



## Parents' Language Ideologies of English and Social Class

Chunhwa Lee\*

Incheon National University

### ARTICLE INFO

Received 15 December 2018

Revised 18 January 2019

Accepted 15 February 2019

Examples in: English

Applicable Languages: English

Applicable Levels: Secondary

### KEYWORD

*language ideology/*

*symbolic boundary/*

*social class/*

언어이데올로기/

상징적 경계/

사회계층

### ABSTRACT

Lee, Chunhwa (2019). Parents' language ideologies of English and social class. *Modern English Education*, 20(1), 14-27.

The purpose of this research is to find out how language ideology is maintained within a social class. This study highlights how English, which has high value in Korean society, is recognized as class mobility and is embedded in the fabric of Korean society through upper or middle class parents of international school students in Korea. This research explores what language ideologies function as crucial factors for deciding on their children's language education. This study uses the qualitative narrative data drawn from interviews with the participants to investigate how the language ideologies are constructed by social class in the Korean context, and how inequalities of class come to be rationalized with these ideologies in Korean society. The main method in content and thematic analysis is the inductive coding of the reflective data according to emerging patterns. The findings revealed that the cultural value of the participants of the middle class was associated with the US. The participants considered English ability itself as one of the qualifications of being part of the middle class in Korean society. Moreover, the participants constructed their own inner-circle to share their values and norms through the schools. This study shed light on the issue that a cultural capital can play a significant role in constructing social structure, which enables certain groups to obtain the cultural capital connected to economic advantages in society.

### I. INTRODUCTION

While a great deal of attention has been paid to ethnicity, gender, nationality, race, and sexuality, social class has received little attention in applied linguistics (Bernstein, 1990; Block, 2012; Halliday, 1992), and even though it is mentioned, it is not analyzed and discussed seriously due to a degree of social class denial and social class erasure (Block, 2012, 2015). According to Harvey's (2007) explanation towards the absence of class, neoliberalism in

modern society debates "the importance of personal and individual freedom, liberty and responsibility" (p. 27), and it emphasizes only difference and diversity with the frame of multiculturalism and identity. In addition, the life conditions of women and people of color around the world have changed and were radically shaken up in the latter half of the twentieth century. Actually, identity politics has affected and improved the life conditions of these people, so it is natural applied linguistic publications deal with issues involving identity and social life, paying attention

\* Author: Chunhwa Lee (Incheon National University, Professor)

Chunhwa Lee

Dept. of General Education, Incheon National University, 119 Academy-ro, Yeonsu-gu, Incheon, 22012, Korea

Tel: (032) 835-9571 / Email: chwa224@gmail.com

to individualism as a key term of neoliberalism (Block, 2015). In addition, figuring out the relationship between language and social class is a complicated issue because the study of language and social class requires thorough analysis of social and economic relations within a certain society, in which ideologies are systematically linked to social class values. Due to these difficulties, little attention has been paid to class as a main topic in general social sciences (Block, 2012; Halliday, 1992). Nevertheless, the research about the interrelationship between social class and language has endured because the theme of class is one of the most important matters associated with identity. Moreover, it is not possible to analyze language education without considering how a certain language intersects with the social boundary along class lines. Scholars cannot understand a certain language learning and choice made by people without acknowledging how language ideology is maintained in social class and without exploring how material exists in the social class. As such, it is more a recurring theme rather than a theme that was once alive and then at some point died (Block, 2012).

This research studies upper or middle class parents of international school students in Korea and highlights how English, which has high value in Korean society, is recognized as class mobility and is embedded in the fabric of Korean society. The main question of this study is why upper or middle class parents with a respectable public school system choose international schools for their children. This research explores what language ideologies function as crucial factors in making decision for children's language education. Moreover, this empirical study investigates how the language ideologies construct and is constructed by social class in the Korean context, and how inequalities of class come to be rationalized with the ideology in Korean society. This research offers an account of the language (English) functions as key symbolic resources for culturally producing distinction (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2017). The data of this study will show how parents' socioeconomic status is transferred to their children's education, especially, focusing on language ideology, and how language education acts to reproduce social status in Korean society. Parents' attitudes and beliefs influence child rearing and development; these attitudes and beliefs are developed from the ideology of the society that they belong to because ideologies are socially constructed (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005) while participating in groups relevant to the parents and their children's culture (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). This study can help us understand why Korean parents invest in their children's English education, why Korean parents make an effort to have their children engage with English-learning education related to their class identities, and how individual Korean parents' social-class identities are mediated through their children's English education to raise their status through language learning. Understanding how language ideologies are ultimately rooted in relations of social class with the rise of neoliberalism (J. S. Y. Park & Lo, 2012) helps us to move towards a nuanced view of the

relationship between social class and inequality of education in Korea. For those purposes this research asks the following questions.

- 1) Why do the parents decide for their children to attend an international school?
- 2) What language ideologies become enacted in their children's language education?
- 3) How are the language ideologies constructed in the Korean contexts?

This study first discusses language ideologies and the concepts of symbolic, social, and class boundary as theoretical frameworks focusing on English issues in Korea. Regarding method, this study uses the qualitative narrative data drawn from interviews with participants, analyzes the interviewed data, and connects to the ideologies of English. Then, it discusses the findings and draws the conclusion from the analysis.

## II. INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN KOREA

In order to understand the selection of these participants for this particular study, it is important to understand international schools in the context of Korean society. International schools are different from foreign schools. Foreign schools should be composed of 70% of students from foreign nationals, and the enrollment by ethnic Koreans in foreign schools is limited. Conversely, international schools are open to anyone who meets certain requirements. Tuition expenses range from 30 to 40 thousand dollars per year. Even though there are several specific admission requirements for admission to international schools, one of the following three major requirements must be met: 1) At least one of the student's parents must have citizenship in a country other than Korea, 2) the student must have lived overseas for more than three years, or 3) The student, who maintains initial enrollment eligibility, must be currently enrolled at an accredited international school in Korea. The majority of international schools have a large Korean population. International schools adopt either the American or British curriculum and teaching methods. Thirty out of fifty international schools teach in English. There are a few schools that teach in German, Chinese, or Japanese and follow the respective curriculum of other countries. Many students of the international schools wish to attend universities abroad (Korean Ministry of Education, 2013). These international schools are viewed as a language immersion education system in Korea because the students learn English or other foreign languages by being exposed to natural language use and communication (C. Lee, 2018). The schools function by allowing the students to learn the language as a by-product of learning the content material (Potowski, 2007).

### III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 1. Language Ideology and Neoliberalism

Language is recognized as symbolic capital to establish power (Pennycook, 1994). However, the language itself is not symbolic power; acknowledgement and belief of the language as authority construct symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1977; Kaess, 2017). Therefore, it is crucial to study the relationship between language ideologies and social contexts in order to understand why and how people reproduce a certain ideology. Moreover, such research can address not only local embeddedness but also the global effect of language (K. Lee, 2018).

One of the most distinctive sociocultural ideologies that influence modern society is neoliberalism (J. S. Y. Park & Lo, 2012). It seems that the relationship between language and ideology can be understood by referring to the wider context of neoliberalism aligned with globalization. Nation-state language ideology has been structured under the influence of globalization. Globalization is not only the flow of people around the world (Block, 2006) but also an economic, political, technological and cultural process (Pennycook, 2007). These current multi-informed views of globalization converged into language, which brings back the dominance of culture over economics. Influenced by global neoliberalism, people have come to believe in the need of English as a global language (Piller, 2015). Moreover, recently, as the US has maintained a position of dominance and clear advantages in the world, the global market and its dominant neoliberal ideology have demanded English as a global communication tool. According to Crystal (2003), the economic power as well as the political power and military dominance influence that a certain language becomes a global language.

As such, American cultural hegemony has a close relationship with English hegemony. According to Nye (2014), cultural influence is an indirect effect and a more pervasive way to exercise power. Therefore, the US can exercise its power through the global spread of English as a cultural power. The US has risen to the origin of various cultural ideas and forms, which are viewed as normal around the world (Ritzer, 2011).

#### 2. Symbolic, Social, and Class Boundary

A number of scholars are now occupied with analyzing how the self is constructed by boundaries and differences. This new interest builds on a well-established tradition since Marx depicted the proletariat as the contradiction of the capitalist class (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Emirbayer (1997) says the notion of boundaries as a fundamental social process can explain a wide range of social phenomena, institutions, and locations with a productive perspective. Additionally, the boundary concept is the segmentation between “us” and “them.” As Tajfel and Turner (1985) says, “Pressures to evaluate ones’ own group positively through in-group/out-group comparison lead social groups to attempt to differentiate themselves from each other” (pp. 16-17). This phenomena of

categorization aims “to maintain and achieve superiority over an out-group on some dimension” (pp. 16-17). Therefore, the process of differentiation affects how people perceive success and failures, external and internal, and environmental and individual (Crocker et al., 1998). Among the various boundary theories of sociologists, this study focuses on how boundaries are constructed and shaped in social contexts by ideologies as the cultural repertoires (Lamont, 2000; Somers, 1994; Swidler, 2001), especially paying attention to language as a cultural consumption and class reproduction.

Examining how social boundaries are constructed by the cultural repertoires and discourses in which ideologies are reflected can expose how class is constructed and inequality is shaped by language (Lamont, 2000; Somers, 1994; Swidler, 2001). As language ideologies are beliefs and social norms that direct language behaviors and put people within social order (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998), people are going to show their social position through English ability (Bourdieu, 1991).

In Korea, English has been regarded as a “foreign” language, but English has become a significant means to gain and maintain a class distinction (Gao, 2014; López-Gopar & Sughrua, 2014; H. Shin, 2014). Thus, upper-class parents are willing to invest in facilitating their children to acquire English and maintain their class privilege. Koreans’ passion for English education has reached such a feverish pitch that many families are willing to find ways to educate their children via immersion circumstances such as early study abroad and Gireogy family in which fathers put up with a lengthened separation from their children in order to send their children to Anglophone countries with their mothers. They view that English fluency and credentials from an Anglophone country will make sure of the children’s marketability not only in the competitive Korean job market but also global markets (Phillipson, 2000). These phenomena highlight that English dominance has penetrated the local context and constructs language ideology. As such, it is proper to view the English ideologies with the broader socio-cultural context in order to understand the relationship between practices and effects of English in Korea.

### IV. LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars are taking social class as a fundamental factor to capture the social phenomenon and critically examine the different conditions of language learning between working-class and more privileged learners. Tong and Shi (2012) demonstrated the correlation between class position and individuals’ access to English learning. Tong and Shi made the point that in developed metropolitan cities such as Shanghai, Beijing, and Guangzhou, bilingual education has become a form of elite education which is available only to privileged higher social classes by the terms of family income. Social class and language ideology is embedded in countries with a postcolonial relationship with English associated with access to and acquisition of English. Ramanathan’s (2005) work is a good example of

English-medium instruction in higher education in India. Ramanathan examined how English was interconnected with symbolic markers and other materials. Moreover, Blommaert (2010) also argued English had become a marker of global citizenship and divides populations in sub-Saharan Africa into those who could desire this class and those who could not. English Divide (H. Shin, 2014), which results from differential access to English; furthermore, this term recently appeared in media reports and in policy suggestions in Korea. English has long been considered as a critical resource of symbolic capital for a distinct class in Korea. Also, since the financial market crisis in the late 1990s, neoliberalization of the Korean economy has influenced English communicative proficiency. English has become a means to obtain “global” capital, and some middle-class Koreans have been obsessed in providing their children with “authentic” English (J. S. Y. Park & Lo, 2012) by choosing early study abroad and immersion programs.

Not only in second language learning contexts but also in domain language immersion schools, the issue of class conflict has emerged. Furthermore, there are examples of how middle-class parents have made the educational system work for them. Palmer (2009) showed how middle-class children and their parents made use of the educational system to get their way in an ethnographic study of classrooms in a two-way Spanish-English bilingual school in California. Specifically, Palmer focused on how these middle-class children captured a disproportionate amount of their teachers’ time and got benefits in their schoolwork. Because the teacher was occupied, this was a disadvantage to the majority of the working-class Latino classmates. The primary reason this was a disadvantage was because the middle-class children already knew how to use educational opportunities to their advantage. In recent years, English language immersion programs and international schools instructed in English have become popular across Europe, South America, and Asia. In those education programs, middle and upper class parents manage to provide their children with the best education (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993; Lareau, 2011), but still the class issue exists between parents.

There have been researches cross multiple global contexts, reflecting power dynamics of English based on class matters. Recently, there have been diverse studies to define and theorize social class in the perspective of linguistics. However, researchers listed the general indicators of income, occupation and educational level, using limited frameworks resulting from questionnaires based on sociological work (Block, 2014). In addition, there have been few researches in which ideological implications of parents about decision on their children’s school in Korea are explored from the perspective of social class. This study is designed to explore how the social discourses on language ideology manifest social class ideology through international school parents’ discourses on English in Korea. This study asks how English contributes to constructing a powerful, ideological enterprise in not only Korean society

but also the neo-globalized world, and toward what end English operates in a social context.

## V. METHOD

The main purpose of this study is to examine the motivations of parents who chose to send their child to international schools, a kind of language immersion program, in Korea. There are various elements that influence their decision-making as well as the perceptions and expectations these parents have of the international program. This study about language education has aimed at shedding light on parents’ reasons and the background for the social process of language ideologies. The method for gathering information used in this study is qualitative. Through a qualitative approach a researcher can obtain an insight of experiences of individuals. Through critical discourse studies the researcher sees ‘language as social practice’ and perceives the ‘context of language use’ to be crucial (Fairclough & Woodak, 1997).

### 1. Participants

This research focuses on the language ideologies of Korean parents whose children attend international schools. The researcher got to know Haewon, one of the participants of this study while the researcher was staying in the US Haewon and the researcher lived in the same school district of their children in the US She had come back to Korea with her child one year before the researcher came back to Korea permanently. In the previous research, the researcher visited Elite Hakwon (pseudonym), which Haewon’s husband was running. The researcher recruited the participants who were studying for SAT. At that time, the researcher got to know some parents whose children were attending international schools. When the researcher asked parents if they would participate in the research, while some parents were reluctant to reveal their private lives, others voluntarily agreed to participate in this study and introduced the researcher to some more parents for this study. It was hard to obtain diversity in the mothers’ jobs because majority of mothers were housewives. The researcher focused on obtaining diversity in their backgrounds rather than their professions. Table 1 shows the brief information of the participants.

**TABLE 1**  
Participants

Participants	Age	Occupation	Occupation of husband	Child(ren)	Place of children residence	Duration of children Residence (year)
Eunhee	51	Lecturer	Executive officer in a bank	Son and daughter	US	8
Haesun	48	Housewife	Executive in a big company	Son	England	3
Haesung	58	Medical doctor	Medical doctor	Two daughters	US	1
Haewon	43	Housewife	CEO of private Academy	Two daughters and one son	US	10
Heewon	47	Professor	Dentist	Two sons and one daughter	US	5
Jaeyean	54	Executive in pharmaceutical company	Medical doctor	Son	US	4
Jaeyoung	48	Running business with her husband	Business	Two sons	US	3
Jieun	50	Professor	Business	Two daughters	US	5
Jinyoung	43	Housewife	Medical doctor	Three sons	England/US	3/1
Jungmi	47	Housewife	Work for IT company	Son	Australia/US	6
Meeok	53	Housewife	Executive in a big company	Two sons	US	3
Yeonju	48	Housewife	Venture business	Two daughter and one son	Australia	3
Yunhee	41	Housewife	Executive in a big company	Two sons	Spain	5
Youngah	45	Executive in agency of TV advertising company	Medical doctor	Daughter	US/Paris	2/1
Youngju	48	Housewife	Run a manufactory	Daughter and son	US	7
Wonmi	47	Housewife	CEO	Son	Japan	3

## 2. Data Collection

The data for this research was collected from June 2017 to July 2018 by interviewing the mothers whose children attended international schools in Korea. The interview data was comprised of one semi-structured interview and two open-ended interviews. The researcher used an informal semi-structured in-depth interview style to provide the interviewees with the feeling that they could open up and talk at length without being interrupted as well as to obtain natural data (Anderson, 1994). With an open-ended manner the participants might tell their stories, which were valuable sources to find new themes and detailed topics to emerge. Each of the three interviews took about one hour and a half and was conducted in the interviewee's house or a coffee shop where the interviewee felt comfortable in the Korean language. The researcher initially conducted interviews with each of them, using a common set of questions about their lives as a starting point and moved into other questions and topics. The interviews included questions about where and how long their families had lived in foreign countries. The researcher intended to learn more about how they had developed language ideologies. All of the interviews were recorded and transcribed by digital recorder for later analysis with the informed consent of the participants. Some notes were taken during the interviews. Frequent informal face to face conversations in different settings and phone conversations helped the researcher to narrow the distance between the researcher and participants and gather the frank data on what ideologies they

have related to their children's language education. The researcher did not use a digital recorder to record these informal conversations but took notes immediately afterwards. All the interviews were translated and transcribed from sound files into English by the researcher.

## 3. Data Analysis

The main method in content and thematic analysis is the coding of the reflective data according to emerging patterns or conceptual categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The data was analyzed primarily with inductive content analysis (Weber, 1990). First, the researcher began to listen to the audiotapes and looked through all the field notes with short phrases to obtain a broad understanding of the content of the data in order to develop the potential categories. The researcher thoroughly read transcripts and field notes multiple times and categorized the data and identified certain recurring themes. Next, the researcher identified certain recurring key words related to the research questions. In this process, a grid was developed to categorize all key words and key quotations in one file. The researcher put the key codes on one axis and key quotations on the other to make a list of key codes brought from the transcripts. The grid made the researcher see the extent to which there were common threads to be grasped across the transcripts. The categorized transcripts were carefully read. Then, main themes were identified from the key codes categorized. The researcher revised the coding again to fit into the theme categories. When the re-

searcher identified themes for each interview question, the researcher identified major content-related themes that disclose the ideologies of the Korean participants. Then, the researchers translated the key quotations. The researcher used all pseudonyms for the participants. Although this is a small sample, through the data of these participants, this research can provide useful examples of parents who chose a different education system in Korea. Table 2 shows the example of coding the data.

**TABLE 2**  
An Example of Coding

Theme	Code	Examples of interview Data
Global Language	Job finding in the global world	“They can find their jobs in the broad market..” “He failed to get a position there.”
	Lost chance	“My children might participate in many international events”
	Transnational life	“Korea is a small country”
	Competitive Korean situation	
Qualification of Middle class	Expectation for higher class	“My children should be better than the 9th grade civil servant”
	Stigmatized	“Did you graduate from a college?”
	Show knowledge of middle class	“Not intelligent people” “I felt intimidated because of my limited English”
Middle class Membership	Conscious of differentiation	“Different from those of general Koreans” “We cannot communicate comfortably with the people”
	Share our own culture	
	Culture of high class	“Children of Jaebol, some parents were from Harvard, Stanford, and famous TV stars”
	Experience Western culture	“experiences of foreign countries”

## VI. FINDINGS

Korean parents have close ties with their children. They do not consider themselves as separate from their children and families (E. Y. Yu, 1988), so they regard their children’s education and future success as the most important issue to their family. Korean parents view education as a measure of one’s self worth and at the same time a means of success. They are often exclusive decision makers for their children’s education and take great effort to provide their children with the very best education (E. Y. Yu, 1988). Parents of international school children of this study have had the experience of residence in foreign countries, mostly Anglophone countries, and want their children to maintain and improve their language competence they obtained while living in foreign countries. The parents’ decision to send their children to international school might be understood as one of the phenomena of “English frenzy” (J. S. Y. Park, 2009, p. 203) of Korea.

This study demonstrates the motivations of participants

who chose to send their children to international schools in Korea drawn on language ideological perspectives. While coding the interview data of this study, there emerged a few different themes such as too much competition of the Korean traditional school system and worries about maintaining ethnic identity. Because those themes were not related directly to the issue of language ideology and were beyond the scope of this study, they were excluded from the main themes. Content-related themes that emerged from the interview data were categorized into three major themes: parents’ perceptions of English ability as an instrument to give their children (a) socioeconomic foundation in transnational contexts under neoliberalism, (b) necessity to be a perfect middle class, and (c) social membership to be constructed with symbolic boundary.

### 1. “Greater Fluency in English Means More Power and Affluence in the US Globalized World.”

The first major theme that emerged is that Korean parents perceive English ability as socioeconomic capital, which is tied to social mobility in globalized world. Participants viewed English language fluency as a superior economical and intellectual instrument to get a decent job, which can maintain social class in both Korea and international settings.

Wonmi demonstrated the ideologies that the Korean language is as important as ethnic identity on social level, but personal economic status of the future is crucial in real life on an individual level.

Since we moved to Korea, my son’s Korean has improved a lot. It’s lucky, as he is a Korean and at the present is living in Korea, but I was concerned if he does not use English, he would lose English fluency... but nation (Kugga nasusoe) cannot find a job for my son in a globalized world. (Wonmi)

Wonmi’s discourse of hegemony of English is driven by neoliberal ideology, in which English is used as a common language in an international society. Therefore, English is a more powerful tool than the local language, Korean. The following statement by Haewon also shows that English is central in an international society as a determinative instrument (Holborow, 2012) to help their children to have a broader scope to obtain a job and maintain their economic status.

Because Korea is a small country, we cannot survive without depending on (international) trade... Without English skills, how can my children get a decent job (*bundeotan il-zari*) in a big company (*dae-gi-up*) to maintain a present life level? (Haewon)

Haewon has the view that English is a more important requirement than any other one in finding a job. This means that English fluency is a central and salient condition for a legitimate white collar job at a big company.

English is a prerequisite for their children to keep their present quality of life and maintain their socioeconomic class. Jungmi is concerned that her son could not get a job that he desires due to a lack of English skills.

My husband applied to the Johnson and Johnson Company, but he failed to get a position there because of his lack of English skills. I do not want my son to experience the same situation, so we decided not to allow my son to suffer from a lack of English. (Jungmi)

Jungmi thought the main reason of her husband's failing in getting a new position in some companies came from his limited English skills. That led her and her husband to have the language ideology that English competence could provide her son with an edge in his job seeking. She viewed language as a valuable tool to achieve a certain goal (Crystal, 2003). This language ideology made Jungmi and her husband "imagine and anticipate" (Walker et al., 2005, p. 89). Therefore, their most crucial responsibility for their son is English fluency education.

As such, parents regard English competency as necessary capital to get a decent job, which can maintain their children's economic level. As generally perceived that language itself includes its cultural discourse, the parents in this study also considered language learning as acquiring Western culture, values, and norms. Moreover, Youngah's statement showed English is associated with Western centralization in the global setting.

Recently, I have been to the Asian Advertisement Festival in Singapore. Even though it is for Asian countries, all of the judges were white Western people...My children might participate in many international events... It is true my children should understand not only English but also Western culture...(Youngah)

Youngah foresaw the possibility for her children to live a transnational life between Korea and other countries. She views acquiring not only English but also the cultural values of Western countries are significant in a global market for maintaining their family class. However, the following statement of Jaeyoung demonstrated that the US is the center of neoliberalism in globalization because of economic dominance of the US. Therefore, the purpose of learning English focused on the US setting.

We live in the American dominant world, like Goggle, Amazon, Facebook, Microsoft... moreover, America has the most influential power in the UN... Without knowing about American culture...how can my children be a leader both in Korea and international business and events...(Jaeyeon)

Jaeyeon argues English functions as the language of world business, politics, and information source because the US dominates the world market. Therefore, in her view understanding the culture and power of the US can lead her children to be the dominant class, so her children

should be accustomed to American cultural values. Yunhee's following statement also showed parents' ideology of US centralization in neoglobalization.

One of the good things in an international school is that my children can learn Spanish. As you know, recently there has been a movement to make Spanish an official language in the US... Spanish will be used internationally much more than now. (Yunhee)

Yunhee believes as Spanish is getting used in the US more than before, it will also be used more internationally. Yunhee's discourse demonstrates that the reason that English competency is significant for their children's future does not come from the lingua franca of English; her perception is that as English is the language of the most powerful country, the competence of English is valuable in the global setting. In addition, Spanish will be an official language in the US, so Spanish skills will also be critical.

In sum, parents view the inability to speak English as a serious defect to find a decent job in the globalized job market. In addition to English skills, acquiring Western values is one of the most crucial criteria for employment (J. S. Y. Park & S. Bae, 2009). Even more, with the ideologies of English and Western culture, they show the strong ideology of US centralization (Bacon & S. Y. Kim, 2018). They view that English competence would secure for their children decent jobs in the globalized market and maintain their socioeconomic status because the US, the most powerful nation in the world, uses English rather than because it is a lingua franca.

## 2. "English Competence Can Make My Children More Perfect Middle Class Than Me."

Not only is English ability regarded as an instrument to get a high quality job and a class upgrade, but also the English skill itself is considered as a symbol that represents the middle class despite English not being used in daily Korean life. Korean parents' valuing English and English-speaking cultures seem another emerged ideology that parents may not be consciously aware of or may feel it improper to state it directly. Participants' discourse showed that knowledge of English and culture is a sign or qualification of middle class. Among parents' beliefs about what to do for their children's education, parents' personal experiences affect their children's education (Walker et al., 2005). Especially, as Korean parents feel they have a strong tie with their children, they are satisfied when their children accomplish their dreams or wishes that they could not previously obtain. They desire their children to get the middle class qualification that they themselves could not gain. The self-deprecation of the parent's English skills (J. S. Y. Park, 2017) brought parents to choose a different education system for their children. Parents' self-deprecation (J. S. Y. Park) made them invest in English education more than any other field of education by choosing an international school, which has different programs and systems

from the ones the parents were educated in.

Participants presumed if they had had good competency in English, they could have had more opportunities for socioeconomic upward mobility or could have been a more perfectly knowledgeable middle class. Jieun's statement went beyond English as economic capital. English capability itself implies social class as a social distinctive characteristic. Jieun said, "...In my workplace even 9th grade civil servants (*gu-gup-gong-mu-won*) can communicate in English...so my children should be close to native to get a job." Jieun demonstrates the notion of the ideology that English is viewed not only as a required tool but also furthermore as a distinctive ability to stand for social class. Jieun views that her children should be distinct and have a better job than a lower level official, so their English fluency should go beyond the communicative skills in English. Her statement shows in Korean society English competence has a close relationship with class status. She presumes that if some has more fluency, he or she will have a higher social class as well as a better job. As she has a higher position than the low level official in her work place, she has an opinion that her family class is also higher than the civil servant's class, and her children should be more fluent in English to get a higher job than a ninth grade civil servant (*gu-gup-gong-mu-won*).

Parents said they invested a great amount of time and effort to study English, but they could not obtain the high level of English that was required for their profession. Therefore, by investing in a different type of language education system for their children from the one in which they were educated, they expected their children to have better results than theirs with respect to English fluency.

I learned English from middle school until I was a freshman at college, but when I went to the US I knew my English skills were very limited... still now, shamefully, ...once my peer asked me to put his name as a co-author because he just did proof- read my research paper in English... (Eunhee)

Having learned English for many years, Eunhee felt frustrated when she studied in the US. After staying for about ten years at the US, she said she was not completely fluent in scholarly English, so she had had disadvantages with her academic work. The ideology of self-deprecation (J. S. Y. Park, 2017) was shown by the parent whose job was a professor, which Korean society generally regards as the job of a perfect middle and upper class citizen.

I lived in New York with my children for 10 months during my sabbatical period. I think I belong to the upper-middle class of the intellectual and wealthy in Korea, but in the U.S. I was just an ignorant Ajoom-ma (married woman), especially because I cannot speak English. My limited ability of English made me feel foolish in the US (Heewon)

Heewon did not want her children to experience racial stigmatization and downward social mobility she had ex-

perienced in their transnational activities. She wanted her children to maintain their middle class status regardless of nation of residence. Haesung also belonged to the middle class as a medical doctor in Korea, but she also regretted not acquiring English skills, so she aspired for her children to be fluent in English. Haesung said, "We are so-called middle class in Korea, financially pretty good, but when I have to use English...in other countries I felt intimidated because of my limited English." Haesung knows her family belongs to the middle class in Korea socioeconomically, but she thinks her status is not stable outside of Korea because of her lack of English competence. Haesung regards English competence as an index of intelligence of the middle class in the transnational world. Additionally, Youngju also viewed English as one of the factors that influence a sense of middle class.

I can say my husband founded a manufacturing business and was successful in his business, but he works with many (physical) laborers, not intelligent people. I want my son to work with and associate with people in button down shirts at a clean office. (Youngju)

Youngju's husband was running a factory, and her family was pretty affluent. However, she does not feel that her family is a perfect middle class family because her husband's job is not included in the white collar arena. She wants her children to have mobility to move into the upper class by getting a white-collar job. For her children to get a white-collar job, she thinks English competence will be the first necessary condition. Just like Youngju, Jaeyoung also showed a similar attitude about relationship between English and one's sense of class. Jaeyoung said, "We are running ten gas stations, but I want my children to live different lives from us...Shamefully, my husband and I did not graduate from college, so we cannot speak English... literally, ignorant." Youngju and Jaeyoung's ideology of a perfect middle class is not only being affluent but also having a white-collar job that uses knowledge. In addition, at the center of knowledge there is the ability to use English fluently. These participants have the view that English competence represents intellectual ability. The following narrative shows how Jaeyoung was stigmatized because of her lack of English ability. "Once I could not understand an English word at a mothers' meeting... one mother said 'did you graduate from a college?'...I do not think I am inferior to them." Jaeyoung thought her intelligence and knowledge were underestimated among the other mothers because she could not understand English well. Jaeyoung's personal history and feelings contributed to choosing a different education system for her children.

Parents who have financial security and privilege expressed that their children's increased knowledge of English would position them more perfectly in the middle class. One parent in this study was spending over three quarters of her family income solely for her children's English education because she thought English competency would secure a higher quality of life for her children. Yet

in some respects, they thought they did not fall perfectly into the category of middle class because of their lack of English, which was often considered a lack of knowledge itself even though their English fluency spectrums were various. The perception of middle class qualification related to English fluency seemed to be enhanced by the parents who had not had opportunities to be educated in immersion or abroad contexts. The sensitivity of social class of the participants seemed more decisive regarding English proficiency. They regarded English proficiency as being able to provide their children upper middle-class distinction.

### 3. "We Have Our Own Communicable Culture."

The other ideology of English that came from the data was the membership among the parents whose families had experiences living in Anglophone countries. All parents mentioned that their families' lives were different from those of typical Korean families. They were accustomed to foreign countries' cultures, which are not so prevalent in ordinary Koreans' lives. Parents recognized that they were members of a privileged class and considered their children as the new global elites, who were generally affluent and had transnational experiences (Vandrick, 2011). On such distinctive points of view of the parents, this section shows how the perspective of parents' social groups is significantly associated with social class through a social network. Parents' social networks can affect the schooling decisions of their children (Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006), and the schools, in turn, create new social networks.

Korean parents especially emphasized that the parents were mostly influenced by their social group regarding decisions about their children's education. In Korea, there are popular words emphasizing the informative ability "children's educational success depends on mothers' ability to bring information in for their children." Their information mostly comes from their social group. The parents of this study often used the word "other parents close to me" or "my surrounding people." However, this section explores social membership, not focusing on how other people influence the parents' establishment of social groups but focusing on how the parents establish their social class through international schools.

The parents of this study were financially affluent and came from privileged families, and they created their niche because of their shared experiences in foreign countries. Additionally, they were concerned that their children would not easily associate with peers who did not have experiences in foreign countries because of their children's language and cultural values. They constructed boundaries—cultural, economic, and social—all while mentioning language. Jinyoung said "Our children use a lot of English, almost close to native....our backgrounds are different from those of regular Koreans." Jinyoung establishes the boundary and split Koreans into different communities depending upon English use and competence. Mothers hold

the disposition that English as symbolic power is stratified. Their discourse excludes people who do not have experience in other countries, especially, where English is spoken. Youngju said, "our children are not comfortable talking about their experiences in a foreign country with Korean students often using English...because it looks like showing off (*ja-rang ha-da*) their lives in foreign country." Youngju justifies her choice of international school for her children, arguing that her children's code mixing of Korean and English would not be accepted by their peers in traditional Korean schools. Moreover, Youngju called the international students "our children," which shows she categorizes the international students who are fluent in English as "us" and the students of traditional schools as "others." Here, the source of social boundary is English fluency and experiences of culture in an English-speaking country. The symbolic system functions as the distinction of the social boundary. Other parents also very often used "Our children are different from Korean students" when they mentioned the international school students.

Meeok also said "I cannot say my children are pure Korean. I hope my children can share their experience without any restriction (*nun-chi-bosi-anko*)." Meeok distinguishes the international students from the students who attend Korean traditional schools because the experiences in foreign countries have allowed their children to have a different identity formation. Moreover, they view language ability as providing their children with a different social network.

If I talked about our inside lives, you would think there exists a totally different world. Like stories on TV drama, children of Jaebol, some parents were from Harvard, Stanford, and famous TV stars...This school gives us the opportunity to make friends from such families. (Yeonju)

Yeonju categorizes the families who are sending their children to international schools as the most important characteristic of upper class, mentioning Jaebol and parents from worldly prestigious gradutors and distinguishes the social group she and her child belong to from one of normal Korean society. She considers the international school itself can make a social network and can create the ability to be a member of the upper class for her child's future. Parents recognize the institute will provide an English immersion circumstance for their children, but beyond the language, it is the place to be able to enter the upper middle class, constructing a social boundary for the upper middle class that they aspire to belong to.

## VII. DISCUSSION

This study is to explore what aspects of Koreans' English ideologies affect their concept of social class. Doob (2013) states that the middle class puts a great importance on their children's education as one of the chief factors in establishing the middle-class life in order to pass on their

status, so they developed a system for their children to grow into successful citizens.

This study shows how language ideology works to construct particular social effects and reproduces class ideologies in social contexts through the discourses of parents of international schools. Despite somewhat overlapping one another, the three themes of this study also reinforce each other. Those three themes revealed are: (1) The cultural value of the participants of the middle class is centralized in the US (2) Participants consider English competence itself as one of the qualifications of being in the middle class in Korean society. (3) Participants construct their own inner-circle to share their values and norms through the schools of their children who had experiences in foreign cultures, specifically in Western countries.

In Korean society, in which English is not used in their daily life, English may not be the cause of inequality but instead a mediator to produce inequality, by which class hierarchies are reproduced (J. S. Y. Park, 2017). In those contexts, competence of English can be framed as a must-have for the middle or upper class in order for the nation to have the competitive ability to prosper (Pennycook, 2007).

The participants of this study believe acquiring English is a global phenomenon. They anticipate their children's future life will not be limited to within the physical border of Korea, but instead their children will be crossing the border every day. They insist on the necessity of acquiring not only English competence but also English culture for where their children will live in the future. For people of such class, fluency of Western culture as well as English is a mark of class distinction and a significant tool necessary for leading a transnational life. English fluency has transformed desires for upward mobility in a neoliberal market in the globalized world (C. W. Chun, 2009). H. Shin (2007) argues that this phenomenon has recalled the connection between English and power in Korea, legitimizing "the status of English, American English in particular, as cultural capital in Korean society" (p. 77). American English has expanded practical and political fame in Korea as a "language of power" (M. Baik, 1992, p.16). J. Y. Song (2011) states that English "has been recruited, in the guise of globalization...as a primary mechanism of elimination that conserves the hierarchy of power relations already in Korean society" (p. 35). The most demonstration of this study about language ideology signals the US-centric norms as the social standard to be applied to Korean English learners. The parents emphasized cultural diversity in their children's education, but they seemed to shift from Korean culture to American culture. The reality of US global domination emphasizes English imperialism. US hegemony with the neoliberal system makes the middle class of Korea recall English.

In addition, parents' experiences and values greatly affected their children's language education. As English is a form of cultural capital in the globalized world as well as one of the main academic subjects in the exam-oriented educational system in Korea, English capability is a means

of elevating social mobility (Butler, 2013). Therefore, investment in English education may function as a way to reproduce class hierarchies. When people identified themselves as middle-class, they should have a certain level of capability to use English academically and communicatively. Parents of this study understand the situations and make decisions depending on their experiences, emotions, perceptions, and values. The parents developed their senses of social class identity in specific sets of social, historical and economic relationships to power, which are reproduced and reinforced in everyday social contexts (Norton, 2000).

Parents viewed that they had experienced disadvantages because of their lack of English competence, which J. S. Y. Park (2017) called "ideology of self-deprecation" (p. 59). The "ideology of self-deprecation" might come from their socio-historical ideology as well as the real life disadvantage experienced by them. Jaeyoung was stigmatized because of her lack of knowledge of English and lack. Above all, they conceptualized upper middle class qualification as English fluency itself because English competence can stand for many elements such as educational certification, economic status, knowledge and successful job ability. When they defined class, they did not perceive financial status as a sole or main indicator although the income-based definitions cannot be excluded absolutely. They recognized English as an index of class which stands for middle class knowledge itself because middle class elites were viewed as collaborating with foreign capital, particularly English, in order to accept information and technologies through language. As Fairclough (2002) states "language is becoming more central and more salient in New Capitalism" (p. 163). The discourse of informational or knowledgeable economy has been leveraged in Korean society as a new ideology. As such, English competence can be a main distinguishing feature. Those perceptions function as investing in a different education system. To provide such a distinction for their children, parents favor immersion programs such as early study abroad and international schools. Moreover, parents perceive that English competence will have a strong connection to their children's future class status. In Korea, English ability itself is a significant educational characteristic for a competitive individual as well as the nation. It is regarded as the status quo. English obtains legitimacy through symbolic and material profits that it provides the holder of the linguistic capital with (Bourdieu, 1991). Furthermore, participants view that belonging to the social community, which is fabricated with the medium of English, and Anglo-culture seems to place them into a very high category of social class.

Moreover, culture is a comparatively organized system of collective meanings (Geertz, 1973), and the meaning of social space is a part of that system. Social boundary is a space where social interactions take place within the symbolic system, which reflects sociocultural values (Saunders, 1990).

In the Korean social context, English competence func-

tions as a class marker and a tool and has special value and power associated with other forms of capital, including social and economic capital, formal institutional credentials and so forth. Especially, as English fluency from early ages is considered as a significant financial investment, so children's English capability can be obtained from the parent's financial investment. In addition, the middle class constructs the discourse that English should be obtained as necessary in the globalized world, and the Western culture, which is obtained in the process of acquiring English, is valued in their social boundary. The participants of this study chose a physical space and an education system to improve their children's English ability. The physical place contributes to constructing the social boundary. The English competence, as Bourdieu (1984) argues, has an essentially deep-rooted relationship through various labors of transformation. By this account, the performance of linguistic competence can be considered as a key marker of social class in the aspect that it is allied with forms of specific taste, style and ideology. English competence is deployed in the Korean middle and upper class social communities as a constitutive linguistic element. The community, or each institutional context, in turn has rules and conventions of exchange, whereby linguistic proficiency of specific languages is valued. They think a prestigious education such as an international school protects and perpetuates their social class by valuing the Western cultural form while those who have not experienced Western culture empirically are excluded from the social boundary and are unable to access these prerequisites for class membership.

The heavy emphasis on English education is creating an "English divide," which describes the strong relationship between English proficiency and economic wealth and class. The social boundary that they establish with cultural capital can be a kind of form of discrimination by excluding the people who cannot get the cultural capital in Korean society. As Hardt and Negri (2005) argue, English itself maintains social hierarchies within and across communities "as a relationship between power and knowledge" (p. 132). In a Korean setting, English is creating "new means of collaboration" and "external to capital" (Hardt & Negri, 2005, p. 147).

The parents' experiences in other countries and children's English proficiency become a means to build up their invisible social boundary, which is associated with class boundary. These phenomena show how people construct their identities and shape their membership through language. People want to possess the cultural capital to have memberships in a network of relations. The parents of this study view the English fluency ability of their children as indicative of membership (Zentella, 1997). They wanted to make their children's distinction by asserting, "Our children use a lot of English,... are different from those of general Koreans" (Jinyoung). English can be a distinctive feature and is connected to a prestigious social group. Such ideology constructs symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1977). English plays a role in allowing membership

of a certain group. Therefore, language can be regarded as a symbolic capital that represents the underlying social, economic and political struggles. (Tollefson, 1991). English is considered for higher classes of power (Bourdieu, 1993).

## VIII. CONCLUSION

This study has explored the motivation of decision-making elements of parents who chose to send their children to international schools as a type of English immersion schools. This research showed the ideology of social class status strongly affected their children's language education. Social economic status of participants provided their children with great privilege because it can inherit social class. This research also includes that language education reflects why and how the world is so divided by social class.

The neoliberal necessitation of English provides advantages to those who can access English learning, which remains largely mediated by socioeconomic status in Korea. While English is taught as a major subject in public schools, families with sufficient means provide their children with extra learning opportunities such as private academies, early study abroad, private academies (*Hagwon*) and so on (Butler, 2015; Hu & McKay, 2012; T. Y. Kim, 2011). As English becomes increasingly associated with future employability, the economic ability to afford private English education is getting a determinative element in children's life paths (H. J. Choi & J. H. Park, 2013). This phenomenon tends to widen the gap between socioeconomic classes. The reason is because the students with English distinction obtained from the English immersion education system compete with students with the socioeconomically disadvantaged class.

The Korean government has made efforts to reform education over thirty years to provide more democratic opportunities for all social groups. However, most of the reforms have aimed at equalizing educational opportunity, preventing wealthier parents from obtaining an educational advantage for their children. However, such reforms were not fruitful in Korean society but encouraged parents and children to depend on private academies (*Hagwon*) or different education systems.

The growing number of students who are fluent in English in a local context raises the issue of social class and privilege and widens the gaps between the haves and the have-nots, both within local settings and among the international world. In addition, the increasing educational choice is likely to increase division of social classes. Such dynamics as international schools look like they are accelerating unequal access. Although the local alternative schools are an available option, such schools are very limited by the lower socioeconomic class. Therefore, the government needs to work with more class-based conceptual perspective. The Korean case represented in this study helps us to pay our attention to the central role of social

class in language education. Examining the role of social class and power in language education through the ideologies of parents of international schools provides educators and policy makers with insight into the relationship between social class and language education. These students come from privileged backgrounds and are themselves engaged in the active reproduction of social inequality because they employ certain cultural and linguistic practices in order to stress the class privileges that allowed them to engage in ESA in the first place. (M. W. Lee, 2016).

## REFERENCES

- Anderson, G. L. (1994). The cultural politics of qualitative research in education: Confirming and contesting the canon. *Educational Theory*, 44(2), 225-237.
- Bacon, C., & Kim, So Yoon. (2018). "English is my only weapon": Neoliberal language ideologies and youth metadiscourse in South Korea. *Linguistics and Education*, 48(4), 10-21.
- Baik, M. (1992). Language shift and identity in Korea. *Journal of Asia Pacific Communication*. 3(1), 15-31.
- Bernstein, B. (1990). *Class, codes and control: The structuring of pedagogic discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Block, D. (2006). *Multilingual identities in a global city: London stories*. London: Palgrave.
- Block, D. (2012). Class and second language acquisition research. *Language Teaching Research*, 16(2), 188-205.
- Block, D. (2014). *Social class in applied linguistics*. London, Routledge.
- Block, D. (2015). Social class in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 1-19.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Butler, Y. G. (2013). Bilingualism/multilingualism and second language acquisition. In T. K. Bhatia & W. C. Ritchie (Eds.), *The handbook of bilingualism and multilingualism* (pp. 109-136). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Butler, Y. G. (2015). English language education among young learners in East Asia: A review of current research (2004-2014). *Language Teaching*, 48(3), 303-342.
- Choi, Hee Jun, & Park, Ji Hye. (2013). Historical analysis of the policy on the college entrance system in South Korea. *International Education Studies*, 6(11), 106-121.
- Chun, C. W. (2009). Contesting neoliberal discourses in EAP: Critical praxis in an IEP classroom. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 8(2), 111-120.
- Crocker, J., & Major, B. C. (1998). Social stigma steele. In S. Fiske, D. Gilbert, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology*, 2 (pp. 504-553). Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Doob, Christopher B. (2013). *Social inequality and social stratification in US society*. New Jersey: Pearson.
- Emirbayer, M. (1997). Manifesto for a relational sociology. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(2), 281-317.
- Fairelough, N. (2002). Language in new capitalism. *Discourse & Society*, 13(2), 163-166.
- Fairelough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (pp. 258-284). London: Sage.
- Gao, F. (2014). Social-class identity and English learning: Studies of Chinese learners. *Journal Language, Identity & Education*, 13(2), 92-98.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giacchino-Baker, R., & Piller, B. (2006). Parental motivation, attitudes, support, and commitment in a southern Californian two-way immersion program. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 5(1), 5-28.
- Halliday, M. (1992). New ways of meaning: The challenge to applied linguistics. In M. Pütz (Ed.), *Thirty years of linguistic evolution* (pp. 59-95). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hardt, M., & Negri, T. (2005). *Multitude: War and democracy in the age of empire*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Harvey, D. (2007). Neoliberalism as creative destruction. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610, 22-44.
- Holborow, M. (2012) What is neoliberalism? Discourse, ideology and real world events. In D. Block, J. Gray, & M. Holborow (Eds.), *Neoliberalism and applied linguistics* (pp. 14-32). London: Routledge.
- Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Sandler, H. M. (1997). Why do parents become involved in their children's education? *Review of Educational Research*, 67(1), 3-42.
- Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Walker, J. M. T., Sandler, H. M., Whetsel, D., Green, C. L., Wilkins, A. S., & Closson, K. E. (2005). Why do parents become involved? Research findings and implications. *Elementary School Journal*, 106(2), 105-130.
- Hu, G., & McKay, S. L. (2012). English language education in East Asia: Some recent developments. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(4), 345-362.
- Kaess, K. (2017). English in the OECD: Transcultural tool or embodiment of symbolic power? *The Transla-*

- tor, 23(4), 404-415.
- Kim, Tae Yong. (2011). Korean elementary school students' English learning demotivation: A comparative survey study. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 12(1), 1-11.
- Lamont, M. (2000). *The dignity of working men: Morality and the boundaries of race, class, and immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lamont, M., & Molnár, V. (2002). The study of boundaries across the social sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28(1), 167-195.
- Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lee, Chun hwa (2018). Conflicting ideologies of English in Korea: Study of bilingual adolescents. *Linguistics and Education*, 48(4), 22-34.
- Lee, Kathy. (2018). Ideological dimensions of English language policy in South Korea. *Modern English Education*, 19(3), 1-10.
- Lee, Mun Woo. (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.
- López-Gopar, M., & Sughrua, W. (2014). Social class in English language education in Oaxaca, Mexico. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 13(2), 104-110.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Harlow, England: Pearson Education.
- Nye, Joseph S. (2014). *The information revolution and soft power*. *Current History*, 113(759), 19-22.
- Palmer, D. (2009). Middle-class English speakers in a two-way immersion bilingual classroom: "Everybody should be listening to Jonathan right now...." *TESOL Quarterly*, 43(2), 177-202.
- Park, Joseph Sung Yul. (2009). *The local construction of a global language: Ideologies of English in South Korea*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Park, Joseph Sung Yul. (2017). Class, competence, and language ideology: Beyond Korean Englishes. In C. Jenks & Jerry Won Lee (Eds.), *Korean Englishes in transnational contexts* (pp.53-72). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Park, Joseph Sung Yul, & Abelmann, N. A. (2004). Class and cosmopolitan striving: Mothers' management of English education in South Korea. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 77(4), 645-672.
- Park, Joseph Sung Yul, & Bae, Sohee. (2009). Language ideologies in educational migration: Korean jogyuhak families in Singapore. *Linguistics and Education*, 20(4), 366-377.
- Park, Joseph Sung Yul, & Lo, A. (2012). Transnational South Korea as a site for a sociolinguistics of globalization: Markets, timescales, neoliberalism. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 16(2), 147-164.
- Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. London: Longman.
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and transcultural flows*. London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, R. (1998). Globalizing English: Are linguistic human rights an alternative to linguistic imperialism? In Benson, Phil, Grundy, Peter, & Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (Eds.), *Language rights. Special volume. Language Sciences*, 20(1), 101-112.
- Phillipson, R. (2000). *Rights to language: Equity, power and education*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Piller, I. (2015). Language ideologies. In K. Tracy, K., C. Ilie, & T. Sandel (Eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction* (pp. 1-10). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Potowski, K. (2007). *Language and identity in a dual immersion school*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ramanathan, V. (2005). *The English-vernacular divide: Postcolonial language politics and practice*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Ritzer, G. (2011). *Globalization: The essentials*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Saunders, P. (1990). *A nation of home owners*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Schieffelin, B. B., Woolard, K. A., & Kroskrity, P. V. (1998). *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Shin, Hyunjung. (2007). *English language teaching in Korea*. In J. Cummins & C. Davison (Eds.), *International handbook of English language teaching* (pp.75-86). Boston: Springer.
- Shin, Hyunjung. (2014). Social class, habitus, and language learning: The case of Korean early study-abroad students. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 13(2), 99-103.
- Somers, M. R. (1994). The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach. *Theory and Society*, 23(5), 605-649.
- Song, Jae Jung. (2011). English as an official language in South Korea: Global English or social malady? *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 35(1), 35-55.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, L. (1990). *Basics of grounded theory methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Swidler, A. (2001). *Talk of love: How culture matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1985). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. (pp. 2-24). Nelson Hall, Chicago: Burnham Inc Pub.
- Thurlow, C., & Jaworski, A. (2017) Introducing elite discourse: The rhetorics of status, privilege, and power, *Social Semiotics*, 27(3), 243-254.
- Tollefson, J. W. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality*. London: Longman.
- Vandrick, S. (2011). Students of the new global elite. *TESOL Quarterly*, 45(1), 160-169.

- Walker, J., Wilkins, A., Dallaire, J., Sandler, H., & Hoover-Dempsey, K. (2005). Parental involvement: Model revision through scale development. *The Elementary School Journal*, 106(2), 85-104.
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Yu, Eui-Young. (1988). Korean-American communities and their institutions: An overview. *Korean Culture*, 9(4), 33-45.
- Zentella, A. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.