the purpose of supporting economic development, and the planned economy and education worked miraculously. Korea has become the seventh member of the so-called 30-50 club of countries with a population of more than 50 million people which have reached the gross national income per capita of 30 million dollars.

All the governmental initiatives were ostensibly taken in order to *normalize* high school education, but most of them turned out to have malignant side effects. It was so because parents and the *hagweon industry* indulged in taking advantage of their blind spots, so that they could make their children to take the higher ground in educational competition. Their concern seemed to be primarily with winning in competition and prosperity, rather than with genuine education.

6.2.1.3 Familial Planning of Education for Academic Ascension

Since private education was becoming too rampant, the Korean government mostly banned private tutoring in 1980. But this regulation was judged to be unconstitutional in 2000, which has made parents and *hagweon* industry have their swing of indulgence.

Parents generally want to leave their children in good living conditions. Korean parents are not exceptions here. Maybe they are exceptions in that their tendency to do so is extraordinarily strong. This is perhaps natural in collectivist culture; as mentioned above, the ties among family members are fairly strong in the Korean culture/society.

Traditional ethical duties of Korean parents include educating their offspring properly. They wanted to bequeath a high social status as well as wealth to their children. In old days, the *eumseo* system was one perspicuous example: Aristocratic fathers could put their sons in a governmental position. As in any other culture, rich enough parents would also invite a good teacher to educate their kids privately. Lower class people had to give up because their affordances were too limited.

Colleges as Cow-bone Towers When they became free from the Japanese shackle of colonization, Korean parents had a very strong desire to secure well-being for their kids. When the modern Republic of Korea didn't allow for the type of advancement based on personal connection, school education and official examinations have apparently become fair means of socioeconomical ascension. Many Korean parents were willing to sacrifice the comfort of their life to support their children's education. They did not believe in fair play; rather they did their best. If their children are cooperative, wealthy families could always pursue private tutoring to send their children to *better* colleges and universities. In rural areas parents were not hesitant to even sell cows, the major means in farming life, to support their children's college education; colleges were called an *ugoltap* ("cow-bone tower"), in analogy of the expression of *ivory tower*.

Parental Independence from School These days, portals to higher classes are wider open. Rich people want to make sure that their children are recognized as high class socially and symbolically as well as economically. Middle-class people want to fulfill their duty by driving their kids into *hagweon* programs. Poorer people want to fulfill their duties as much as possible. There is a fierce competition between classes: The higher class wants to make distinction with various extracurricular courses, but the lower classes follow the suit, if possible, and try to mitigate or nullify the class gap (Bourdieu 1984).

At first, parents sent their children to a *hagweon* to supplement what they lacked. When competition became tense, the *hagweon* began to provide the educational service of *prior learning*: It dealt with, say, the English contents one month or semester earlier than school would do. When only a few students benefited from this type of pre-actional education service, it was very effective; they could run ahead of others and achieve good academic scores. Because they repeated the same content once more in school, their understanding must have been deeper than that of their ordinary classmates. In this way, a class-wise distinction (Bourdieu 1984) was

created. When the *hagweon* business grows bigger and more parents became aware of such *secrets* of high scoring, they also wanted to invest money for their children. *Prior learning* became an *educational vogue*.

Parents also realized that school education itself cannot help their children to speak English as fluently as native speakers: Schools don't have native speaker models of the English language; class hours are not sufficiently long in total; teachers' pronunciations are not satisfactory; classes are not effective because of slow learners or of their big size. Eventually, they trusted in *hagweon* education more than school education. The only reason that they send their children to school is to show that the kids graduated from a good high school still as a *normal* kid.

In a sense, the majority students, along with the school, unintentionally exert educational violence on minority students. They attend one or more *hagweons*, where they are usually trained for official English tests and are prepared for school examinations when time is ripe; then school teachers respond by touching lightly the contents to be covered and spend more time in applicational activities or exercise solving. This *upgraded* pedagogical practice caused mal-understanding of subject contents on the part of poor students who cannot afford *hagweon* education; when accumulated, this drives them into slumber.

As a matter of fact, the non-high-class people feel it a huge financial burden to support their children running a private educational curriculum for them. As the *hagweon* industry invents more services, students are forced to spend more time in *hagweons* in accordance with their parents' desires to win.

A breakthrough in English education has been achieved collectively in Korea. University professors, diplomats, and employees of big companies were in a relatively better position for their children's English education: They could take their children when they were dispatched overseas for official purposes. At first, rich families sought out ways to send their kids overseas for exposure to English and culture in vacation programs or longer courses of study (Lee 2016), if possible, along with their mothers; the so-called *wild-goose fathers* remained in Korea, sometimes alone, and supported their children's overseas education financially. This practice produced not a small number of familial and educational problems.

These days, some parents high in education fever are sending their kids to an English kindergarten, which costs as much as, or sometimes more than, college tuitions. After that, they send them to domestic international schools, if qualified, or to *hagweons* where native speakers of English teach with authentic American textbooks or storybooks. Later they send them to higher level *hagweons* where they are taught in preparation of official English tests such as Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC).

In this way, such parents don't need any more to be separated from their children for English education purposes and bear the risk of giving them too much freedom too early. If the children survive such a private curriculum, they have nothing to learn from English classes in high school. Many can endure the boredom to become successful; some go asleep; some others fall in despair feeling that they don't have a

proper aptitude for English, when they are forced to be positioned in a lower rank under the system of norm-based assessment.

6.2.2 *Side Effects of Planned Education*

In the cauldron of the examination-focused culture, the system of planned education by the Government and the parents has also produced a number of monstrous side effects that deteriorate the society itself. These include educational credentialism and *hakbeolism*, an internal disintegration of family, illness of mind on the part of students and teachers, and the crippled implementation of high school curricula.

6.2.2.1 Educational Credentialism and *Hakbeolism*

Credentialism is understood as "[belief] in or reliance on academic or other formal qualifications as the best measure of a person's intelligence or ability to do a particular job" (English Oxford Living Dictionaries). Kang (1994) classifies educational credentialism into two types: vertical and horizontal. *Vertical educational credentialism* is, for example, believing that college graduates are more capable than high school graduates; *horizontal educational credentialism* is believing that graduates from a particular university are more qualified than those from others. This second type is called *hakbeoljuui* in Korean (Kong 2011), which is introduced into the international academia as *hakbeolism* (Jung 2014) because a *hakbeol* in Korean is understood as "a kind of social status people achieve based on a shared academic background," or "a group of people who help and rely on each other, who are from the same school" (p. 49). *Hakbeol* is even characterized as "a 'degree-caste system' wherein one's undergraduate pedigree dictates lifelong earning potential and social status [(Kim 2011)]" (Garrison et al. 2017, p. 106).

Kang (1994) provides an interesting analysis of the historical construction of educational credentialism in Korea. According to him, its construction was dictated by the duel structure of educational opportunities in the Korean Empire and the Japanese colony eras: Theoretically, educational chances were open to every Korean; practically, however, they were afforded only to a few elites because of the entrance exam system and the limited seats in higher schools. Hence, it meant that only very talented students could go to a higher institution of education and obtain prestigious jobs and a higher social position. In the 1950s through 1970s, educational credentials were trusted on the basis of the theoretical equality of educational opportunities and the objectivity of entrance examinations assessing scholastic abilities. Colleges and universities were constrained in number and in the number of students they could recruit; the economy was growing so college graduates could find decent jobs easily. This strengthened the vertical type of educational credentialism in Korea.

In the same period, competition and exam preparation became too intense and undermined regular school curricula, so the Government abolished the system of secondary school examinations. And the opportunities for secondary education expanded significantly.

In the 1980s, the national demand grew significantly for higher education. This led the Government to loosen the regulations on higher education. The number of college students expanded dramatically, so college education became available for the mass. The job market for college graduates, however, slowly lost its vitality, so the value of college diplomas deflated. Accordingly, rankings of colleges became more significant in their graduates' job searching. The universalism and centralism that the Korean government pursued in the periods mentioned above have centralized economic and cultural power into Seoul; hence, in-Seoul colleges and universities grew in prestige and became targets for high school studying (Kim 2008). This meant the establishment of horizontal educational credentialism.

Still, Korean parents believe that their children should at least go to college because college education has become a minimum credentials for success and social upgrading. This vertical version of educational credentialism explains why so many students are pushed into academic high schools by their parents; even technical high schools are used as a route for college admission. And the horizontal type of education credentialism explains why high school students have to compete so fiercely to go to in-Seoul universities and preferably the so-called SKY universities (the acronym for Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University in Seoul) among them. The resulting endless competition has come to destroy the mental as well as physical well-being of many high school students.

6.2.2.2 Internal Disintegration of Family

Economic industrialization drew population into big cities and transformed the structure of industry reducing the ratio of agriculture but increasing the second and third sectors. This has slowly disintegrated the extended family into the structure of core families. The modern capitalist culture has also been destroying slowly the traditional ethics among family members as well.

A further breakdown of family ties may have been chastened by planned education by parents who want to ensure a more prosperous life for their children. The planned education contributes to a conflict between parents and children, at that not infrequently. An account of this, Teacher 5, who had taught school dropouts at an alternative school, provides as follows:

[Excerpt 6.18]

Teacher 5 (T5): Kids in Korea are heavily pressured to study from primary school days. It is in the upper grades that they come to have conflicts with their parents and potentially break their relationships. In many cases the relationships are not remedied however hard their parents make efforts to do so. Because of this guy called

> studying, so many of them maintain no trusting relationships because the level of parental demand is too high. They feel, 'My parents don't treat me as a person.' Coming up to middle school, they preserve and express the depth of their conflicts by doing all crazy things. Their parents pressure them like that for their competitiveness, for their benefit, but they speak ill of their mothers whenever they meet other friends' mothers. They don't accept their parents; their schools, either.

This narrative indicates that to a certain extent chronic in-class sleeping may have originated from parents' excessive expectation for their children to win the fierce competition. In a sense, unfortunately, many ordinary parents in Korea don't know how to *accept* their children with *empathy* and *unconditional positive regard* (Rogers 1961, 1969). As we considered previously (Sect. 4.3.2), this fatal ignorance has generally unable to meet their children's psychological needs. It aggravated the state of affairs unintentionally® and ruined students' psychological growth and well-being, and it would perhaps threaten to mar their entire life (Deci and Ryan 2000; Dweck 2017).

6.2.2.3 Students with the *Illness of Mind*

When we discussed a system of leveled classes to help in-class sleepers wake up, Teacher 5 used the Korean expression of *maeum-ui byeong* (마음의 병, "illness of mind" in English), saying, "In fact, Professor, as far as I can see, even if we do that, there will be many in-class sleepers. […] because their problem is not a matter of difficulty. Their problem is an illness of mind. […] In fact, students who can listen if they will often fall flat on the desk into slumber. These kids don't like their reality, […] the situation that the conflicts in relationship haven't resolved."

Teacher 6 also used exactly the same expression talking about ways to help in-class sleepers:

[Excerpt 6.19]

Teacher 6:	[…] The sleeping problem is really too… a problem difficult to overcome unless such fundamental parts are solved that underlie at the deepest.
R(esearcher):	What do you mean by *fundamental parts to solve*?
T6:	These kids have no reason to study, probably due to family environments; some haven't studied adolescence-wise. They will be kids suffering from the so-called illness of mind.
R:	The illness of mind is…
T6:	It can be an illness of attention; they might not have overcome the adolescence; about their helplessness, teachers can at most do counseling but they are not experts in it […] almost no teacher can

> transform their helplessness […] When we dig in, the biggest problem comes from the familial environment itself […]

Teacher 6 seemed to think that the illness of mind can come from lack of attention or from the insufficient psychological growth and well-being students have suffered. He emphasized such students' helpless attitude, mostly originating from their unsatisfactory family situations, as incurable. Teacher 9 talked about a female student who mostly slept in classes. She realized that the student had her mother already pass away and had two siblings. She thought the girl seemed to suffer from lack of affection.

At the time of interview, Teacher 10 was working for an autonomous private high school located in a highly affluent area. According to him, if students become second- and third-years, their emotional problems get worse significantly; many suffer from depression and some attempt to do extreme behaviors like self-injury or suicide; one student in his class in fact attempted to commit suicide. Further, he recalled that in middle school he witnessed much harsher emotional problems among students. His statements are indirectly supported by statistics that Lee (2018) delivers: In an early 2018 Ministry of Education survey on primary and secondary students, 4,505 (7.9%) of the 514,710 middle school students answered that they had an experience of self-injury, whereas 29,026 (6.4%) of the 452,107 high school students answered in the same way.

6.2.3 Culture Industry: A Portal into Freedom

6.2.3.1 *Hagweon* Industry as Top Dog

As mentioned in Sect. 5.1.3, Teacher 6 used the expressions the degree of *school/hagweon dependency* when comparing the previous schools he had worked for with the current school he was working for. In more rural districts, students were more school-dependent, had no *hagweons* around, and after-school programs were vitalized; in the city of Ilsan, a suburb of Seoul, however, students were more reliant on private education so after-school programs were not popular; they seemingly didn't try to get much knowledge from school.

When *hagweons* are prosperous in the neighborhood, schools have more in-class sleepers. Most Korean parents in wealthy areas rely on *hagweon* rather than school. Charging more money, *hagweons* can provide tailor-made programs for smaller, streamed groups of students; they can satisfy students' academic and psychological needs more effectively. They are appropriate for elite education; their achievements in college admission must be so shiny that they can persuade more parents to invest money in the private education they provide. The more expensive their tuitions are, the more they can satisfy the higher classes' desire for distinction (Bourdieu 1984) as well.

In this way, *hagweons* have always turned out to be top dogs because they function as a portal for parents' and students' freedom to select the type of education they want. They are especially effective when they provide the type of training that local schools can't, such as cooking, actor/singer training, foreign languages other than English.

When *hagweons* train students for school exams, however, the top dogs can do a significant amount of harm to their school curricula and to their children that parents are unaware of. They make the school class contents dull and their children bored: They deprive the novelty and pleasure of school learning. In some sense, they make the students have to kill most of the class hours; this state of boredom cannot meet the students' psychological needs; consequently, such *hagweon* education only make the students very unhappy in school. What a waste the precious school life becomes!

The students, however, are robbed of much more valuable chances of learning which will be required in college education and in their entire life. It is learning how to learn, the very competence that is most required in the current era (Rogers 1961, 1969): how to analyze the contents themselves, how to plan, regulate, and direct one's life; how to exert their agency; how to be creative, how to be themselves; and so on (Nahm 2011). The top student that Teacher 1 mentioned vividly illustrates this blind point of *hagweon* education. He frequently slept in her class, but he faithfully copied what she wrote on the blackboard. What the teacher realized later was that the student was taking what he copied to his *hagweon* teacher, who would analyze the contents of his English classes and inform him about what his next English examinations would look like. Shinil Kim (personal communication, Aug. 3, 2018) recalled her high school days after finishing her college and graduate courses, and she confirmed that practice: In her high school days, she used to take what she wrote down in school classes to her *hagweon* teachers, who would predict for her the problem sets of the upcoming exams, and so on. She added that her high school education didn't teach her how to think.

6.2.3.2 The Consumer-Media Culture

Online games, highly developed SNS networks, and Internet portal services constitute another portal to student freedom. Students find comfort, meet new acquaintances and friends, and expose themselves to information that schools don't provide, through such services. They can be creative, socially cooperative, and themselves on line.

If they aren't be cautious enough, however, they can lose control and become irresponsible, which is the opposite to what Peck (1978) emphasizes as a necessary discipline for successful life. Their addiction to online games will absorb all the time and physical energy that are available to them. They will lose precious chances to prepare for a healthy life in the future. Like *hagweons*, such consumer-media culture is a sword with double blades. It can be used in a healthy way or it can drive students to waste away their lives and sleep in class.

6.3 Cultural Actions at the Macro-Level

"No, new wine must be poured into new wineskins" (NIV Luke 3:58). The Korean government has declared that we should educate new generations to be much more creative, self-directive, and humanistic, but at the same time, it never reflects on how detrimental the current, control-oriented education to people's creativity, self-directivity, and humanism. These require freedom and autonomy, but the Government seems not to want to lose control of education. Many teachers, however, discerned that in-class sleeping must be related to fundamental problems of our society. Reflecting their insightful voices, we talk about cultural actions of three parties as follows. Parents should change their consciousness and belief, the government should change the structure of education, and students should become more self-regulative.

6.3.1 Cultural Actions for Parents

We can begin to change a cultural structure by radically reexamining the entire culture and the institutional system to check whether the existent versions are really what we really want (Teacher 5; Teacher 12). Like any other cultural action, further, cultural actions for parents to take will be based on science and philosophy: First, they need to understand the reality structurally, in which process they will raise their critical consciousness of it; second, they need to imagine the ideal world they want their children to live in; finally, they take actions to change the world (Freire 1970/2000a, b, 1974/2013).[3] The most urgent cultural action for parents is to restore their relationships with their children. Secondly, they need to establish a close collaborative relationship with their children's schools.

6.3.1.1 Restoring Broken Relationships with Children

Understanding the Reality With helps from schools and other sources of information, parents should keep learning to structurally understand better their children and the reality of the current era of the twenty-first century, so that they can attain at psychological and sociological perspectives on them. They should participate in conferences that schools offer for parents. Regarding the psychological reality of their children, they need to think about issues including the following:

[3]School leaders can facilitate the cultural actions that parents will take by providing scientific evidence and visions on future life and educational needs.

1. Are our children happy at home? In school? In *hagweon*? Are their well-beings guaranteed in those places?
2. Are they really growing holistically as a person? What they want to do?
3. Do we know sufficiently about our children?
4. Do we recognize and respect their own personality, strengths, and weaknesses?
5. Do we really accept them as autonomous human beings?

It is important to know that their children need to have their psychological needs satisfied constantly (Deci and Ryan 2000; Dweck 2017): Their children need to be related, become competent, be trusted, have control over themselves and their environments, have high self-esteem, and feel self-coherent. If high school students have their such needs be unsatisfied too long, they may break down mentally. Answering the questions above will be of some help in detecting the deficient areas in their children's psychological well-being and growth.

Parents should restore their relationship with their children (Teacher 5). Having a genuine dialogue with them will be a must (Peck 1978). In this process, they should learn how to listen to the young truthfully: It will send this important message to them: "We care for you. You are important to us." They should understand the importance of having humanistic attitudes: empathy, unconditional positive regard, and congruence (Rogers 1961, 1969). It will take the more time to the degree that the humane relationship has been abandoned or neglected thus far.

Parents should give up projecting their dreams onto their children (Teacher 5). Strong family ties are good because they provide for their children a sense of safety and economical supports. But at the same time, parents should let go of their children, so that they grow as their different potentials lead them to. It will be a potentially gradual act of liberation: Parents should be sensitive to their children's own talents, desires, and wishes.

6.3.1.2 Constructing Healthy Ways to Collaborate

A piece of paper is easier to carry when lifted together. As with the case of teachers or school leaders, parents also need to have a space for genuine dialogues with other parents, and with school leaders. It is so because participation and solidarity are the only ways to change unwanted situations in a democratic society.

The most important thing to do is to organize and participate in parents' association. Parents need to dialogue about immediate issues through SNS services, and through regular meetings. Discussing posed problems, they will learn from one another and from experts they can invite. They should come to have a structural and critical understanding of the issues surrounding their children's education. Once they have a critical consciousness of the reality, they can act individually in collaboration with their children's teachers, or as a group in collaboration with school administrators.

First of all, parents need to get access to the existential situation of their children. Crucially they should be permitted to visit classrooms *any* time individually or as a

small group and make observations. They need to be exposed to the existential situations that arise in their children's classrooms and in other spaces of the school. Their presence will have a corrective effect on student behaviors in class. More importantly, they can bring back their observations to the inter-parent dialogues and dream together in which directions they will pursue to change any undesirable aspects of the reality.

Parents as a group should then deliberate on the information they have gathered and ways to improve the current state of affairs to attain a more ideal school in which their children will become more fully human. Collaboration is important. Parents should strike out ways to strengthen the parent–teacher collaboration to educate their children more properly.[4] They should basically pay proper respect to and empower all teachers and school authorities. They should also recognize teachers who innovatively attempt new programs or teaching methodologies (Teacher 4). At the same time, however, they should be alert to the nature of the overt and hidden curriculum that their children will experience in classrooms and in the entire school site.

Parents as individuals should not blindly drive their children to climb up onto a higher grade competing with other students. Rather, they should do their best to embody the attitudes of empathy, unconditional regard, and congruence (Rogers 1961, 1969) so as to meet the psychological needs of their children: predictability, acceptance, competence, trust, control, self-esteem, and self-coherence (Dweck 2017). In fact, they should understand that learning must be a way for their children to increase their own predictability, competence, control, and self-esteem. They should treat their children as human beings, not as studying machines. Instead of controlling and running them, they should pay attention to respect their children's own opinions. They should find out in what areas their children have a talent and encourage them to develop their own potentials. They should know how to think and reason outside the prevalent biases such as against technical tracks in high schools, which can be good for obtaining practical knowledge and skills, which are also valuable in the twenty-first century (Teacher 6, Teacher 10). Even if they don't go to college right now, young people will have many chances to pursue higher education later when they have urgent needs to expand their expertise knowledge or skills because of the contemporary technology.

Parents as individuals should not compete blindly with other parents in terms of their own children's club membership, special classes, or school-internal affordances (Teacher 5); rather, they should collaborate with other parents to mold out a *fair* system of education for every and all students. They should be a *mature* citizen in a democratic society.

[4]As emphasized in Chap. 5, school leaders can provide research results on school-family collaboration to persuade parents to participate more actively in the joint project of educating their children.

In the case of English education, parent–teacher collaboration can focus on some of the following:

1. What English competencies will students need to build up for their future life?
2. In what ways is the school teaching English? Are they acceptable?
3. If a student is not interested in learning English, how can parents and teachers collaborate to help him/her gain interests in it and to scaffold his/her individual learning?[5]
4. In what ways can parents collaborate with the school in helping students be exposed to English-speaking cultures and gain intrinsic motivation (Teacher 1)?
5. How can parents and teachers help the student understand the weakness of the current norm-based assessment system, so that they may not be discouraged too much by his/her position in the percentile of the achievement distribution and should focus on *genuine* progress in English learning (Teacher 4)?
6. How can they use private education for the genuine competencies of their children as learners: for example, English literacy (Teacher11)?
7. How can they help students learn at home? Students sometimes need social support in doing assignments or independent study at home, outside their schools (Student 1, Teacher 7, Teacher 8).
8. How can parents and teachers maintain a channel of communication with each other? If the student sleeps chronically in class, obviously, it should be communicated to the parents (Teacher 4).

They can find out more issues or problems in collaboration with teachers.

All these efforts require parents to make time to care for their children, to be more participatory, to be more collaborative, and to be more concerned with and supportive to their children's *genuine* education. Most of all, they need to be more intelligent and reflective; they should be able to free themselves from malignant forms of educational ideologies such as credentialism.

6.3.1.3 Escaping from Malignant Ideologies

Education credentialism actually leads parents to have to send their children to academic high school irrespective of their will. It then ultimately makes many students miserable when they cannot live a meaningful life there (Teacher 6; Teacher 11). How can parents free themselves from the ideology?

The cultural action of shaking off educational credentialism should also be founded in science and philosophy. As a group or an individual, first, parents should collect facts about college education to understand it structurally and critically. College education doesn't guarantee *decent* jobs anymore. They should open their eyes to the fact that school stresses lead adolescents to hurt themselves, fall in

[5]This effort must be made because English is a mandatory subject in high school education in Korea.

depression, and commit suicide. In 2006, for example, 1.9% of the SKY university students dropped out because they realized that the majors they selected didn't fit their interests and talents (Lee 2019). Even if their children don't go to college right away, further, parents should know that there are plenty of alternative ways to get necessary education: cyber universities, correspondence colleges, MOOC courses, etc., which provide plenty of tertiary-level courses and degrees. Younger generations will be able to pursue higher education later in the fields they need more knowledge or skills. They should face all these facts and come back to their senses. On the basis of such facts, parents should be able to conclude that there is no need to force their children to go to a so-called prestigious college directly after high school education. They can experience the world and then pursue further education as needs arise. It is so because it is competencies that their children are in need of.

Then parents should turn to the philosophy of genuine meritocracy: a fair system of merits. They should have chances to reflect on the nature of credentials: Credentials ARE meaningless unless they closely stand for the corresponding competencies. Parents should be able to encourage their children to aim at genuine competencies rather than credentials, pursuing college education or not.

In a sense, educational credentialism is a malignant form that the idea of meritocracy takes in the Korean cultural dimension of high *power distance* (Hofstede 1997), in which a social hierarchy is easily accepted as natural. This is supported by the pattern of thinking focusing on being rather than action (Stewart and Bennett 1991): If someone goes to a prestigious college, he/she is considered to be superior in talent, intelligence, and so on. He/she is positioned on the superior status/rank. This thinking pattern doesn't fit to the ideal of democracy valuing individualism and social justice.

A healthy form of meritocracy will focus on the person's achievements rather than on his/her credentials. Parents will need reflection and courage to liberate themselves from the Korean culture of power distance and of honor.

Practical knowledge and experience should be recognized as equally valuable as theoretical knowledge. In Korean culture, practical knowledge obtained from field experiences and labor tends to be regarded as lower in value than theoretical knowledge. The former president Kim Dae-jung tried to overturn this myth and recognized field masters as *sinjisigin* ("new intellectual"); in TV programs they search for *dalin* ("field expert"). When having worked four years in a field, high school graduates should be treated as equal in payment as college graduates.

6.3.2 Cultural Actions for Educational Authorities

When Teacher 6 claimed that the institution itself should be changed, the institution must have included local-level offices of education and the Ministry of Education. Bureaucratic administrations don't change easily by themselves. Parents and teachers should collaborate with civic groups to put pressure on local and central offices of education to bring in desirable changes in them.

6.3.2.1 Cultural Actions Regarding Educational Policies

The Korean governments have been successful in rebuilding the Korean economy in a shortest period time by securing a qualified workforce through planned education. It must have used the traditional Korean culture in which group ties are significantly strong and parents are willing to sacrifice their well-being for a better future of their children.

The strategy, however, has arrived at the breaking point. In the global market, Korea is being held in check by developed countries. The Government recognizes that it now requires a more creative workforce than before, but its educational system largely remains in the configuration fit for training factory workers. This fundamental goal-system mismatch demands a radical renovation of the educational system: a metamorphosis of the educational system for twenty-first century competencies (OECD 2005; Trilling and Fadel 2009).

Substantial Division of Labor in Curriculum Construction Educational authorities should streamline the national curriculum to specify what knowledge, attitudes and values, and skills should be included in educational objectives. Perhaps, they can also provide general principles of curriculum construction, such as Autonomy, Bridgeability, Contexuality, and Diversity (Cha et al. 2016), in order to practically base the local curriculum on realistic needs in everyday life (Teacher 6). The contents to be used for competency-building curricula should be decided on by local schools and front-line teachers (Teacher 12). This type of division of labor is desperately required because it is the most effective way to boost up teachers' creativity and class-designing competencies and hence to attain the goals of fostering creativity and character among high school students as well. It is now possible because Korea now has new generations of competent teachers that espouse democracy more firmly (Teacher 6), and that have good English proficiency and capacities for designing and implementing lessons (Teacher 10).

Given this, the problems in the existent national curriculum will be mostly resolved: The problem of connectivity will be solved because local schools will tap on the current levels of their first-year students and begin from there; they can state objectives more clearly; teachers will be able to contribute to the national elaboration of achievement criteria through sharing their pedagogical experiences.

Educational laws must be amended appropriately to guarantee the division of labor between the Ministry of Education, the provincial offices of education, and local schools. In older days, firmer control was necessary; now, more freedom and responsibility should be devolved onto teachers, which only can generate creativity, willingness, and autonomy among teachers and students.

Recognition of Teacher Voices and Discretion Other educational policies should also reflect more of teacher voices. The Ministry of Education must invite teachers to partake in national decision-making for educational policies and the national curriculum revision (Teacher 8).

The current system of local-level offices of education was constructed when the front-line teachers were not very well educated so a certain level of control was needed. From the current perspective, however, this administrative system has

become rather excessively control-oriented. Teacher 6 related how the local-level office of education *oppresses* front-line teachers. He complained about its top-down way of communication:

[Excerpt 6.20]

Teacher 6 (T6): […] the first problem is that many changes including the free semester are issued from the top. They design all the details of the changes and go through hearings before implementing them. Such hearings are meaningless. […] Even when we appeal complaints in February, they order their implementation from March. I can't understand that.

Feeling not respected, front-line teachers would not take initiatives; then educational authorities would bring in more administrative control; teachers would make a minimum change for showing creativity. We can easily expect such new policies would go through wasteful internal disturbance or be doomed to failure. Reciprocal distrust would accumulate between educational authorities and front-line teachers, which would make future renovations more difficult. Exactly this point is made by Teacher 8, when he said that even though teachers never participated in designing the policy, it was always the teachers who were blamed for educational failures. Teacher 6 said he felt that such a unilateral decision-making and policy implementation made excellent human resources fall as consumables.

Teacher 6 also complained about the local office of education's unconditional constraints on front-line teaching in response to whatever civil complaints.

[Excerpt 6.21]

Teacher 6 (T6): When enthusiastic I once started an English presentation activity imitating a popular TV audition program. Two students were to come to the front and competed to give a better presentation. The general level of student satisfaction was high, but the parents of one student filed a civil complaint to the local office of education, which immediately held me back. School supervisors came down; they didn't tell me explicitly not to do the activity, but they asked me to file a report on why I had to do the activity. I think this was a case of institutionalized teacher oppression. Not once or twice. Every time, there was a civil complaint and I had to write an explanatory statement and file a written oath […] that I will teach a class respecting students' human rights. […] Writing such things for a year, I couldn't but feel why I should continue to do this.

It is understandable that the provincial office of education dislikes any increase of civil complaints. However, it should be able to sort out which complaints will be helpful to improving front-line schooling, and which must require it to persuade such complaining students and/or their parents. It seems that the communication is too unidirectional: (1) from students–parents to the local educational office; and

(2) from the school supervisors to teachers. This unidirectionality should be overcome for a better quality of bidirectional communication and dialogue.

More discretionary power, the above case dictates, should be guaranteed for front-line teachers. This presupposes more trust in teachers. Teacher 6 delivered teachers' perception of the current system of educational regulations. The new generation of teachers who were employed via national examinations are much smarter than the older generations. They have different beliefs and attitudes, and schools have changed significantly. However, the system itself remains as control-based as it was in the 1980s and 1990s. The system itself should be changed. A slightly cautionary view was also presented: Pre-service teacher education must be more contextualized so that teachers-to-be can equip themselves with more practical pedagogical competencies and teaching techniques (Teacher 9).

This line of renovation is the only way to expect creativity and character to be fostered and built among secondary students. How can we expect discouraged teachers to teach our students creatively? This is related to the policy that at the beginning of each semester every teacher must submit a detailed syllabus for all the courses he/she teaches. Teacher 6 revealed that the local office of education demonstrates its flexibility for the teachers of the third-year students. This practice may sound nice, but it forces such teachers to spend precious time to make up useless documents. Even though being aware of the contradiction, the local office of education tries to maintain the *systematic patterns of control* (Darvin and Norton 2015).

Supporting front-line schools should include shielding from egotistic civil complaints teachers' efforts to realize truthful education. The local office of education should be brave and firm in encouraging front-line teachers to be creative and venturous in pursing better pedagogy. It should secure more budget with which to increase the counseling and career guidance capacity of schools and teachers (Teacher 10). It should devise a more reasonable and effective policy of supporting educational individualization (Teacher 12): Schools should wake up in-class sleepers in a more humanistic and firm way.

Teacher Management At the same time, however, educational authorities must strengthen the administrative system of teacher management. Teacher 5 deplored that in the staff room teachers openly told her not to care for students because it couldn't make any change. Teacher 6 described *easy-going* teachers as "sitting comfortably to exchange easy jokes with students, then dealing with the textbook cursorily, explaining grammar points, letting them have study hall and doing computer work besides students." They might make an excuse for their moral hazards saying that they are not respected by the administrators, parents, or students. Such demotivated teachers may naturally try to fulfill their duties at the minimum level.

Criticizing such teacher mannerism, one teacher even claimed that 10% of the teachers must be laid off. Such teachers don't agonize over their classes or student assessment and not attempt to improve them. To improve the quality of classes, introduction of teacher recertification should be taken seriously into consideration. This radical change must face a strong resistance, but the quality of education must be guaranteed for the well-being of future generations.

6.3.2.2 Renovating Educational Processes

Criterion-Referenced Assessment The most urgent measure that educational authorities must take is to give up the current norm-based assessment and adopt a system of criterion-referenced achievement test utilizing achievement criteria (Teacher 5). This measure will give students hopes for improvement and rooms for freedom and leisure in their tough high school life. Teacher 8 specifically claimed that achievement standards should be used in achievement evaluations, and that the national framework for proficiency standards should be established with pass/fail included. Teacher 4 also claimed that the assessment system should be transformed, pointing out the inefficiency of norm-based assessment. The assessment should be under the responsibility of the teacher who teaches the class(es). They could be allowed to check on a number of criteria. Teacher 10 suggested that the Lexile framework for reading could be adopted as part of achievement criteria.

Norm-based assessment has brought in *learned helplessness* (Abramson et al. 1978) among low-level achievers, which will lead to formulating dangerous ingredients of the society in the future (Teacher 6, Teacher 8).

The responsibility of the Ministry of Education is to improve and elaborate achievement criteria on the basis of feedback collected from front-line teachers, and that of the provincial office of education should include using such elaborated standards of achievement to prevent a reckless inflation of grades by dishonest local schools.[6]

This change will mean that textbooks are not imposed as a mandatory material to be used. When the government does not impose what contents to teach, it doesn't need to impose textbooks. Textbooks can be provided as a general model, not as a shackle. In the case of high school English, Teacher 9 mentioned that textbooks are not a must in achieving the required standards, and that textbooks are not interesting to students. Student motivation will increase if classes deal with more interesting stuff (Teacher 10). Teacher 8 claimed that the limitations on the number of words should be thrown away because they are a main culprit for the boring textbook contents. Most English teacher participants were providing Korean translations of the textbook passages to students. Then a student participant's suggestion sounds reasonable that English textbooks should contain Korean translations.

A Unit-Earning System in High School To increase the level of flexibility and individualization, educational authorities must also introduce an appropriate unit-earning system as in colleges as soon as possible (Teacher 6, Teacher 7). According to Kim (2012), it is sufficient for high school students to earn 130 units, where students earn one unit sitting in one class hour for 18 weeks; if they sit in five class hours on every weekday for an 18-week semester, they will earn 25 units. In six semesters, they can earn up to 150 units in regular classes; hence they can adjust

[6]For college admission purposes, Kim's (2012) proposal is a more compromising one: providing the achievement results along with raw scores, their percentile scores, the mean scores, the standard deviations, and the total number of students.

their class hours in the third year. This elaborate down-to-earth suggestion is worth for policy-makers to lend their close ears to.

Kim's (2012) proposal, further, gives students two hours every day for self-directed learning. They will utilize these freedom hours for different activities the teacher participants dreamed of: pleasure reading (Teacher 8), freely doing research into or learning what they want (Teacher 10; Teacher 11) such as project planning/implementing (Teacher 10).

Educational authorities should increase students' freedom of selecting subjects. Many student participants who sleep in class didn't like the compulsoriness of English courses. Since English is so difficult, some in-class sleepers wanted to study a different foreign language like Japanese, but they complained that they have to study English because it is compulsory. Students believed that they should be able to autonomously select one from among a set of foreign languages; some simply claimed that they should have freedom not to opt for English.[7] Such students' desires will perhaps be satisfied by a revision of reducing the compulsory hours assigned to English as in Kim's (2012) proposal of reducing the required units for English from 15 units to 8 units.

More Staffing Educational authorities should support high school education with more staff. Teacher 6 talked about realistic impossibility: "Schools cannot enfold all, because they have so many kids." It implied that more teaching staff are needed. Teacher 10 was particularly concerned with the low counseling capacity of high schools and exposed his real frustration about deficient counseling services for agonizing students. According to him, school counseling is in high demand, so schools should ask for more school counselors. He related that his school asked in vain for more counseling teachers, who could listen to students sufficiently. He said career guidance is also highly demanded. Properly done, it will help students become academically motivated and self-regulated. He believed that this student service must be vitalized to help students set up their own individualized courses of high school life; particularly it should help them what elective subjects they should choose in view of the careers they are interested.

Educational authorities should reduce the teacher–student ratio, which will require more budget allotment: Teacher 12 made a serious claim that it should be reduced to 1:10. If increasing the number of classrooms cannot be done immediately, student teachers and parent volunteers can be admitted for more individualized care of in-class sleepers. Kim (2012) makes a slightly milder suggestion that the ratio should be reduced at least to 1:20 with a large library built, and that classes can be run in the library and in spaces not fully used yet as well.

[7]In the case of High School B, it switched its curricular augmentation from athletics and art to English, students who had come there due to the augmentation claimed that the school should provide additional physical education and art classes. In the case of English, A16b wanted more weight to be given to performative evaluation so that her weakness in paper-and-pencil tests can be complemented.

No KSAT-EBS Connection With regard to college admission policies, many teacher participants thought that the KSAT preparation is the biggest huddle in English education in high school. Teacher 8 and Teacher 9 firmly believed that the KSAT must be disconnected from EBS course books. If the current KSAT-EBS connection were to be kept, they thought that it would be better to discard English from the set of the KSAT subjects. Students and parents all know that English is needed for their college and future life, so they will invest in English; the rolling admission system requires the scores student applicants would earn from English classes. A brief review of university curricula led them to recognize that most disciplines demand a certain level of English proficiency. Students should be able to read English books in the original, to give presentations in English, and so on. The current practice of KSAT preparation blocks students from being equipped for such college study.

6.3.2.3 Toward More Balancing and Checking

Checking the Power of School Administrators The current system of administrative evaluation includes teachers evaluating their administrative bosses. The results, however, don't have any administrative binding power and so are not officially reflected on the administrators' work performance appraisal; they are given to them simply as reference data. Knowing this, teachers wouldn't pay serious attention to the evaluation process. That is, such a checking and balancing process exists administratively but in name only. Shouldn't it have a substantial function for improving education?

This already existing evaluation process should be enacted as a substantial means for teachers to check school administrators' power. Teacher 5 claimed that the authorities at the local education office seemed to have the cultural attitude that principals, close to them, should take a rest before they would retire, and that this encouraged teachers to make efforts to make close relationships with them, rather than to focus on education. Hence, such cronyistic administration contributes to students' sleeping in English class.

In this respect, educational authorities must pursue balancing private and public interests in improving the administrative system of education. The traditional heritage of groupism in Korea tends to press the members of a private group to put the group's interests, which are closed tied to the members' private interests, before public ones. If one group member does a favor to another, it should best be reciprocated with a favor of equal value; otherwise, it would be recorded in a mental account as a debt to *repay* in the future. Such a reciprocal provision-and-treatment strengthens the intermember ties of the group (Stewart and Bennett 1991). An ideally democratic society, however, requires a fair treatment of all its members in order to enhance its public interests. When the two types of interests get into

conflict, members of the closely-knit group are expected by its other members to put more weight on their private-group interests rather than on public ones.

These two values should be put in balance in a more democratic society that we want to live in. An effective way to attain such a balance is to establish an official system of reciprocal evaluation. In the current Korean context, this will be possible by substantiating teacher evaluations of school administrators. This connects to the attitude of *social responsibility* in existentialism (Blenkinsop 2004; Kang 1999; Sartre 1946/1989).

1. Back to the basics: We should reflect on our philosophy of education (Teacher 5).
2. The Korean sentiment should be overcome that you cannot problematize somebody close to you for whatever reasons.

The groupism of Korean culture is a valuable asset: It IS a buttress for individuals and communities in schools or in other places. However, it should be balanced with the spirit and attitude of responsibility for bigger groups or society: ultimately the entire humanity. This is so because the balance is the ultimate way of humanization (Fromm 1964/2000) in various spheres and we have so many glocal problems that we have to solve together inevitably relying on others including peoples in other countries and continents.

Checking the Power of Superintendents of Education A similar balancing and checking system is in fact needed for the superintendent of education, who can be elected to be in office for four years up to three times. Once in office, the superintendent can wield a strong power in generating educational policies and bring in innovations in the educational system in his/her district. If the nature and direction of such changes are affected by political showing off, their implementation can be too impellent for teachers to reasonably evaluate and accept them, as discussed above. Teachers and school administrators should evaluate the educational policies officially for a higher level of balancing in this relationship.

Checking the Power of the Government Teacher 6 maintained a critical stance against the educational authorities in the Ministry of Education. According to him, Ministry of Education officers can promote when they propose new policies; once such a new policy is implemented; however, it cannot be discarded easily; teachers should wait until they gradually become obsolete; teachers' voices are not accepted in the process of introducing such new policies. Educational renovations may be used mainly for Ministry of Education officers' personal promotion and can devastate front-line education itself. A higher level of balancing and checking must be introduced here as well.

Establishing a more proper system of balancing and checking will enliven front-line teachers and hence be able to wake up in-class sleepers with a more vigorous teaching.

6.3.3 *Cultural Actions for Students: Regarding Mass Media and Popular Culture*

6.3.3.1 Constructing Digital and Media Literacy

As we mentioned in Sect. 2.2.3, the digital media plays a very crucial role in shaping people's life in contemporary Korea, so its critical understanding will help students manage their life more successfully. They need to understand (1) the constructed nature of media messages, (2) the symbolic system of codes and conventions shaping messages, (3) media messages' being laden with values and viewpoints, (4) people's interpreting media messages differently, and (5) media messages' being inseparable from profit and/or power (Hobbs 2007, p. 41).

Courses for digital and media literacy can focus on Hobbs's (2011) five communication competencies for literacy practices: Students should be able to (1) get access to necessary information through media texts and digital tools [*Access*]; (2) analyze (for deeper understanding) digital and media messages in the dimensions of critical thinking: their "purpose, target audience, quality, veracity, credibility, point of view, and potential effects or consequences" among others (p. 12) [*Analysis*]; (3) construct digital and media contents with the same consideration of critical thinking [*Creation*]; (4) reflect on what impacts digital and media messages have on their daily life and what social responsibility and ethics they should have in constructing their own identities, communicating with others, and conducting in their life [*Reflection*]; (5) share knowledge, solve personal and/or group problems, and participate in their own groups at different levels [*Action*].

6.3.3.2 Changing Habits and Lifestyles

Many in-class sleepers seem to have bad habits in using the media and digital contents and services. A serious problem is that once they have formulated such habits, it is difficult to change them. In a sense, they need to take cultural actions, which are based on science and philosophy.

Cultural actions that students can undertake may start with raising their consciousness of their habits. According to Duhigg (2012), a habit consists of a cue, a routine, and rewards. If a student wants to change one of his/her habits, first he/she must identify the three parts of the habit. Parents and teachers can provide helps in this series of search. Identifying the routine is rather easy: It is the behavior that he/she wants to change. The second step is to identify the rewards, which are cravings that he/she wants to satisfy. To know which craving drives the habit, the student can experiment with alternative rewards, which might take some days or longer. That is, he/she follows the habitual routine but tries out different rewards: instead of watching a YouTube video clip, he/she can try to do an exercise, take a walk about her place, have a chat with friends, etc.; after each alternative activity, write down three things that come to his/her mind: emotions, thoughts, words, etc. These help

him/her become aware of his/her own urges. In 15 min, he/she checks whether he/she feels the same craving for the habitual routine. If he/she still does so, the alternative activity hasn't provided the reward, so he/she needs to experiment other activities, and so on. What is important is that in this process he/she can identify the rewards that the target habit provides. The last step is to identify the cue, which can mostly belong to one of the five categories: location, time, emotional states, other people, and immediately preceding action. Hence, the student can locate the cue writing down the answers to the following questions when the habitual routine gets started: (1) Where am I? (2) What time do I have? (3) How do I feel? (4) Who is around me? (5) What action have I done right before this craving happens? When the student has collected such answers for three or more days, he/she can compare them and find out one or more common factors.

In terms of media use, for example, Hobbs (2007, p. 8) offers *keeping a media diary* as a good start: Students can be asked to keep a diary for three days on what media contents they consumed in what ways and how long; they will note the type and the title of the media contents, the amount of time they invested, the reason(s) for that use, and the place and situation of the use; after the three days, they analyze the diary and seek after any patterns, and reflect on their own responses to their own media-using habits; they can finally write a short essay about the results potentially sharing their ideas on how to improve their life patterns and put their plans into action.

This is a good way for students to escape from their unwanted habits, which adolescents must learn in their own stage developing their own identities (Erikson 1950, 1963); they should be encouraged to commit themselves to *freedom* through their own *action* (Blenkinsop 2004). It should be the student himself/herself who decides on what actions to take on the basis of existential authenticity and freedom (Sartre 1946/1989).

6.4 Summary

This chapter has shown that the phenomenon of sleeping in English classes is resultantly related to three macro-level factors. First, the Ministry of Education requires front-line public and private schools to relatively strictly follow the national curriculum without sufficiently supporting them financially. Depending on their conditions, second, parents contribute to their children's education too little or too much both trying if possible to resort to private academies rather than to schools, so they cannot collaborate with teachers effectively while some students refuse to take in the English ideology that the English language is a must in the twenty-first century. Third, private academies appeal to students to spend lots of time and energy in their programs. And the consumption-media culture also lures students into spending too much time and energy for socializing, pleasure, and money-earning. In both cases, many students don't have much energy left for English classes in school.

These factors have been interpreted as arising from the instrumental conception of education as means for socioeconomical ascension, which is deeply rooted in Korean culture and has also been boosted up by capitalist consumerism: Most of all, it has formulated malignant forms of meritocracy, or educational credentialism, which have eventually led to significantly disintegration of even group ties in core families, and been critically marring adolescents' mental well-being and growth, which are particularly mediated by the consumer-media culture of private academies and cultural industry.

Cultural actions have been suggested for parents, educational authorities, and students. Parents should restore humanistic relationships with their children, construct bridges for school-family collaboration, and shake off malignant ideologies such as credentialism. Educational authorities should transform the current educational system into one fostering the twenty-first century competencies, by introducing a substantial division of labor in curriculum construction, recognizing teacher voices and discretion, and more proper teacher management. They in particular should renovate educational processes by introducing the criterion-referenced assessment and a unit-earning system into high school, supporting it with more staff and giving up the KSAT-EBS connection. With curricular and other helps, lastly, students should construct critical digital and media literacy and equip themselves with capabilities to change their bad habits and lifestyles.

References

Abramson, L. Y., Seligman, M. E. P., & Teasdale, J. D. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *87*, 49–74.

Blenkinsop, S. (2004). *Choice, dialogue, and freedom: Towards a philosophy of education based in existentialism*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, US.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Cha, Y., Ahn, S.-H., Ju, M.-K., & Ham, S.-H. (2016). *Yungbokhap* Education: Toward an expansive (Re)conceptualization. *Multicultural Education Studies, 9*(1), 1–33.

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 35,* 36–56.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry, 11*(4), 227–268.

Duhigg, C. (2012). *The power of habit: Why we do what we do in life and business*. New York: Random House.

Dweck, C. S. (2017). From needs to goals and representations: Foundations for a unified theory of motivation, personality, and development. *Psychological Review, 124*(6), 689–719. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000082.

Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society*. New York, US: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (Ed.). (1963). *Youth: Change and challenge*. New York, US: Basic books.

Freire, P. (1970/2000a). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Freire, P. (1970/2000b). *Cultural action for freedom* (2000 ed.). Cambridge, US: Harvard Education Press.

Freire, P. (1974/2013). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.

Fromm, E. (1964/2000). *The heart of man: The genius for good and evil*. New York, US: Harper & Row.

Garrison, Y. L., Liu, W. M., Yeung, C. W., Park, S., Sahker, E., & Conrad, M. (2017). The Meaning of *hakbeol* within the context of educational meritocracy and prestige among South Korean college students. *Journal of Asia Pacific Counseling, 7*(2), 105–121. https://doi.org/10.18401/2017.7.2.1.

Hobbs, R. (2007). *Reading the media: Media literacy in high school English*. New York, US: Teachers College Press.

Hobbs, R. (2011). *Digital and media literacy: Connecting culture and classroom*. Thousand Oaks, US: Corwin.

Hofstede, G. H. (1997). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind* (2nd ed.). New York, US: McGraw-Hill.

Jung, J.-H. (2014). *Hakbeolism*: A Historical and curriculum consideration of Korean test-focused education. *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry, 2*, 48–66. http://nitinat.library.ubc.ca/ojs/index.php/tci. Accessed 19 February 2019.

Kang, C.-D. (1994). *Hankuk hagryeogjuui-ui hyeongseong-gwa seonggyeok* ('The process of formation of Korean credentialism and its characteristics'). *Korean Journal of Sociology of Education, 4*(1), 1–19.

Kang, S. (1999). *Shiljonjeok aidieo-ui gyoyukbangbeop-jeok weonyong-e gwanhan yeongu* ('On application of existentialist ideas to educational methodology'). *Korean Journal of History of Education, 21,* 299–314.

Kim, C.-J. (2012). *Daehanminguk gyoyukhyeoksin project: 2017nyeon-kkaji saerowun godeung-hakgyo mandeulgi* ('A project for an educational renovation of the Republic of Korea: Making new high school by 2017'). Paju, Korea: Idam Books.

Kim, J. (2011). Aspiration for global cultural capital in the stratified realm of global higher education: Why do Korean students go to US graduate school? *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 32,* 109–126.

Kim, S.-S. (2008). Symbolic violence and pre-modern academic clique society. *Society and Philosophy, 16,* 131–160.

Kong, S.-K. (2011). *Hakbeoljuui* ('Hakbeolism'). *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*. Seongnam, Korea: The Academy of Korean Studies. http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/ Accessed 22 February 2019.

Kwon, O. (2019, June). TESOL and Tesology in Asia: A Critical Review. Paper presented at Asia TEFL 2019 Conference, Bangkok, Thailand.

Lee, J.-H. (2018, November 9). *'Jahaegye' unyeonghaneun 'jahaereo' asinayo?* ('Do you know self-injurers managing a self-injury account?'). *Hankyoreh 21*, *1239*, 30–34.

Lee, M. (2019, March 21). *SKY daehak jungdotallaksaeng-i chulsinhakkyo kanpan-eul pogihaneun iyu* ('Reasons why SKY university students give up their alma mater nameboards'). https://news.joins.com/article/22463511. Access 27 March 2019.

Lee, M. W. (2016). *Early study-abroad and identities: Korean early study-abroad undergraduates*. Singapore: Springer.

Lee, Y. (2003). Politics and theories in the history of curricular reform in South Korea. In W. F. Pinar (Ed.), *International handbook of curriculum research* (pp. 541–552). Mahwah, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Nahm, I. S. (2011). Contradictions of Korean education based on academic success. *Theory of Society, 40,* 101–123.

OECD. (2005). *The definition and selection of key competencies: Executive summary*. Paris, France: OECD.

Peck, M. S. (1978). *The road less travelled: A New Psychology of love, traditional values and spiritual growth*. New York, US: Simon-Schuster.

Rogers, C. R. (1961). *On becoming a person*. Boston, US: Houghton Mifflin.

Rogers, C. R. (1969). *Freedom to learn*. Columbus, US: Charles E. Merrill.

Sartre, J. P. (1946/1989). *Existentialism is a humanism*. http://vis-www.cs.umass.edu/~hschultz/WaveTank/Existentialism.pdf. Accessed 18 September 2018.

Shin, H.J., & Park, J.S.Y. (2016). Researching language and neoliberalism. *Journal of Multilingual and Muticultural Development*, *37*(5), 443–452.

Stewart, E. C., & Bennett, M. J. (1991). *American cultural patterns: A cross-cultural perspective*. New York, US: Intercultural Press.

Trilling, B., & Fadel, C. (2009). *21st century skills: Learning for life in our times*. San Francisco, US: Jossey-Bass.

Yangban. (2013, July 30). *New World Encyclopedia*. Retrieved 08:42, February 20, 2019 from http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=Yangban&oldid=971728.

Chapter 7
Reflection and Conclusion: Hope Toward the Dawn

Abstract This chapter starts with summary of the results. Also, the previous literature and the theoretical framework presented in Chap. 2 are partially revisited to put all the results together and discuss the main purpose of the study: to delineate how this *sleeping-in-class* phenomenon can be understood by means of such marginalized students' and relevant teachers' emic outlooks on themselves, the teachers, the schools, and the society/culture with rich and authentic data. We then discuss the practical and theoretical implications of this study and suggest several points for further research. Finally, we sum up the impact of this study with concluding remarks.

7.1 Reflective Accounts of the Sleeping-in-Class Phenomena

In this book, we have presented our analyses and interpretations of participant responses regarding their English classes and made suggestions for cultural actions to remedy the problems related to the phenomenon of in-class sleeping. We analyzed the in-depth interviews with the 65 students from two high schools in Seoul, Korea, and 12 teachers at high schools in the same capital city and in the Kyeonggi Province geographically surrounding the capital city. School A is located in an area with residents of a relatively lower socioeconomic status (SES), and School B is in an area populated by people with a highest SES.

7.1.1 Reasons for In-Class Sleeping

The analysis taught us that students sleep in English class for at least the following ten reasons:

1. English classes are way too difficult for them to keep up with.
2. English classes are too boring.
3. Teachers don't listen to their voices.

S.-H. G. Ahn and M. W. Lee, *English Classes in Slumber*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-1010-6_7

4. Teachers discriminate them against honor students.
5. Some of them feel no need of English.
6. Some of them have experienced instructors' physical or verbal violence.
7. English classes are too easy for some of them.
8. So many other students sleep in class.
9. Other students are far better than them in English.
10. Some of them have no physical energy to invest.

The first five of these are related to well-known de-/a-motivators: the *perceived difficulty* or *boredom of English* (class) (Oxford 1998; Dörnyei 2001; Kikuchi 2009; Kim 2012; Kim et al. 2017 among others); *teachers' lack of attention* (Fine 1991; Sosa and Casanave 2007) *teachers' discrimination of low achievers against honor students* (Trang and Baldauf 2007; Quardir 2017); *no perceived need of English* (Sosa and Casanave 2007).

The sixth factor, however, has been reported only in the Korean context so not at all in previous research overseas: The sub-factor of *instructors' physical violence* was mentioned only in *hagweon* (or private academy) contexts both in Kwak (2004) and in our research, and that of verbal violence was only complained about by student participants from School A, located in a poorer area. We interpreted the first sub-factor as resulting from the legal improvement of human rights in public school that banned corporal punishment from 2011 on, and the second sub-factor as coming from the lowliness of parents' involvement and students' social positioning in that particular site.

The last four factors seem to be unique to the current educational situation in Korea. As discussed in Chaps. 5–6, they have to cover a fixed amount of contents in English classes in school but students are positioned at quite different levels of preparedness. Consequently, many students have virtually nothing to learn from school English classes. They will go bored and sleepy. Their presence in class, however, functions as pressure on teachers to adjust class goals higher and spend more time in application of knowledge or problem-solving; this in turn functions as pressure on lower level students who actually need to acquire the basic body of knowledge. Such a huge gap in preparedness among students has become a huge burden on teachers in school. Leveled classes are officially recommended but identical exams should be given to all students. It is so because they are supposed to deal with the same contents and be classified into nine grades on the same scale according to fixed percentiles in a normal curve. Ideologically, the national curriculum documents advocate student-centered or self-directed learning to foster *creativity*. However, the educational system itself is so seriously worn-out. The Ministry of Education doesn't loosen its controlling grip of the system. Educational authorities' ideas are to introduce creativity as an educational ingredient into the existing system of *training* students systematically: They want students develop creativity and character abreast step by step as soldiers proceed as in military processions or as products come into being bit by bit on conveyor belts.

Parents' ideas are drastically different. They know that school education cannot guarantee sufficient English proficiency and that English is a most important

cultural capital in the era of globalization. They don't trust schools or the Ministry of Education. Further, they want their children to excel, to be ahead of other kids. In the past, wealthy parents sent their children overseas to English-speaking communities (Lee 2016a, b). These days, they have successfully built up an informal curriculum of English education collectively: They first send their children to expensive English kindergartens, then to *hagweons* with native speaker instructors, then to *hagweons* to help them prepare for official English tests. In high schools, many of the children having experienced this private English curriculum use English better and earn higher scores in English exams than some of the students who had spent years overseas in English-speaking communities.

Schools must observe the policies of educational authorities in the Government and the provincial offices of education. They have to stick to the national curriculum. They even make third-year students buy English textbooks even if they do not use them in class. Further, they have to squeeze students into nine slots of grades, results in which are crucial to students' college application. In poorer areas such as School A's, even if students hadn't achieved enough, a fixed percentage of them must be presented as having achieved enough in their local circumstances. In wealthy areas such as School B's, where most students have English proficiency better than what high school education requires, many of them must be stigmatized as not having achieved enough because of the presence of their schoolmates with slightly better proficiency or test-taking skills. Their lower grades plunge them into despair; in this situation, students not prepared as well as the advanced can't see any hope. This tragic result is a somewhat exaggerated description of the consequences from the policy of norm-based assessment and the standardization of high schools. Its absurdity is a monstrous creation of the tug-of-war between the Government and the parents, two powerful stakeholders in Korean high school education. For whom does the bell toll? All the in-class sleepers!

Those detrimental factors have been interpreted as arising from the instrumental conception of education as means for socioeconomical ascension, which is deeply rooted in Korean culture and has also been boosted up by capitalist consumerism: Most of all, these have formulated malignant forms of meritocracy, or educational credentialism, which have frequently aggravated competitions among parents and students, often led to a tragic disintegration of even group ties in core families, and been critically marring adolescents' mental well-being and growth. They have been particularly mediated by the consumer-media culture of private academies and other cultural industries.

Schools and the Ministry of Education have no regulations for flunking or academic failure. When a student sleeps in class, teacher has no effective leverage to exercise against it besides verbal nagging or imposition of penalty points. If you accumulate 40 or more penalty points, you have only to do sweeping or cleaning instead of studying in class: no fatal consequence. This impoverishment is a serious side effect of the policy of enhancing students' human rights.

Teachers know that sometimes students with goodwill are really tired: They must have had no sufficient sleep for various reasons. They cannot impose penalty points on them. Then they cannot impose penalties selectively on those who sleep

chronically for fairness of treatments. They have to negotiate and allow students to sleep, which becomes a microculture that is to arise in classroom.

Students not planning college education find no meaning in English classes that are so narrowly focused on exam and college preparation. They know, however, that as long as they come to school they will get a high school diploma. Sleeping in class is a portal into their limited freedom and agency. Some even stay up all night and come to school exhausted to sleep in regular classes, hang around during recesses, and eat lunch in peer groups. They still get a high school diploma.

Identifying Reasons 1-6 and 10 in an interim analysis of a subset of the data for this study, Ahn and Lee (2017) have drawn on Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of investment as an intersection of identity, capital, and ideology, and interpreted that in-class sleepers refused to accept English ideology, the systematic patterns of schooling (as the capital–ideology intersection), or their low social positioning (as the identity–ideology intersection), that they didn't have sufficient cultural capital or conserve physical energy to use it in class. This interpretation can be further extended and view Reasons 7-9 as meaning that in-class sleepers divest from English class when they see no perceived benefits or notice that the control system is loose enough.

In summary, the ten reasons can be categorized into the following: (1) Students' despair due to the difficulty of English classes, (2) their boredom with English classes for various reasons, (3) their resistance to teachers' unfair treatment, and (4) their physical fatigue for various reasons. This practice will not only bring forth physical refreshment but also even lower academic achievement and social marginalization. If we understand in-class sleeping along with its immediate causes and results as a core process, then the core process can be represented as in Fig. 7.1 along with its more remote conditions at the three levels of classroom, school, and society.

Since the three domains of conditions are permeable to one another, the boundary lines are represented as dotted.

7.1.2 Cultural Actions for Multiple Stakeholders

In the hope of a nationwide awakening, we have proposed cultural actions for teachers, school leaders, parents, and students. Cultural actions for humanization are difficult to undertake because of the following reasons (Freire 1970/2000b): The long-term processes require raising critical consciousness through dialogues among collaborating members of the target culture; they need a profound *love* for education and students; they require commitment, bravery, and freedom; they require *humility* among dialoguers, a *faith* in people (e.g., students and other teachers) and their power to change, and a *hope* for the transformed world. We can summarize the cultural actions proposed in this book, which can also be accepted as codes of practice, as follows:

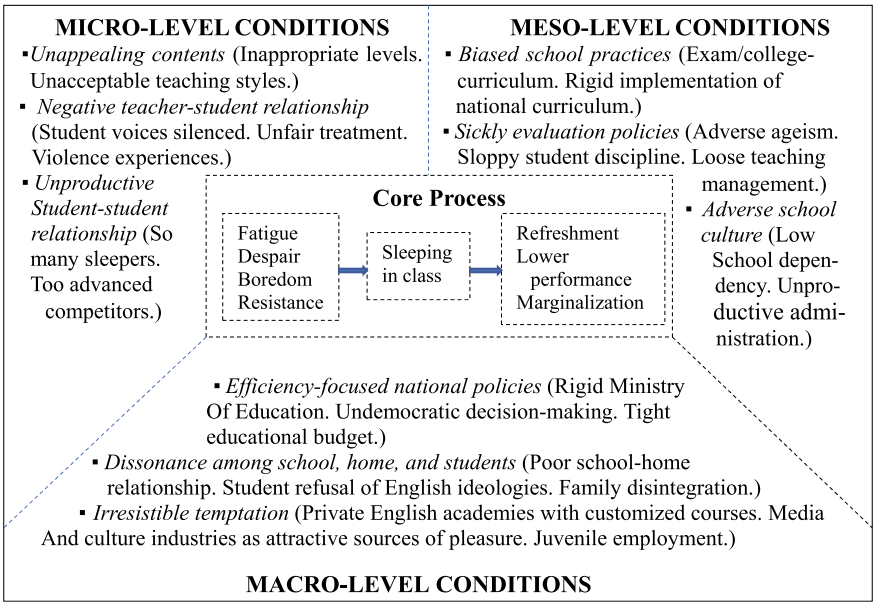

Fig. 7.1 The core process of sleeping in class and its conditions

7.1.2.1 Cultural Actions for English Teachers and Homeroom Teachers (Sect. 4.3)

1. *Turn around toward in-class sleepers*: (1) Restore sleepers' status in your heart and mind. (2) Build up relationships with them. (3). Listen to them truly (Comber and Kamler 2005),
2. *Think in terms of their psychological needs*: Meet sleepers' needs for acceptance, optimal predictability, competence, trust, control, self-esteem, and self-coherence (Deci and Ryan 2000; Dweck 2017; Moskowitz 1978; Stevick 1990).
3. *Think in terms of group dynamics*: Understand and lead classes in phases of group formation, group transition, performing group, and group dissolution (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998).
4. *Think in terms of group culture*: Understand student cultures and obtain bi-cultural competencies (Eom 2013; Kenway and Bullen 2005).
5. *Think in terms of academic needs*: Consider programmed instructions, contract learning, peer instruction, tracked courses, learning how to learn, etc. (Rogers 1969).

7.1.2.2 Cultural Actions for School Leaders Among Teachers: (Sect. 5.3.1)

1. *Raise consciousness of in-class sleeping*: (1) Dialogue about in-class sleeping based on love, humility, faith, hope, and critical thinking. (2) Form a teacher community of learning. (3) Attain a structural, critical understanding of in-class learning (Freire 1970/2000a; Mills 1959).
2. *Restore the school into educational institution*: (1) Begin with obvious cases of contradiction. (2) Apply an overarching framework: task types, authority, recognition, grouping, student evaluation rights, etc. (Ames 1992; Epstein 1987).
3. *Remedy the internal structure for safety*: (1) Introduce behavior assistants to help violent students. (2) Teach student attitude to learning. (3) Introduce a flunking system. (4) Consider introducing a student exportation system to teach responsibility.
4. *Provide career development programs*: (1) Help students penetrate into reality. (2) Help them understand themselves. (3) Help them plan for the future.

7.1.2.3 Cultural Actions for Safety, Care, and Hope in School (Sect. 5.3.2)

1. *Introduce behavior assistants*: (1) Isolate unruly students from classrooms. (2) Principals or vice-principals should take initiatives in teaching them social responsibility.
2. *Teach and evaluate attitude to learning*: (1) Establish desirable student behaviors in learning democratically. (2) Encourage such behaviors with official evaluation.
3. *Introduce a flunking system*: (1) Fail unacceptable student achievements. (2) Provide supplementary courses during summer and winter breaks.
4. *Make continuous efforts to establish a safe, caring, and hopeful school*: (1) Make sure to teach basic principles of democracy through regulations. (2) Consider even petitioning for a stricter democratic punishment of students.

7.1.2.4 Cultural Actions for the Team of English Teachers (Sect. 5.3.3)

1. *Improve the authenticity of English curriculum and evaluation*: (1) Aim at improving students' genuine English skills with authentic texts as with extensive reading programs, and with authentic chances to express themselves sometimes even challenging the world. (2) Aim at assessing students' genuine English skills with novel passages.

2. *Level classes more humanely*: (1) Respect students' freedom to choose among leveled classes. (2) Respect teachers' freedom to choose among the leveled classes.
3. *Satisfy student needs more sufficiently*: (1) Satisfy their psychological and academic needs. (2) Have students experience successes and recognize them in writing into the NEIS system.

7.1.2.5 Cultural Actions for Parents (Sect. 6.3.1)

1. *Restore broken relationships with children*: (1) Understand and devote to the reality (Peck 1978). (2) Respect your children as individual persons; adhere to the humanistic attitudes of empathy, unconditional positive regard, and congruence (Rogers 1961, 1969). (3) Give up *projecting* your own dreams onto them (Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998). (4) Use private academy only when your children want its education and only for their genuine competencies.
2. *Construct healthy ways to collaborate with school*: (1) Get access to and gather information on the existential situation of your children in school. (2) Form parents' associations to deliberate the body of information. (3) As a group, construct healthy ways for parent–teacher collaboration (Tran 2014). (4) Individually maintain a constructive channel of communication with your children's teachers.
3. *Escape from educational credentialism*: (1) Collect facts on higher education. (2) Restore the philosophy of genuine meritocracy (Nahm 2011). (3) Recognize the value of practical knowledge and experience as well as that of theoretical ones.

7.1.2.6 Cultural Actions for Educational Authorities (Sect. 6.3.2)

1. *Improve educational policies*: (1) As a division of labor, empower schools and provincial authorities so that they can construct their local curricula (Cha et al. 2016). (2) Recognize teacher voices and discretion more substantially. (3) To guarantee student rights to learning, strengthen the administrative system of teacher management to minimize teacher mannerism. (4) Consider introduction of a system of teacher recertification.
2. *Renovate educational processes*: (1) Switch the norm-based assessment on to a criterion-referenced one. (2) Introduce into high school more flexibility as with a unit-earning system. (3) Increase the budget for more staffing. (4) Disconnect the KSAT-EBS connection.
3. *Enhance democracy with more balancing and checking of power*: (1) Use teachers' evaluation to check the power of school administrators. (2) Clear away the legacy of old days' groupism among school administrators and the

authorities in the provincial office of education. (3) Improve the administrative system to balance your public and private interests. You should restore your sense of responsibility toward public interests. (4) Check the political power of superintendents of education so that they cannot use education for their political purposes. (5) Check the political power of the Ministry of Education so that national education is implemented by means of educational logic.

7.1.2.7 Cultural Actions for Students (Sect. 6.3.3)

1. *Construct consumer-media literacy*: (1) Understand the nature of consumer-media cultures, their symbolic systems, and their having values and viewpoints (Kenway and Bullen 2005). (2) Understand how people interpret such cultures differently. (3) Understand consumer-media cultures' connection to profit and/or power. (4) Build up communicative competencies in terms of access, analysis, creation, reflection, and action (Hobbs 2011).
2. *Change habits and lifestyles*: (1) Raise consciousness of and self-manage your habits. (2) Understand the nature of habits consisting of a cue, a routine, and rewards. (3) Understand the process of changing habits. (4) Take actions to replace bad habits with good ones that would serve your genuine interests (Duhigg 2012).

Readers must notice that cultural actions take time to earn desirable results. This means the steps in the cultural actions can be used as codes of practice. On the basis of the notion of praxis (Freire 1970/2000a, b), which is a combination of reflection and action, cultural actors for liberation need to persist in their efforts of bringing in cultural changes.

In short, cultural actions need science and philosophy (Freire 1970/2000a, b; Sect. 2.4.3). Cultural actors basically need to understand the existential situation structurally and critically. They must get helps from dialogues with co-members of a community. With the help of philosophy, they then need to be able to imagine the world which they want to transform the current one into. Together with co-members of the community, they find and pose problems to raise their critical consciousness and solve them existentially transforming the world.

7.2 Practical and Theoretical Implications

Our understanding of the in-class sleeping phenomenon and imaginable cultural actions at the levels of classroom, school, and society immediately makes practical implications for the Korean educational system and those in other countries. Further, the same knowledge makes some theoretical implications at least regarding

critical pedagogy and theory, the communicative language teaching paradigm, and the theoretical integration of theoretical models.

7.2.1 Implications for the Domestic Educational System

A more humanistic and democratic educational system can be attained by means of a series of cultural actions the first of which will include examining the current system thoroughly or *radically*, from its philosophical foundations through curriculum documents to their school-level and classroom-level implementations. The ultimate goal of the project must be to attain a system that will help high school students to become more fully human. In this process of collecting bodies of information on the current reality and sets of opinions on the shape of the target system, the cultural actors must listen to the voices of the groups of major stakeholders: students, teachers, administrators, among others.

First, the ideal educational system must be one that satisfies students' and teachers' physical needs such as safety. They should feel physically safe in the group of people in the educational site.

1. To strengthen student discipline, students must be helped to improve social behavior and learning attitude. At both levels of classroom and school, the regulations for group functioning must be set up, accepted, and followed by all the community members together (Agazarian and Peters 1981; Bion 1961; Ehrman and Dörnyei 1998).

For the psychological satisfaction, Dweck's (2017) framework can provide the starting point: needs for predictability, *acceptance* ("relatedness"), *competence*, trust, *control* ("autonomy"), self-esteem/status, and self-coherence.

2. Teachers and parents must have the attitudes of empathy, unconditional positive regard, and congruence (Rogers 1961, 1969). For this attitudinal change, they might need professional guidance.
3. For pedagogical practices, teachers must understand and adopt humanistic strategies and techniques with locally needed modifications (Griffiths and Keohane 2000; Moskowitz 1978). In daily activities, students should relate to classmates, discover and express themselves in terms of their strengths, self-images, feelings, memories, and values among others.
4. At the school level, school leaders can adopt a comprehensive paradigm such as TARGET (Ames 1992; Epstein 1987) to improve the psychological and sociological environment for student learning and growth.
5. Teachers can guide themselves with Stevick's (1990) humanistic orientations. (H1) Value student feelings. (H2) Enhance students' social relations. (H3) Help them accept social responsibility. (H4) Improve their knowledge, reason, and understanding. And (H5) help their self-actualization. Centering around these

values, practitioners will be able to develop humanistic activities based on the Korean culture.

Satisfaction of students' psychological needs is closely related to their social positioning and interactions thereupon. Teachers should respect students as persons so that they can construct independent identity. For minimal marginalization, teachers should accept and care for the class as a group (Sects. 2.2.1 and 4.3.3). It means that he/she should be concerned with its group evolvement from formation through transition and performing to dissolution, adopting appropriate leadership styles. He/she should manage to promote intermember acceptance, group cohesiveness, student autonomy, and the sense of groupness. He/she should make sure all the group members are assigned explicit roles and become interactive collaborators with their classmates. Lastly, it would be desirable for him/her to be capable of crossing over the boundary between the teachers' and the students' cultures.

To enhance social responsibility among students, importantly, the teacher should teach students to "determine to do [their] best," to "determine to behave with the class's good in mind," to "make a commitment to fair play," to "determine to listen carefully and to participate fully," and "take on a participant-analyst role"; as the leader, he/she should model appropriate group behavior (Wilson 2005, pp. 28–29).

Appropriate group behavior may require teaching its existential aspect of creating values. According to Blenkinsop (2004), humans create values through their actions and their choosing use of language and other cultural tools. This value creation comes with "assuming responsibility for the world" (p. 280): When I choose an action, I advocate its value as a living example of the value. It means educationally that all class members should reflect before they act, which can be taught, e.g., with role-playing activities and reflections afterward. They should have chances to critically think about what is good to them all and what choices conform to the good.

Collective critical thinking about agreeable values and actions will be a crucial process of group building, because the results will eventually constitute the foundation of their norms and rules in view of their common goals. Further, they will facilitate inviting group members to publicly pledge to abide by their common codes of behavior. They will facilitate students' self-policing and designing and implementing consequences. Deliberating the consequences will teach them to internalize social responsibility and to determine what will help class members to change their bad behaviors. That is, explicating their common values and appropriate actions will eventually help all the class members to "develop thoughtfully into [their] potential selves" (Blenkinsop 2004, p. 288).

The process of such group building will bring forth important existential issues such as the multiplicity of perspectives and ways of being. If a class divides itself into the subgroup of *studying* students and that of *playing* students prone to sleep in class, as in Korea, the two subgroups can have different versions of truth, as the latter's opinions were witnessed in Sects. 4.1–6.1. The two groups are *outsiders* to one another. The teacher should facilitate all the students to trace back their history and recreate themselves using the outsiders' different opinions as sources of insight.

He/she can also invite voices of local outsiders into the classroom so that they can confront his/her students into a process of change. Such outsiders as in-class sleepers should help the class group to become existentially more conscious.

Some in-class sleepers can be stigmatized as outcasts, targets of collective hatred. The teacher should help class members to learn that their allying themselves with the hatred is "suspending responsibility for their thoughts and acts, adopt[ing] ready-made opinions and simply follow[ing] orders" out of the fear of being ostracized (Blenkinsop 2004, p. 292). It creates a culture of silence and "a misguided sense of belonging [and] a false community" (p. 292). The teacher should lead the class to examine every position and create a chance to unite and a social ethics itself.

In a sense, a class group should provide an invaluable chance for its members to acquire the tools of community building and critical thinking. They should learn that they can change their group, i.e., the world, through critical awareness of its problems and their own transformative actions (Freire 1970/2000a, b; Fromm 1964/2010).

7.2.2 Implications for Overseas EFL Contexts

In countries where English is learned as a foreign language, they must have faced similar problems as we Koreans experienced: The English language has grown very important, it is widely taught in school, but the people cannot practice or use it naturally in their day to day life. As reviewed in Sect. 2.1.1, learners' loss of motivation is being studied more and more widely in Asia, for example, not only in Korea (Kim 2009; Kwak 2004) but also in Japan (Falout and Hood 2009), China (Zhang and Kim 2013), Vietnam (Trang and Baldauf 2007), Bangladesh (Quadir 2017), Iran (Hosseini and Jafari 2014), and Saudi Arabia (Al-Khairy 2013), among others. Except in Japan, no cases of sleeping in regular classes are reported in those studies of demotivation (Dörnyei 2001).

As the government pursues efficiency in secondary English education as in Korea and Japan, however, the educational system will inevitably disregard student diversity and so produce not a small number of students who cannot keep up with others so give up English studying. If rich parents mobilize distinctive chances for their children's English education, it will widen the inter-student gap in preparedness of the English capital exacerbating accompanying pedagogical problems as in Korea.

The current study may provide a number of implications for overseas EFL contexts. First of all, the ultimate goal of education should be to facilitate students to become fully human. They shouldn't be dehumanized. Given this, second, English educators should attend to the psychological needs of their students

(Sects. 4.3.1 and 7.2). English classes should help students experience successes in expressing their feelings and thoughts. Students should have their mentality grow stronger and their psychological well-being be guaranteed. They should be able to shape and reshape their *internal* world.

Third, (English) educators should attend to the sociological needs of their individual students and of the class as a group. In classes and school students should experience community building and critical thinking acquiring tools needed for these processes. They should be able to enjoy collaboration rather than to be driven to compete. With a goodwill, they should compete with other groups in other classes or schools. Schools shouldn't line up students in grades; rather they should establish a criterion-based evaluation system.

If you aim at fostering the twenty-first century competencies (OECD 2005; Trilling and Fadel 2009), fourthly, you should pour the new wine in a new wine-skin; you should review and understand structurally the processes among stake-holders in classrooms, in schools, and in the society. Perhaps you need to go back in history and reexamine the development of the entire educational system and culture. You should listen to the voices of students and teachers and school administrators to understand their emic perspectives; you should recognize and respect their autonomy ("agency"), bridgeability ("collaboration"), contextuality ("situated-ness"), and diversity (Cha et al. 2016, 2017). You should help agents at different levels to undertake the cultural actions that they feel are necessary in their local situations: on the basis of science and philosophy, and through constant dialogues and praxis ("critical consciousness and practice") (Freire 1970/2000a, b). Educational processes shouldn't be sealed off from students' lifeworld. It should be a process of transforming their existential situations at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels.

Perhaps the most important implication this book can provide, lastly, is the centrality of *human agency*. Sociocultural structures are man-made (Berger and Luckmann 1966/1991) so their problems should and can also be fixed by human agency (Freire 1970/2000a, b; Ratner 2000a, b). Our culture gets naturalized so easily that its problems easily become difficult to grasp or too huge to dare to solve unless they are approached together by all the members. A crucial problem here is that it is difficult to communicate among its members. This is why every cultural action requires a *community* of learning and practice and should begin with an obvious contradictory case and imagine boldly a better world we want to live in. The power of democracy comes from the reasonable consensus of the people, which is possible only when they can maintain healthy channels of communication, which can in turn be realized and maintained with the advancing technology of communication and various social networking services in the twenty-first century. Cultural actions have more potential than ever before.

7.2.3 Theoretical Implications

Even though it mainly pursues a critical understanding of the in-class sleeping phenomenon and ways to cure the absurd culture by means of cultural actions, this study also has a number of theoretical implications.

Amotivation In-class sleepers discussed in this study must be judged to be in amotivation, "the state of lacking the intention to act" (Ryan and Deci 2002, p. 17). According to Legault et al. (2006), academic amotivation occurs when learners believe that they lack the ability for the task [poor "*ability beliefs*"], that they cannot make the effort necessary for the task [poor "*effort beliefs*"], that they only find low/no value in the task [low "*value placed on the task*"], or that the academic task is unappealing to them [unappealing "characteristics of the task"]; these subtypes of amotivation constitute an overarching concept of "an overall feeling of alienation and helplessness" (pp. 568–569). The results of our discussion seemingly demand that this theory of amotivation be modified to accommodate the causes of in-class sleeping.

When in-class sleepers felt that English classes were too difficult or teaching styles were too boring, they had poor ability beliefs or felt that classes were unappealing. When they felt no need for English, or when a student thought English classes were too easy for him, they didn't value English (class) disagreeing with their teachers or parents. When they had no physical energy to invest or felt they couldn't obtain better grades than others at all, they had poor effort beliefs. In this way, Reasons 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, and 10 (Sect. 7.1.1) can be accounted for with the existent theory of amotivation; however, the remaining ones don't seem so.

When in-class sleepers felt that their voices were not paid attention to by teachers, that they were discriminated against honor students, or that they had experienced teacher violence, they were opposing to or resisting against their English teachers' inappropriate attitude and unfair social positioning and treatments [a willful *refusal of participation*]. Further, when students slept because of the in-class sleeping culture, their amotivation was aggravated probably because of *broken regulations*. Even though they cannot be captured by means of the amotivation theory, these two types should still be subcomponents of the concept of feelings of alienation and helplessness, and so they demand an extension of the theory of amotivation.

Reviewing this pattern of amotivation subtypes reveals that Legault et al.'s (2006) theory may benefit from a more systematic classification of learners' beliefs. Some are *self-oriented* beliefs that are concerned with their own ability or efforts-making. Others are *task-oriented* beliefs: about the value or characteristics of the task. Additionally, learners can lack motivation because of their *goal-oriented* beliefs[1], their *teacher-oriented* beliefs that teachers are unfair oppressors, or their *regulation-oriented* beliefs that the regulation of attentive participation is not

[1]This subtype in fact entails the subtype of low value given to the task, but it can conceptually be distinguished from the latter.

effective anymore. When learners had those types of *inappropriate* beliefs, they can come to immerse themselves in amotivation, which showed up as in-class sleeping in Korea.

Demotivation As some subtypes of amotivation are regarded as extreme forms of demotivation, the results of this study must in turn be related to the theory of demotivation (Dörnyei 2001; Kim and Lee 2013; Lee and Kim 2014; Shoab and Dörnyei 2005). Reasons 1 and 2 are related to prevalent demotivators such as *difficulties of English learning* and *dissatisfaction with teaching styles* (Kim 2009); the oppositional causes (Reasons 3, 4, and 6) and the belief in English uselessness (Reason 5) may be related to the demotivator of *the negative influences of teachers and teaching materials*, *the loss of purpose/interest in learning English*, and *the students' negative attitude toward English learning* (Kim 2009; Kim et al. 2017). The presence of too strong competitors (Reason 9) will be surely related to the demotivators of *outstanding classmates* (Kim and Lee 2013) and *the sense of inferiority or frustration* or *low grades* (Lee and Kim 2014).

The student belief that the content or task are too easy (Reason 7) might also be thought to be a special case of Falout et al.'s (2009) demotivator of *an inappropriate level of class activities and courses*. In their work, however, this possibility is not discussed explicitly; further, in their results higher proficiency groups are reported to have answered more positively about the adequacy of the course level. This leads us to interpret their demotivator of inappropriate class level as meaning the class/course being too difficult or of too high a level. Given this, our result in question here urges researchers to pay attention to both sides of the inappropriateness of class level: too easy as well as too difficult.

Demotivation theorists, further, never paid close attention to the remaining causes: the formation of in-class sleeping culture (Reason 8) and the physical fatigue (Reason 10), probably because the first is about a unique, newly arising Korean-indigenous culture, and the second might look only a temporary happening. Inclusion of these as new culture-dependent demotivators will enhance the theory of demotivation one step higher.

Investment and Divestment If "a motive increases an action tendency [and] a demotive decreases it" (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011, p. 138), it is the learner him/herself who decides to participate in activities for learning a second language (L2) or not. That is, the pre-actional phase and the actional phase (Dörnyei and Ottó 1998) are socially mediated (Sect. 2.2.1), and L2 learners themselves decide to *invest* in or *divest* from language learning (Darvin and Norton 2015; Norton 2013), as an outcome of their agency.

Darvin and Norton's (2015) model of learner *investment* captures the three factors of *capital* and *ideology*, and *social identity*. These factors are presented in the form of a Venn diagram as circles all intersecting with one another, capturing *social positioning*, *affordances* and *perceived benefits*, and *systematic patterns of control*, as derivative factors from their intersections. This model of investment should be roughly extended to cases of student divestment (Ahn and Lee 2017), shedding light on the phenomena of amotivation as well.

A closer examination of reasons for in-class sleeping using this model highlights a demand for a slight conceptual elaboration of the model. Reason 10, first, shows that some in-class sleepers quite regularly exhaust their physical energy outside of school so that they don't have much left to invest in school English class. They invest their time in refreshing their physical energy in class! This weird situation in Korea demonstrates that students' investment must crucially include their time and physical-mental energy as well as different forms of their capital. This suggests that the factor of capital be substituted by a more inclusive concept of *asset* in the investment model.

The three factors (and their derivative ones) as they are should be presumably understood on *equal* terms. This, however, probably wouldn't be the case. As shown in Chaps. 4–6, different students put different values on English learning.[2] The different weights that different learners put on different factors, or the intensities of their different desires, should also be taken into consideration in order to capture the reality of investment as accurately as needed. A more elaborate version should involve an analytic device of *valuing* function, happening at the level of affectivity that follows *receiving* and *responding* and whose results are organized into a system of beliefs (Krathwohl et al. 1964; referred to in Brown 2007, p. 153). Let us say that the valuing function maps α (a practice, social relationship or whatever) to its value [[α]]. Then, investment will be made, for example, if [[participation]] is greater than [[negative social positioning]]. In fact, this is simply a basic principle of investment: If a positive gain is expected, make an investment. That is, the analytic function of valuing and algebraic calculations must also be included for a fuller theorization of investment.

Language Learner Agency The insight that learner investment provides leads us to its relevance to language learner agency. Even though *agency* may be understood as part of the personality of an individual, as in its definition as "an individual's will and capacity to act" (Mercer 2011, p. 428), the results of this study incline to support a poststructuralist view that agency is more contradictory and changeable since the subjectivity as its locus is understood as "diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time and social space" (Norton 2013, p. 162). Even when they know that they will need competence in English, for instance, some students may decide to sleep in English class as a protest against the teacher's unacceptable treatment. Our results are rather compatible with the view of language learner agency as a complex dynamic system that is "relational," "emergent," "spatially and temporally situated," achievable, and "chang[ing] through iteration and co-adaptation," "multidimensional," and "heterarchical" (Larsen-freeman 2019, pp. 65–68). The learner agency exerted in English classroom in Korea clearly possesses all these properties. A more in-depth discussion of co-adaptation will produce additional conceptional implications.

[2]As Norton (2013) herself also noted, Martina, as a mother who has children to support, could endure and overcome whatever difficulties in positioning or in the systematic patterns of control she encountered, in order to learn the target language of English.

Maladaptation of Learners or of the Schooling System Discussions of student motivation are often concerned with students' maladaptive behaviors. Practitioners and theorists agonize over ways to motivate students to behave well in schools correcting their maladaptive behaviors. Their presumption is that the current system of schooling is surely on the right track and students at risk are on wrong ones. The discussion of the phenomenon of in-class sleeping, however, suggests that the presumption is incorrect and invites a more radical reconsideration: We must not exclude the possibility that the age-old schooling system is outdated and its bureaucratic nature resists adaptation to new generations of students. In this perspective, the system may in fact be showing maladaptive traits. A conclusion of this study in this sense is that Korean high schools are seriously maladaptive to students.

A more democratic way of thinking will include scrutinizing the existent system to see in what ways it can become more adaptive to the ever-changing new generation that it should serve, but not dominate (see Sects. 2.2.2 and 5.3.1 for the use of the TARGET framework, and Sects. 4.3–6.3 for cultural actions, whose gist will be correcting maladaptive culture(s) to better adapt to students as human beings). That is, unlike in biological evolution the notion of (mal-)adaptation between an individual and society must include the bidirectionality of orientation, from student to system and the other way around, for the evolution of human society. This supportively highlights the difference between biology and social sciences and supports the above-discussed view of learner agency as a complex dynamic system (Larsen-Freeman 2019; Mercer 2011).

More fundamentally, the results of this study also reveal how seriously the positivist rationality is limited that buttresses the current schooling system (Giroux 2001, Chap. 1). The instrumental rationality of positivism precludes "subjectivity, critical thinking, ethical commitments, and the question of essence" (p. 15) and is characterized by "the fetishism of facts" and "value neutrality" (p. 16). In-class sleepers were *abandoned* when they gave up studying English. This mustn't have occurred, for example, if the essence of education had been pursued. This study strongly supports the Frankfurt School claiming that we must supplement positivism with a more comprehensive, dialectical thinking and embrace what it precludes.

Social and Psychological Emancipation In-class *resistants* can be awakened by giving them "the skills, knowledge, modes of inquiry that will allow them to critically examine the role society has played in their own self-formation" and "the tools to examine how his society has functioned to shape and thwart their aspirations and goals, or prevented them from even imagining a life outside the one they presently lead" (Giroux 1983, pp. 37–38). These may lead to their social, political emancipation.

Humanistic/existential approaches advocated in this study in a sense call for an *affirmative pedagogy* for the majority of students in public high schools in Korea, who continue to be heavily pressured to study with no way out provided and are marginalized as simply left behind. They point to a need to enlarge the conception of *emancipation* and empowerment on to affective as well as cognitive domains. They need to be able to enjoy freedom to learn at their appropriate levels and to be

recognized for their achievements per se. If their previous educational experiences were negative, students need to emancipate themselves from their past failure experiences or negative personal constructs (Kelly 2003) or habitus (Bourdieu 1977). They need to empower one another to construct a healthier identity and/or value system. These notions of *self-affirmation* and *solidarity*, to be encouraged with humanistic/existential activities (Blenkinsop 2004; Moskowitz 1978), can be conceptualized as *psychological* emancipation and empowerment. This generalization of the notions of emancipation and empowerment will facilitate the connection between humanistic/existential and critical education and be able to spread on to various conceptual and social domains of rankism (Fuller 2004; Kang 2015).

Pedagogically, humanistic/existential approaches will open ways to intenerate the Freirean critical pedagogy (Freire 1970/2000a, b) so that it may be more easily applicable to more general situations not only in developing countries but also in developed countries as with Wallace (1999), who negotiated to focus on raising critical consciousness rather than promoting social actions.

Repression and Resistance The excessive difficulty and boredom of English class (Reasons 1-2) show that the participating students were suffering from a type of "surplus-repression," in contrast with a "basic repression," which is necessary for maintenance of *civilization* (Marcuse 1955, p. 35). It is because schools are obligated to implement the fixed national curricula regardless of actual student proficiency. On the other hand, in-class sleeping must be a way of reckless school life. This must have been encouraged by the lack of any flunk system, which can be aptly called a form of *deficient repression*. Both of these deviant forms should be corrected to attain a better society.

The ontogeny of the in-class sleeping culture in Korea, more fundamentally, exemplifies the statement that "the mechanisms of social and cultural reproduction are never complete and always meet with partially realized elements of opposition" (Giroux 1983, p. 259), and strongly supports the resistance theory of schooling rather than its reproduction theory; schools have "complex and creative fields of resistance" (p. 260), so students (and teachers) create for themselves subordinate cultural practices not entirely being subject to outside demands. When their agency is not respected, their subcultural resistance may be *self-destructive* or *self-alienating* in that it may cost them chances to acquire cultural tools, as with the lads in Willis (1977).

Authenticity Communicative approaches to language teaching pursued two types of *authenticity*: expressing learners' authentic thoughts and feelings, and/or using native speakers' authentic materials. Humanistic pedagogy emphasized the first, say, learner authenticity, whereas Communicative Language Teaching (or CLT) opted for the second, say, materials authenticity (Roberts 1982). In this respect, our humanistic/existential approach can naturally get the CLT notion of authenticity into a better shape. In addition to such *materials authenticity*, the current approach emphasizes its counterparts like *learner* authenticity and *context* authenticity as well.

Given this conceptual expansion, one can attain a higher understanding of pedagogical principles. For example, consider Dörnyei's (2013) "principled

communicative approach," which is equipped with principles emphasizing "personal significance," "language exposure," and "focused interaction" (p. 171). The learner authenticity will constitute the conceptual basis for the personal significance principle, whereas the context and materials authenticity will lead to authentic use of the target language in a real situation supporting the language exposure principle.[3]

7.3 Questions for Future Research

This book has limited its scope to a basically qualitative study of the emic perspectives of high school students studying English in Seoul and English teachers in the same and neighboring provision. Future research will have to include quantitative studies to understand how prevalently the phenomenon of sleeping in class exists in Korea, what are its causes, and how significant regional variations are that the teacher participants attested in this study.

Future studies will also have to widen the scope to other levels of education, particularly to primary and middle schools, to check what causes students sleep at those levels of education, and in what ways they can be wakened up. This is the most urgent and significant matter that requires attention of educators and educational authorities because cultural actions for liberation would be more effective at lower levels of education.

Above all, the cultural actions proposed in this book should be implemented and tested; the results should be reported as action research at all the levels of classroom, school, home, and higher institutions of education. These efforts will surely help our next generations to be able to become more fully human enjoying the psychological and sociocultural well-being and growth.

As a theoretical basis, we need to have a clearer understanding of in what ways the sociocultural structure and human agency interact with and adapt to one another. This need attracts us to the more holistic approach that views them as complex dynamic systems (Larsen-Freeman 2019; Mercer 2011). When a proper care is not taken, however, this line of holistic research may also fall in danger of being done only in a positivist way. As Giroux (2001) cautions, it should be done through a dialectic way of thinking that pays attention to value, norm, and even the style of thinking itself; it should be done in view of inter-systemic criticality paying attention to the social role of knowledge or to the relationship of culture and power; it should be done paying attention to how subjectivity is constructed in a culture.

In terms of concrete research problems, future research may also pay attention to what types of fetishism are rampant in the local culture. Korean schooling seems to

[3]The other principles of the principle communicative approach emphasize "controlled practice," "declarative input," "focus on form," and "formulaic language," which are related either to the construct of automation based on the *skill-learning* theory from psychology, or to the nature of the natural target language.

suffer from a fetishism of grades. Discussing what materials may be interesting to students, Teacher 11 deplored that students ultimately ask, “Will this be on the test?” The grade fetishism seems to be boosted up by the norm-based system of evaluation and the importance of grades for college admission. Social classism, deep-rooted in Korean culture, also presents itself as themes if we recall the malignant forms of educational credentialism and hagbeolism.

Another theme for critical theory must be the political neutrality of secondary education, which must be an instantiation of the value neutrality of positivism. This legacy came from the interplay between the Communist North Korea and the capitalist South Korea. This has been effective in protecting the territory from communist influences, but currently, it functions as shackles of cold war deterring political education in school. Further, the socioeconomic consequences of in-class sleeping will be an important topic of research. As Crookes (2017) warns, for example, the English Divide phenomenon must also be scrutinized and attacked from a critical point of view.

This study has been based on emic views of two groups of students and a relatively small number of teachers; hence, the results and cultural actions would be *biased* to some extent. They should be balanced with voices of more teachers and administrators in school and educational offices.

When comparable studies are undertaken in other cultures, studies for cross-cultural comparison can be pursued to understand the similarities and differences in reasons for giving up English learning and in cultural actions that can be done in different cultural basins. These efforts will surely be a desirable way to *widely benefit humanity* (*Hongikingan*, 홍익인간, 弘益人間).

7.4 Summary

Summing up and integrating the discussions in Chaps. 4–6, this chapter has delineated reflective accounts of the sleeping-in-class phenomena, answering questions about the nature of the sleeping-in-class phenomena, presenting the lessons this research garnered for reengaging those in-class sleepers and the proposed cultural actions for different stakeholders to implement at the micro-/meso-/macro-levels. In view of the long-term nature of cultural actions, these specifications can be used as substantive “codes” of practice as well.

This chapter has then discussed practical and theoretic implications of this study. In Sect. 7.2.1, it discussed how people can build a more humanistic/existential education system with minimal marginalization of low-achieving students in the Korean cultural climate. It suggested strengthening students’ discipline and satisfying their psychological needs. Then it discussed how this can be strengthened by means of their fair social positioning and interactions that will provide valuable tools for community building and critical thinking, which are crucially related to acceptance of in-class sleepers.

This has led in Sect. 7.2.2 to discussion of the practical implications for humanistic/existential renovation of English education in overseas EFL contexts. First, the ultimate goal of education should be humanization. Educational problems need critical structural understanding. For which, second, English educators should attend to students' psychological needs. Third, (English) educators should attend to their individual and group needs in class and in school as well. Fourth, fostering the twenty-first century competencies needs an educational system that maximally guarantees the autonomy, bridgeability, contextuality, and diversity of students, teachers, and front-line schools. Lastly, humans' agency to transform their own creations, society, and culture must be maximized for the ultimate attainment of democracy.

In Sect. 7.2.3, we have discussed major theoretical implications of this study. This study advocates a generalization or elaboration of conceptions like learner beliefs, demotivators, investment, maladaptation, emancipation and empowerment, repression and resistance, and authenticity. It also generally supports a complex systems theory for the study of language learning. This chapter has then been closed with suggestions for future research in Korea and other neighboring countries, which will widely benefit humanity.

References

Agazarian, Y., & Peters, R. (1981). *The visible and invisible group: Two perspectives on group psychotherapy and group process*. Boston, US: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ahn, S.-H. G., & Lee, M. W. (2017). "Sleeping beauties" in English classrooms: The English divestment of Korean high school students. *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics, 17*(3), 547–579. https://doi.org/10.15738/kjell.17.3.201709.547.

Al-Khairy, M. H. (2013). English as a foreign language learning demotivational factors as perceived by Saudi undergraduates. *European Scientific Journal, 9*(32), 365–382.

Ames, C. (1992). *Home and school cooperation in social and motivational development*. Champaign, US: Illinois University, College of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 411 629).

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966/1991). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. London, UK: Penguin Books.

Bion, W. (1961). *Experiences in groups: And other papers*. New York, US: Tavistock.

Blenkinsop, S. (2004). *Choice, dialogue, and freedom: Towards a philosophy of education based in existentialism*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, US.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, H. D. (2007). *Principles of language learning and teaching* (5th ed.). New York, US: Pearson.

Cha, Y., Ahn, S.-H., Ju, M.-K., & Ham, S.-H. (2016). *Yungbokhap* Education: Toward an expansive (Re)conceptualization. *Multicultural Education Studies, 9*(1), 1–33.

Cha, Y.-K., Ham, S.-H., & Lim, M.-E. (2017). Citizenship education in Korea: Challenges and new possibilities. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *Citizenship education and global migration: Implications for theory, research and teaching* (pp. 247–253). Washington, DC, US: AERA.

Comber, B., & Kamler, B. (2005). *Turn-around pedagogies: Literacy interventions for at-risk students*. Newton, Australia: Primary English Teaching Association.

Crookes, G. (2017). Critical language pedagogy given the English divide in Korea: A suite of practices, critique, and the role of the intellectual. *English Teaching, 72*(4), 3–21.
Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 35,* 36–56.
Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "what" and "why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry, 11*(4), 227–268.
Dörnyei, Z. (2001). *Teaching and researching motivation*. London, UK: Longman.
Dörnyei, Z. (2013). Communicative language teaching in the 21st century: The 'principled communicative approach'. In J. Arnold & T. Murphey (Eds.), *Meaningful action: Earl Stevick's influence on language teaching* (pp. 161–171). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Pres.
Dörnyei, Z., & Ottó, I. (1998). Motivation in action: A process model of L2 motivation. *Working Papers in Applied Linguistics* (Thames Valley University) *4*, 43–69.
Dörnyei, Z., & Ushioda, E. (2011). *Teaching and researching motivation* (2nd ed.). Harlow, UK: Longman.
Duhigg, C. (2012). *The power of habit: Why we do what we do in life and business*. New York: Random House.
Dweck, C. S. (2017). From needs to goals and representations: Foundations for a unified theory of motivation, personality, and development. *Psychological Review, 124*(6), 689–719. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000082.
Ehrman, M. E., & Dörnyei, Z. (1998). *Interpersonal dynamics in second language education: The visible and invisible classroom*. Thousand Oaks, US: Sage.
Eom, K. (2013). *Kyosa-do hakkyo-ga duryeopta* ('Teachers are scared of schools too.'). Seoul, Korea: Ttabi.
Epstein, J. L. (1987). *TARGET: An examination of parallel school and family structures that promote student motivation and achievement*. (Report No. 6). Baltimore, MD: Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 291 504).
Falout, J., Elwood, J., & Hood, M. (2009). Demotivation: Affective states and learning outcomes. *System, 37,* 403–417.
Fine, M. (1991). *Framing dropouts*. Albany, US: State University of New York Press.
Freire, P. (1970/2000a). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, US: Bloomsbury.
Freire, P. (1970/2000b). *Cultural action for freedom* (2000 ed.). Cambridge, US: Harvard Education Press.
Fromm, E. (1964/2000). *The heart of man: The genius for good and evil*. New York, US: Harper & Row.
Fuller, R. W. (2004). *Somebodies and nobodies: Overcoming the abuse of rank*. Gabriola Island, BC, Canada: New Society Publishers.
Giroux, H. (1983). Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: A critical analysis. *Harvard Educational Review, 53*(3), 257–293.
Giroux, H. (2001). *Theory and resistance in education: Toward a pedagogy for the opposition*. South Hadley, US: Bergin & Garvey.
Griffiths, G., & Keohane, K. (2000). *Personalizing language learning*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Hobbs, R. (2011). *Digital and media literacy: Connecting culture and classroom*. Thousand Oaks, US: Corwin.
Hosseini, S. A., & Jafari, S. M. (2014). Possible demotivating factors for secondary school students. *International Journal of Language Learning and Applied Linguistics World, 5*(3), 188–201.
Kang, J. I. (2015). *Western-centrism and contemporary Korean political thought*. Lanham, US: Lexington Books.
Kelly, G. A. (2003). A brief introduction to personal construct theory. In F. Fransella (Ed.), *International handbook of personal construct psychology* (pp. 3–20). Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Kenway, J., & Bullen, E. (2005). Globalizing the young in the age of desire: Some educational policy issues. In M. W. Apple, J. Kenway, & M. Singh (Eds.), *Globalizing education: Policies, pedagogies, & politics* (pp. 31–44). New York, US: Peter Lang.

Kikuchi, K. (2009). Learner voices: Listening to our learners' voices: What demotivates Japanese high school students? *Language Teaching Research, 13*(4), 453–471. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168809341520.

Kim, K. J. (2009). Demotivating factors in secondary English education. *English Teaching, 64*(4), 249–267.

Kim, K. J. (2012). The structural relationship between demotivational factors and English achievement for high school students. *English Language & Literature Teaching, 18*(4), 71–92.

Kim, T.-Y., Kim, Y., & J.-Y. (2017). English learning resilience, motivation, and demotivation of Korean students: A Mixed Method approach. *Educational Research, 69,* 61–94.

Kim, T.-Y., & Lee, Y.-J. (2013). Korean students' English learning motivation and demotivation through autobiographic essays: Retrospective reconstruction. *Korean Journal of Applied Linguistics, 29*(1), 37–68.

Krathwohl, D., Bloom, B., & Masia, B. (1964). *Taxonomy of educational objectives. Handbook H: Affective domain*. New York, US: David McKay.

Kwak, Y. (2004). *A Study on the cause and process for giving up English learning: Focused on the abandoned English learners in high school.* Unpublished Master's thesis, Busan National University, Busan, South Korea.

Larsen-Freeman, D. (2019). On language learner agency: A complex dynamic systems theory perspective. *The Modern Language Journal, 103*(S1), 61–79. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12536.

Lee, M. W. (2016a). *Early study-abroad and identities: Korean early study-abroad undergraduates*. Singapore: Springer.

Lee, M. W. (2016b). 'Gangnam style' English ideologies: Neoliberalism, class and the parents of early study-abroad students. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 19*(1), 35–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2014.963024.

Lee, S.-M., & Kim, S.-H. (2014). Factors affecting Korean college students' motivation and demotivation in learning English. *The Journal of Linguistic Science, 68,* 287–312.

Legault, L., Green-Demers, I., & Pelletier, L. (2006). Why do high school students lack motivation in the classroom? Towards an understanding of academic amotivation and the role of social support. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 98*(3), 567–582. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.98.3.567.

Marcuse, H. (1955). *Eros and civilization: A philosophical inquiry into Freud*. Boston, US: Beacon Press.

Mercer, S. (2011). Understanding learner agency as a complex dynamic system. *System, 39,* 427–436. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2011.08.001.

Mills, C. W. (1959). *The sociological imagination*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Moskowitz, G. (1978). *Caring and sharing in the foreign language class: A sourcebook on humanistic techniques*. Boston, US: Heinle & Heinle.

Nahm, I. S. (2011). Contradictions of Korean education based on academic success. *Theory of Society, 40,* 101–123.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

OECD. (2005). *The definition and selection of key competencies: Executive summary*. Paris, France: OECD.

Oxford, R. L. (1998). The unravelling tapestry: Teacher and course characteristics associated with demotivation in the language classroom. Demotivation in foreign language learning. Paper presented at the TESOL '98 Congress, Seattle, WA, March.

Peck, M. S. (1978). *The road less travelled: A new psychology of love, traditional values and spiritual growth*. New York, US: Simon-Schuster.

Quadir, M. (2017). Let us listen to our students: An analysis of demotivation to study English in Bangladesh. *The English Teacher, 46*(3), 128–141.

Ratner, C. (2000a). Agency and culture. *Journal for The Theory of Social Behavior, 30,* 413–434.
Ratner, C. (2000b). Outline of a coherent, comprehensive concept of culture. Cross-Cultural *Psychology Bulletin*, *34*(1 & 2), pp. 5–11. http://www.sonic.net/∼cr2/culture.htm. Accessed 11 June 2018.
Rogers, C. R. (1961). *On becoming a person*. Boston, US: Houghton Mifflin.
Rogers, C. R. (1969). *Freedom to learn*. Columbus, US: Charles E. Merrill.
Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2002). Overview of self-determination theory: An organismic perspective. In E. L. Deci & R. M. Ryan (Eds.), *Handbook of self-determination research* (pp. 3–33). Rochester, US: The University of Rochester Press.
Shoab, A., & Dörnyei, Z. (2005). Affect in lifelong learning: Exploring L2 motivation as a dynamic process. In P. Benson & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Learners' stories: Difference and diversity in language learning* (pp. 22–41). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Sosa, M., & Casanave, C. P. (2007). Difficult students: Who, why, and responses. In K. Bradford-Watts (Ed.), *JALT2006 Conference Proceedings* (pp. 240–248). Tokyo, Japan: JALT.
Stevick, E. W. (1990). *Humanism in language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Tran, Y. (2014). Addressing reciprocity between families and schools: Why these bridges are instrumental for students' academic success. *Improving Schools, 17*(1), 18–29.
Trang, T. T. T., & Baldauf, R. B., Jr. (2007). Demotivation: Understanding resistance to English language learning—The case of Vietnamese students. *The Journal of Asia TEFL, 4*(1), 79–105.
Trilling, B., & Fadel, C. (2009). *21st century skills: Learning for life in our times*. San Francisco, US: Jossey-Bass.
Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labour: How working class kids get working class jobs*. London, UK: Saxon House.
Wilson, G. L. (2005). *Groups in context: Leadership and participation in small groups* (7th ed.). Boston, US: McGraw-Hill.
Zhang, Q., & Kim, T. (2013). Cross-grade analysis of Chinese students' English learning motivation: A mixed-method theory. *Asia-Pacific Education Review, 14*(4), 615–627.

Index

S.-H. G. Ahn and M. W. Lee, *English Classes in Slumber*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-1010-6