CHRISTIAN ENGLISH TEACHERS’ (CETS) IDENTITY AND PEDAGOGY IN A CHRISTIAN LANGUAGE SCHOOL IN SOUTH KOREA

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Choi, Sang Jai
Dedicated to my parents Youngryeol Choi and Hwansoo Kim
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For me, it has been a long, exciting and thankful journey to be here. I have realized again that who I am owes a great deal to the people who have supported, prayed for, and helped me on many different levels. God, who is forever the subject my meditation, has guided me to become a pastor and language researcher. To me, He has been mysterious, close, amazing, and overwhelming in life. I once hated Him, but now I love Him a lot. He is one of the most powerful forces driving me to continually study about people, theology and language. He deserves the greatest thanks from me.

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influential than he/she knows. I admire her scholarly work and love toward students. I would like to express my gratitude to her again.

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That the world is becoming one is a phenomenon that has widespread implications, notably in the TESOL field. Today’s world is a world where various cultures may conflict and must negotiate with one another, which has increased the importance of a common language. One of the fastest growing populations in the TESOL field is that of Christian English teachers (CETs). Because English teachers cannot teach only the English language in ESL classroom, English learners are under the influence of their ESL teachers. The inevitable power imbalance between teacher and students seriously strengthens that impact. That is why CETs’ identity and pedagogy should be deeply understood at this time.

This research reveals that CETs’ identity is closely related to their pedagogy. Christian principles provide the base of the philosophy of CETs’ pedagogy. Because these Christian principles have impacted CETs’ identities for as long as throughout their whole lives, they are inextricable from their pedagogical values and practices. CETs’ identities are continually reflected in their’ pedagogy in/outside the ESL/EFL classroom. CETs are interested in students’ lives holistically; therefore, their pedagogical practices are broad and multidimensional. Teacher’s religious identity seems to be one of the strongest identities and will not be altered readily. This research clearly elucidates that CETs are spreading Christianity, English and Western culture successfully.

This research also demonstrates that as members of a Christian institution set up to effectively spread Christianity, their missionary identity is strengthened through ELT at the
research site. The institutional identity controls and improves CETs’ missionary identity. However, when a shift occurs in the Christian institutional identity, it is tested against Bible principles, and CETs experience a dilemma. CETs do not judge that their utilizing ELT as the platform for their Christian mission is unethical. In addition, they do not conceive of introducing Christianity to students as a matter of cultural imperialism but of multiculturalism. This research reveals that CETs need education and training to become critical ELT teachers who comprehend issues related to linguistic and cultural imperialism. They need education about power issues in ESL/EFL contexts.
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INTRODUCTION

My Connection to the Study as a Researcher

As an undergraduate, I majored in theology at a university in South Korea. After receiving a bachelor’s degree in theology, I applied for admission to a theological seminary in Michigan in the United States of America. In order to receive an I-20 from the university, I had to submit acceptable TOEFL scores. When I studied for the TOEFL test, I focused on improving English reading, listening, writing, and speaking skills as all international students must do to study in the inner circle countries. I couldn’t fully comprehend the status and power of the English language at that time. I was not aware of issues involved in English language teaching and learning (ELTL). I just needed adequate TOEFL scores and had to study the English language because the textbooks being used at the university were written in English and the lectures were going to be given in English. In fact, I was interested in the English language, but that was just a personal interest. I did not know any issues related to the English language and ELTL at all.

However, I knew a little about the influence of a language on a person’s thought through an experience I had when I was studying theology at the university in South Korea. As a theological student I had to study the Greek and Hebrew languages to understand the Bible more deeply. In addition to the language courses, the relationship with a theological professor helped me deepen my understanding of the power of a language on a learner’s mind. The professor, Dr. Jong Keun Lee, had been interested in Near Eastern languages and majored in those languages at Harvard University. He had a tremendous impact on my
perception and understanding of the power of a language. I still remember the professor’s first class when he wrote down a Hebrew sentence on the blackboard and explained the meaning of the sentence to the students. The rectangular characters of the Hebrew language and the Hebrew thinking expressed in the sentence greatly impressed me and gave me inspiration to start a Biblical language club with the help of the professor. However, my study of the biblical languages such as Greek and Hebrew was limited in light of my wish to understand the Bible. The experience of studying other languages made me realize that learning a language could help me see other perspectives on the same issues and broaden my horizon to other cultures.

My experience studying at the seminary led me to think about another aspect of the English language. During these studies, I met professors who spoke English with different accents. I thought of some professors who spoke English with accents different from American English as not speaking English well because I had been socialized into thinking that American English was best. Also I was familiar with American English. In fact I had been trying to learn American English and its accents at that time. I was uncomfortable with some professors’ English even though they were widely known scholars in their academic fields. I must have unconsciously had a kind of native speakerism, even though I was not a native speaker. I did not even know the term *Englishes* or that there were many different *Englishes*, even in the United States of America, depending on English speakers’ various locales. The concept of *Englishes* also was a strange one to me before I came to Indiana University in 2009. I simply believed that I would be able to speak American English like American English speakers did someday. I believe that many Korean English learners still have the same expectation I once held.
After graduating from the seminary, I came back to South Korea and worked for several churches as a minister. After seven years’ ministry for local churches, I was called to work as the pastor and director of a new Christian language school that was established in 2001. The Christian denomination I belong to had about twenty Christian language schools in South Korea at that time. I was supposed to work as the director of the new language school and also as the pastor of the Christian language school church. The S Christian denomination (pseudonym) to which I belong has had a unique Christian language school system since 1969. The reason that American missionaries and Korean pastors started the first language school was to spread Christianity to Korean English learners through English language teaching (ELT). Therefore language schools have a church in the same building. Since the beginning of its first language school, the S denomination has developed 31 language schools in South Korea, all of which are Christian language schools with their own churches.

In my understanding, the current language schools of the S Christian denomination are the only ones in the world that have churches in their language school buildings. For the last 40 years, the schools have been very successful in South Korea. The S Christian denomination had invested a great amount of financial and human resources in the language schools. The language schools are still some of the largest language schools in South Korea despite their having some difficulties due to the country’s economic circumstances during the last five years. Thus when I was called to work for the new language school, I thought I was simply going to work in a new area, dissimilar to local churches, for the Christian mission. Even while I was working as the director of the new Christian language school, I had no idea of any issues related to the association of ELT with Christianity.
Working at the language school, I did not think seriously about the implications of Christian English Teachers (CETs) using ELT as a means of spreading Christianity. I designed many religious programs for Christian missions and had many adult and junior students baptized. That was possible because of CETs and the location of the church with the language school in the same building. Our system was thus remarkably effective for the Christian mission. Almost 1,000 students a year were baptized at the language schools and through the camps. However, regardless of religious motivations, all students came to the language school in order to learn the English language from native English speakers. Sometimes I felt uncomfortable with teachers’ complaints about using ELT for spreading Christianity at the English Bible camp which was held at least twice a year. I would hear similar complaints from students about our using ELT as a means of Christian mission at the camps. We pastors discussed the issue once or twice in a meeting, but it was unthinkable for us not to use ELT as a means of Christian mission because ELT was very effective for this purpose. No one was willing to give up the method. We did not know what concerns were at work in using ELT for Christian mission. Therefore, I and other pastors did not know how to deal with some CETs’ and students’ complaints. It was true that I experienced an ethical dilemma concerning ELT being used as the platform of Christianity mission. However, I did not know how to address the dilemma.

I came to Indiana University to study more about ELT methods to contribute to the spread of Christianity through ELT at the Christian language schools, but I learned that there were tremendous and sensitive points related to English, ELT and Christianity. The period of my study in the department of Literacy, Culture, and Language Education (LCLE) became a pivotal juncture for me to rethink my perceptions and understandings of the English language.
and the association of ELT with Christianity. Dr. Serafin’s deep knowledge of culture and language, Dr. Samuelson’s missionary kid (MK) background and valuable resources, Dr. Goodman’s insightful lectures in his curriculum studies classes, and Dr. Pugh’s keen comments helped me to enlarge the horizon of my knowledge on language and culture, and deeply see the relationship between Christianity and ELT. I have come to see the Christian language schools with much more balanced vision, to be more sensitive to human rights, and to have a desire to make a better world for mankind. I could see CETs working at the language schools from various perspectives. That was a big change.

I had an agenda, which was not always secret, of spreading Christianity through English language teaching (ELT). However, how to respect others’ cultures and beliefs has become a serious subject in my mind. I support multilingualism and multiculturalism, but it is not easy to pursue the harmony of Christianity through their principles. Seeing the tactics of the Islamic State (IS) nowadays, I have realized the weightiness of this dilemma and the research it has motivated me to pursue because we are living in a world in which various cultures collide with one another. Because of globalization today, this phenomenon will be experienced more around us and in the world. I am a pastor as well as a language researcher. I am working as academic dean of D education (pseudonym), which has 31 Christian language schools in South Korea. D education belongs to the S Christian denomination. I am in charge of training and taking care of native English speaking teachers. I realize the power and influence of an ELT teacher’s identity in/outside the classroom. Armed with both inside and outside Christian perspectives, I think I am privileged to do this research at the right time.

The research problem
The population of Christian English teachers (CETs) has been increasing rapidly in the TESOL field (Johnston & Varghese, 2005). Western Christian denominations send more Christian English teachers (CETs) than just Christian missionaries to the third world, where English is a desired and powerful language, Christianity is increasing, and the foreign affairs of the United States of America are important (Snow, 2009; Wong & Canagarajah, 2009; Wong, Kristjansson & Dörnyei, 2013). Given the rapid increase of CETs in ESL/EFL contexts and the spread of the English language and Christianity through CETs, empirical research on this phenomenon is of urgent significance. Although CETs’ English language teaching (ELT) has been more the focus within the TESOL field, research on how CETs’ Christian identity relates to ELT pedagogy is a virgin area (Johnston & Varghese, 2005; Wong & Canagarajah, 2009; Edge, 2009; Wong, Kristjansson & Dörnyei, 2013). Little or no empirical research on this issue has been conducted within the TESOL field even though research on the population has been increasing during the last twenty years, (Wong, Kristjansson & Dörnyei, 2013).

My case study focuses on an individual CET working at a Christian language school in South Korea. The M language school (pseudonym) which is the research site is one of D education’s 31 Christian language schools in major cities in South Korea. D education is part of a worldwide Christian denomination that has churches and organizations in over 220 countries. To date, no research has focused on CETs working in Christian language schools belonging to a worldwide Christian denomination. The S Christian denomination (pseudonym) to which D education belongs has a global Christian network, to which the M language school is connected with a global network. Such a research site and participants working at Christian language schools have never been subject of study even though the
association of Christianity with ELT has been strengthening at the language school level. This inquiry will provide insight into what is really going on in/outside CETs’ ELT classroom and how CETs’ identity relates to their pedagogy.

**Purpose statement**

The goal of this research is to observe how individual CETs’ identity relates to their ELT pedagogy in/outside the ELT classroom. In order to discover that, I had to explore how individual identity relates to institutional identity because I found that a CET’s identity is greatly affected ideologically by a higher authority, in this case, the S Christian denomination. I also look at how a CET’s ELT functions in spreading English and Christianity. In addition, I want to observe how this CET identity is re(constructed) through ELT experiences and interactions with students at the school and by various activities outside the school. I explore how pedagogical and ethical dilemmas relate to each CET’s identity as well. Pedagogical and ethical dilemmas may impact on the re(construction) of this identity (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009; Johnston & Varghese, 2005). Through this study, I have aimed to add pragmatic knowledge to the field of TESOL about how CETs’ identity relates to ELT pedagogy through a case study focusing on a CET teaching the English language to Korean adult students at a Christian language school in South Korea, established by a worldwide Christian denomination. When I had started this research, the director, staff, native English speaking teachers, and Korean teachers of English at the M language school were Christians who belonged to the same Christian denomination.

However, a pivotal shift occurred during my study. In June, 2013, D education began hiring non-Christian teachers and Christian teachers belonging to other Christian
denominations. Despite this critical change at the research site, this research continued to focus only on CETs who belonged to the S Christian denomination in order to obtain in-depth information relevant to the focal population. However, I seriously considered whether working with non-CETs or CETs belonging to other Christian denominations impinged upon the participants’ identity. Also because students learning the English language from the CETs have diverse social, cultural, religious, economic, and educational backgrounds, I included the voices of Korean adult students, administrators, and Korean English teachers concerning the participants’ use of ELT as the means of Christian mission. This research may be of interest to language educators, TESOL scholars and professionals, people of Christian denominations and organizations that send CETs to countries where the English language is a desired language, and for administrators working with CETs in various TESOL contexts, as well as to English teachers with different or no religious affiliations working within TESOL contexts.

**Overview of the study**

This research is composed of nine chapters. In chapter one, I deal with my connection to the study as a researcher. In chapter two, I address literature review relevant to the study and the theoretical frameworks. In the literature review, I review previous studies in terms of English, Christianity and power, Christianity and ELT, CETs, and pedagogical and ethical dilemmas. In this chapter, I describe four frameworks, including Norton’s theorizing identity, Bourdieu’s language and symbolic power, Vygotsky’s sociocultural lens, and Wenger’s communities of practice. In chapter three, methodology for this research, an ethnographic case study, is described. In chapter four, I address how institutional identity functions in the CETs’ identity and their ELT pedagogy. The participants belong to a
worldwide Christian denomination that has instilled its beliefs and values into the participants. It is important to know how this institutional identity relates to the participants’ CET identity. From chapter five to chapter eight, I address how each individual CET’s identity functions in his/her pedagogy in/outside the ELT classroom in terms of English and power, Christianity and ELT, and pedagogical and ethical dilemmas. Chapter nine provides discussion and conclusion. In this chapter I target the theory of teacher identity, contributions and implications of the study, suggestions for further study, and my conclusion.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

In this part, I address literature review and theoretical frameworks. The literature review provides readers with the past and current issues related to CETs. A teacher’s identity is closely related to his/her pedagogy in the classroom (Johnston, 2003). Without considering teachers’ identities, teachers’ pedagogy cannot be fully understood (Wong, 2006, 2009). A teacher’s identity as reflected in his/her pedagogical practices affects students directly and indirectly. Thus there is a power imbalance between teacher and students in the classroom. Teachers’ identities are especially influential in the ELT classroom in ESL/EFL contexts because English is a desired and privileged language, which may exacerbate the power imbalance between teacher and students (Johnston, 2003; Baurain, 2007; Canagarajah, 2009). In addition, the ELT classroom is a place where differences and sometimes conflicts between the teacher’s and students’ cultures must be negotiated. TESOL researchers have been giving more attention to English teachers armed with Christian beliefs and values in this era in which the association of English with Christianity is being strengthened. The literature review suggests future directions for this research and which margin it could enlarge in order to contribute to the TESOL field. It clearly reveals the necessity for empirical studies on CETs in various ESL/EFL contexts.

sociocultural perspective, Bourdieu’s (1991) language and symbolic power, and Wenger’s (1999) communities of practice. These four lenses are helpful for me to analytically and critically investigate CETs working at a Christian language school during the globalization era in which cultural conflicts have been increasing in many parts of the world. The CETs in this research had come to South Korea, where mastering the English language is a useful means to obtain social, cultural and economic capital in society. In addition to it, they belonged to a worldwide Christian denomination (the S Christian denomination) and had the same Christian beliefs and values. Thus they could be expected to experience the re(construction) of their CET identity through ELT at the Christian language school in South Korea.

**Literature Review**

Although the association of Christianity with the use of languages as a platform for its mission has a long history, research on the relationship between CETs and ELT is limited to the past thirty years. TESOL educators’ interest in the CET population is closely connected with the expansion of the influence of the USA and the English language, with the growth of Christianity, and with globalization (Phillipson, 1992; Snow, 2001; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003; Johnston & Varghese, 2006). The CET population has been increasing in the TESOL field (Edge, 2003; Wong, 2009). That increase has created cultural conflicts in various ESL/EFL contexts and among language educators (Johnston, 2009; Pennycook, 2009; Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). Therefore, the ESL/EFL classroom has been understood as a place of struggle in which CETs’ identities conflict and must be negotiated with those of students who have different cultural backgrounds. Despite the growing relevance of the research on the population of CETs in ESL/EFL situations, it is still an uncultivated area.
The discourse about CETs was found mostly in Christian publications before the 1990s, when some language educators pointed out the importance of scholars’ attention to the CET population and began criticizing CETs’ using ELT as the means of spreading their Christian beliefs (Edge, 1996, 2003; Stevick, 1996; Wong, Christjansson & Dörnyei, 2013). Since then points of contention over the association of CETs with ELT have been addressed among TESOL and language educators. It is apparent that critics and Christian scholars have very disparate perspectives on the issues related to CETs working in the TESOL field. For instance, Phillipson (1992) argued that Christianity was one of the forces that had been advancing the power and status of English in the world and continued that TESOL academics needed to cultivate a more critical attitude toward this force. Some critics severely criticized CETs’ using ELT for their Christian mission (Edge, 2003; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). Despite this, one Christian scholar, Stevick (1990), argued that some critical researchers’ position of humanistic methods and religious faith needed to be based on more persuasive and reasonable facts on faith. According to him, some critics suggested that debate on teaching and the field of teaching are sacred. In other words, teaching and teaching contexts should not be contaminated by religion or any other ideologies. However, what is clear is that no field, including TESOL and the ELT classroom, is neutral (Johnston, 2003). Critics’ arguments are in relation to power, linguistic and cultural imperialism, and ethical issues.

Research also revealed that issues of CETs and ELT were closely connected with an imbalance of power in various TESOL contexts (Jenkins, 2003; Johnston, 2006). Researchers also found out that CETs’ and researchers’ understandings and perceptions of power differed, making related issues more complicated. Previous literature addressed three important areas
of concern: Christianity and ELT; Christian English teachers (CETs) and pedagogical and moral (ethical) dilemmas; and English, Christianity and power. These issues are addressed separately here, but they are closely interconnected one another.

*Christianity and English Language Teaching (ELT)*

In this section, I review how English as a world language, as a missionary language, or as a serving language relates to Christianity and what questions about this relationship have been raised by language educators. ELT is at the heart of this issue. There has been a reciprocal synergy between the dispersion of Christianity and of the English language (Edge, 2003; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). Because English has become a world language (Rassool, 2007; Philipson, 1992, 2009; Kachru, 1986, 1992), Christianity has been using English as a missionary language (Stevick, 1990; Edge, 1996; Snow, 2001, 2009; Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003; Smith and Carvill, 2000). That is why many Christian denominations in the USA send more CETs than just missionaries to the third world (Snow, 2001). Consequently, how to view the English language and ELT has always been a critical subject among researchers who have been interested in the association of ELT with Christianity.

*English as a world language.* Pennycook (1994) defines the *worldliness* of English as *its being in the world and-complicatedly tied up with the world.* Historically, the English language has been imbued with superior, cultural, political, and economic value and status. Crystal (2003) argues that English language is a *global language* in that it is being recognized in every country and is the lingua franca for international communications in this era. Thus the English language is spoken as ESL (English as a second language) or EFL.
(English as a foreign language) in many outer and expanding circle countries. The status of English as a world language today is also closely connected with the popularity of American culture and technologies (Rasool, 2007). These have had a strong effect on people’s imagination, aspirations, and expectations, especially in postcolonial countries such as China and South Korea. For instance, since the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Christianity has been rapidly growing in China (Wong, Kristjansson, & Dörnyei, 2013). According to Yang (2005), many Chinese young people come to churches to learn English from missionaries. In their view, being a Christian is synonymous with being western, modern and cosmopolitan. The status of English as a world language plays a vital role in the construction of this awareness among English learners in the world (Wong, Kristjansson, & Dörnyei, 2013).

The meaning of English as a world language cannot be fully understood without considering the power and growth of the USA, where English is the mother tongue. The current influence and status of the English language is largely due to the United States of America’s rise as a world power over the empire of Great Britain (Johnston & Varghese, 2006). Besides a common language, both countries have had a long and strong Christian tradition as well. Especially because the USA has been dominant in the world on various levels and in many areas (Rasool, 2007), such as international politics, economics, foreign affairs, trade, academics, technologies, education, film, and music etc., English has enjoyed high status as a world language and highly desired language in the world because of the prestige the United States of America has had (Johnston & Varghese, 2006). Proficiency in the English language is powerful linguistic capital in the global economic and cultural market (Rasool, 2007), as English is a business lingua franca as well as the dominant language on
the internet. In short, the prestige of the English language and its desirability across nations are indisputable in the world today (Edge, 1996).

Researchers have widely discussed the issue of English as a world language in postcolonial countries (Rassool, 2007; Bourdieu, 1991; Philipson, 1992). Since their independence, postcolonial countries have remained under the influence of the languages of their former colonizers, almost exclusively the English language. The governments of the postcolonial countries found that keeping the English language gave their citizens the advantage of acquiring its cultural and economic capital in a competitive world (Philipson, 1992; Rassool, 2007; Wong, 2009). In the globalization era, postcolonial governments assume that education policies mandating the learning of English will facilitate international trade and economic development (Rassool, 2007). Thus the English language has been an important element in human resource development with a high exchange value in the global economic and cultural markets (Philipson, 1992, 2010).

Many postcolonial countries have legacies of Christianity and the presence of Christian missionaries. In these colonial countries, Christian missionaries contributed to English education. They also had a major impact on local languages and the educational systems of the colonized countries (Rassool, 2007). It is a historical fact that Christian missionaries tried to evangelize the people of the colonized countries through the use of the local languages (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003; Canagarajah, 1999). In spite of this, the local people desired the teaching of the colonial language for their children because they recognized that its acquisition would give their children easier access to economic and cultural capital (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). After all, the status of English as a privileged language naturally gave birth to elite groups in the postcolonial societies. The English
language is an honored language in many domains of human activities on micro levels as well as on macro levels (Philipson, 1992). Westernizing policies and cultural practices lead to a distinctive social habitus, resulting in unequal language relations and economic inequality (Bourdieu, 1991). Because the elite groups have been enjoying the privilege of access to higher education through their English education (Rassool, 2007; Philipson, 1992), some critics argue that CETs have contributed to the inequality and social injustice in postcolonial countries (Rasool, 2007).

However, the status of *English as a world language* is one of the reasons why Christian denominations have heightened interest in English language teaching and learning (ELTL) (Wong, Kristjansson, & Dörnyei, 2013). It is why many Christian denominations employ English language teaching (ELT) as a means of spreading their values and faiths (Edge, 1996; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin 2003; Snow, 2001). The concept of *worldliness* is imperative to comprehend in understanding why the bond between Christianity and ELT has been strengthening continually. The evangelization of the whole world has always been the goal of Christianity (Matthew 28:19-20). Therefore, Christianity has been sensitive to the means of its mission to the world. The New Testament of the Bible was recorded in Greek because the Greek language was a world language at the time. In other words, Christianity has been linked historically to the use of world languages for its mission (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). Some language educators contend that Christianity has no place in English language teaching (Edge, 1992), but rather the status of English as a world and privileged language has led Christianity to find a space for English language teaching (ELT) in its mission of expansion (Snow, 2001; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). That is, the
status of English as a world, desired and privileged language is the reason why Christianity has been using ELT as a platform for spreading Christianity.

*Teaching English as a missionary language.* It is well known that the association of Christian missionary work with English language teaching (ELT) has a long history along with colonial history. It is interesting to note that the 19th century writer Herbert Read, argued that the English language was “the language of the Bible” (1849, p. 339, cited in Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003), and Christians have contended that English education would help people come to God. For some Christians, the global spread of English operates as a solution to the problem of Babel (multilingualism). The English language has been used as a missionary language by CETs in various circumstances and countries (Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003). The effectiveness of English as a missionary language is the reason that major Christian denominations in the USA have been recruiting missionary English teachers for their worldwide mission work (Tennant, 2002).


Information on these websites asserts that these Christian denominations consider teaching English as a missionary language (TEML) as one of the most effective means for the spread of Christianity. Many of these denominations practice evangelical Christianity. That is one of the reasons why some TESOL educators have turned their attention to CETs in the TESOL field. It is a well-known fact that evangelical Christianity has been closely connected with right wing politics in the USA (Byler, 2009; Edge, 2003; Jenkins, 2002, 2006). This
association contributes to the concern TESOL educators carry about CETs working in ESL/EFL contexts.

The increase of CETs in the third world has drawn TESOL educators’ attention to CETs’ being a part of US global politics in such regions as Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Middle East, which are considered important to American global politics (Johnson & Varghese, 2007; Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). Johnston & Varghese argued that "The promotion of US power has been paralleled by the spread of Christianity, and especially of evangelical Christianity" (p. 196). Why is the increase of CETs problematic? Some TESOL scholars have contended that both evangelical Christianity and American neo-conservatism adhere to modernism and share a totalizing belief system (Gray, 2003; Johnston & Varghese, 2007). The fact that more CETs than just missionary-only preachers have been venturing into ESL/EFL contexts throughout the world (Snow, 2001) contributes to the view that, as Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) have argued, “a particular vision of globalization, neoliberal values and capitalist accumulation is celebrated as part of a missionary message” (p. 345). They contend that that association may entail serious damage to ELT and cause cultural conflicts on various levels. Because evangelical Christian denominations as well as other Christian denominations do in fact send many CETs to many parts of the world today, association with global politics seems inevitable and complicates CET related issues more.

The long ties that the US government has held with many evangelical Christian organizations have been enhanced over the years, leading to the opposite of the separation principle between religion and the state (Edge, 1996; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). In consequence, fundamentalist right-wing Christian doctrines have been adopted into US
foreign policies. The association of US foreign policy with some branches of evangelical Christianity has attracted TESOL scholars' attention to issues of CETs and ELT (Karmani & Pennycook, 2005; Johnston & Varghese, 2007). A conservative, capitalist perspective is associated with the desire of some Christian organizations in the US to disseminate the English language throughout the world. Teaching English as a missionary language (TEML) and global politics have a particular relationship today (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). Christian missionaries have contributed to the expansion of a particular version of capitalist politics and religious beliefs. The US foreign policy has been closely joined to a particular Christian ideal (Hardt & Negri, 2000). The paradigm of Christian evangelical ELT has been a solid foundation for conversion, capitalism and conservatism. In addition, the events on 9.11 and the USA’s invasion of Iraq prompted TESOL scholars to reconsider more seriously the implications of CETs’ using English language teaching (ELT) as a means of boosting the presence of the Christian faith in the third world (Byler, 2009; Edge, 2003; Lienesche, 1997).

*Teaching English as a serving language.* While there has been much criticism of English as a missionary language, the argument of English as a serving language (TESL) has been continuously raised by especially Christian language educators (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009; Snow, 2001). English language teaching and learning (ELTL) in the TESOL field could be and in fact is a tool for helping poor English learners of English (Snow, 2001). While the English language has contributed to strengthening societal inequality in education in countries where it is a second language (ESL) or a foreign language (EFL) (Philipson, 2010; Bourdieu, 1991; Rassool, 2007), many CETs have been teaching the English language to poor English students in places such as churches and rural areas far from cities where students otherwise have little access to learning English (Wang, 2009, 2013). In other words,
CETs have contributed to social justice by providing underprivileged students with the opportunity to learn the English language (Snow, 2001).

For instance, Wang (2009, 2013) studied Schweitzer English teachers1 (SET) who were schooled with Christian values in Christian homes in the USA. The Schweitzer English teachers (SETs)2 were teaching the English language in Taiwanese elementary schools in Taiwanese rural areas where the students would otherwise not have had the chance to learn English from native English speaking teachers. She found that the Schweitzer English teachers positively changed the students' and Taiwanese teachers' understandings and perceptions of English, Americans, and Christianity. Wang (2009) claimed,

> It is impossible to learn a language without learning something about the culture and values associated with the languages. ... Students learn the culture and values of their teachers. (p. 32)

Wang (2009) argued that Christian English teachers’ teaching English could be beneficial for the rural elementary school students by helping them gain access to social and

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1 The Taiwanese government decided to invite Christian English teachers to teach the English language to students who live in rural areas where they cannot have the chance to learn the English language because of a lot of limitations such as local situation, standard of finance, and no private language schools where the English language is taught. Schweitzer English teachers are CETs belonging to a Christian denomination for non-profit purpose.

2 “In 2001, as an effort to bridge the gap between urban and rural English education, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Taiwan began to hire native English speakers to come to Taiwan to teach English in rural areas. This policy provided the opportunity for students in rural areas to have access to native English speakers. However, in spite of this effort, there is still a great shortage of English teachers in rural areas. The challenges of English education in rural regions have caught the attention of several educational organizations. In 2003, the King Car Education Foundation (KCEF) joined the Institute in Basic Life Principles (IBLP) in Taiwan and the US to introduce groups of young Christian native English speakers to assist with English teaching in the remote regions of Taiwan. These young Christian NESTs were introduced by KCEF to the Taiwanese people as the Schweitzer English Teachers (SETs). KCEF adopted the term “Schweitzer” from the evangelical Christian doctor, Albert Schweitzer. This was done in order to represent the voluntary spirit of the Christian native English speakers in helping rural students. SETs have been teaching in rural schools without the same monetary benefits available to other native English teachers. Regular NESTs invited by the Taiwanese government are paid around US $2,500/month while SETs are only paid around US $800/month” (Wong, Kristjánsson, & Dörnyei, p. 32, 2013).
economic capital. Rather than supporting social injustice (Edge, 1996; Philipson, 1992), Christian English teachers’ dedication to teaching the underprivileged and isolated English learners showed the possibility of CETs’ contributing to social justice through ELT for students in need of learning English.

The claim that English could be used as a serving language is opposite to the criticism that English is being used by CETs as a missionary language in order to spread Christianity and western values. Those who criticize English as a missionary language claim that CETs’ use of ELT to spread of Christianity by reinforcing linguistic and cultural imperialism (Philipson, 1992; Edge, 1996). Those who support English as a serving language argue that English could be a means of improving multiculturalism and multilingualism through ELTL (Canagarajah, 2005; Wang, 2013). They argue that ELT promotes mutual understanding of English teachers’ and students’ cultures, increasing multiculturalism and multilingualism (Snow, 2009). The majority of SETs did not major in language education, general education, or English education. Some do not even hold a university degree. It seems to be precarious that CETs teach the English language without having any knowledge of English education and of linguistic and cultural imperialism.

Some language educators claim that it is possible for Christian English teachers (CETs) to apply Christian values to English language teaching (ELT) in the TESOL field in support of social justice (Snow, 2009). CETs could be complying with the Christian mandate of servanthood, literally divesting themselves of power. CETs’ understanding and recognition of multilingualism and multiculturalism is paramount (Snow, 2001). Baurain (2007) contended that the Christian faith could positively affect how Christian teachers teach English in various complex contexts in creative ways. He emphasized that Christian witness and
respect for persons should be consanguineous. No TESOL educators excoriate the application of Christian moral values to ELT; be that as it may, that does not equate to condoning the exposure of students to Christian values and beliefs in the ELT classroom (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). The matter of the extent to which teachers should or could have remains, by means of the neutrality of classrooms (Varghese, 2003).

Hong (2007) did research on how Christian language educators were applying Christian values in their ELT classroom. She explored the relationship between Christianity, spirituality and second language education through extensive interviews with well-known Christian language scholars such as Suresh Canagarajah, Carolyn Kristjánsson, Tom Scovel, David Smith, and Earl Stevick. The participants allowed Hong to use their real names in the research. She found that the Christian faith permeated every aspect of the Christian scholars' professional development. She also found that the participants were applying Christian values to their language education practices, such as love one another—implementing as loving people who speak different languages—and respect for others—not imposing their values on learners and assuming a humble attitude in learning other languages. In terms of student-teacher relationships, the participants were applying such concepts as human beings as created in God's image, human beings as sinners having possibility of growth, human beings’ as subjects of God’s unconditional love.

In Hong’s (2007) study, the aforementioned Christian values directed the use of power between student and teacher in the classroom. For example, one of the participants argued that she saw God's justice in the classroom as “a humbling process, not a political process” (p. 70). Hong contended that God’s unconditional love toward human beings could be related to Krashen’s (1987) hypothesis that reducing learners' anxieties and helping them
feel academically unthreatened is closely connected with learners’ language acquisition. A more crucial finding was that all the participants seldom or never brought the topic of Christianity in the classroom. After all, considering that a teacher is a moral agent in the classroom (Johnston et al., 2009; Pike, 2006; Smith, 2007), CETs should engage in pedagogical and ethical but not necessarily religious issues. It seems that Hong’s participants were very cognizant of the implications of exposing their Christian beliefs and values to students. Nevertheless, both TESOL educators and CETs should have acknowledge their special responsibility in supporting the dominance of English and consider ethical aspects seriously (Varghese & Johnston, 2006, 2007).

Critics tend to treat all CETs as the same. They ought to broaden their understandings and realize that there are many Christian TESOL scholars who do not support ELT being used as a means for proselytizing, nor for promoting linguistic and cultural imperialism (Canagarajah, 1996; Snow, 2001; Stevick, 2009). There are countless Christian scholars who strongly disagree with imposing Christian beliefs and values on English learners. There are numerous Christian TESOL educators who have contrasting beliefs and values from those of evangelical Christianity who have cooperated with American neo-conservatism (Johnston & Varghese, 2006; Wong, Kristjansson, & Dörnyei, 2013). CETs are very complex even those among Christian TESOL scholars.

In this segment, I have described issues related to Christianity and ELT that have been addressed in the TESOL literature. Christianity has a world vision by nature. The English language has been expanding its influence to almost all the areas of the world with the growth of the power of the USA. Evangelical Christian denominations have had strong ties with right wing politicians of the USA. Many evangelical missionary English teachers have been
proliferating in the third world where the foreign policies of the USA are encouraged. Not only evangelical Christian denominations but various other Christian denominations have been recruiting missionary English teachers to extend their beliefs and values to those who wish to learn a desired and privileged language, English. Globalization has bolstered the influence and status of the USA, English and Christianity. Christianity and ELT have been consolidating their association, creating a mass of conflicting issues in ESL/EFL contexts. Christian missionaries have played a pertinent role in spreading the English language, Christianity and western cultures.

Christen English teachers’ (CET) pedagogical and moral (ethical) dilemma

CETs’ pedagogical and moral (ethical) issues in the ELT classroom have been considered seriously among TESOL scholars (Johnston & Varghese, 2007). Teachers have authority over learners in the classroom (Varghese, 1998, 2003). Political, pedagogical, and moral dilemmas were observed among CETs (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009; Wong, Kristjansson & Dornyei, 2013). The learners are weak in the power relations in the classroom, which is not neutral. ELT is a political and moral project (Bourdieu, 1991; Johnston, 2003, 2006, 2007). Those who stand against CETs’ using ELT as a means of advancing Christianity argue that “there is no space for Christians in ELT,” in that imposing one’s own moral or religious beliefs on others is cultural imperialism (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003, p. 338). It is true that all teachers are moral agents who greatly affect learners (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009).

Pedagogical dilemma. CETs’ pedagogical dilemma has been raised in the TESOL literature. Auerbach (1995) argued,
Pedagogical choices about curriculum development, content, materials, classroom processes, and language use, although appearing to be informed by apolitical professional considerations, are in fact, inherently ideological in nature (p. 9).

Teaching is never ideologically neutral (Johnston, 2003, 2007). Accordingly, the point of non-neutrality should raise questions about trust and disclosure, and imposition of absolute beliefs on others. Some critics accuse CETs of hiding their Christian identity and purpose of proselytizing students into Christianity in the classroom (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). They contend that this is a serious issue in that they should expose their values consciously or students would unconsciously be affected by CETs (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). Kubota (2009) disputed that a belief should be advocated with any methods. However, there has been a counter opinion that most CETs do not obscure their identity, and that the majority of host governments and institutions welcome CETs because of their morality and hard work (Purgason, 2004). Christian organizations are emphasizing the following values: "excellence in teaching, professionalism in service, Christian servanthood, integrity, humility, and cross-cultural sensitivity" (Purgason, 2004, pp. 712-713).

CETs’ professionalism has also been questioned continually (Dickerson & Dow, 1997; Wong, 2009). Many Christian denominations recruiting CETs require no qualifications except a minimum of training courses (Dickerson and Dow, 1997). One Christian college, for example, provides the recruited teachers with only a 30-hour training course on teaching the English language in foreign countries (Wheaton College, 2012). Although many Christian denominations provide CETs with ELT education programs, most of them include mission-oriented courses inspired by the belief that "TESOL is an amazing ministry tool" (Wheaton
College, 2012). According to the advertisement of one Christian denominational college, applicants who want to be missionary English teachers may be

…those who have had little or no professional preparation in this area (ELT) and those who want a refresher course that offers practical instruction for learning how to teach ESL/EFL to adults. No prior teaching experience or knowledge of linguistics is assumed (Wheaton College, 2012).

Many Christian denominations have similar requirements in recruiting CETs who will teach English in foreign countries. Because of that, even Christian educators such as Snow (2001) were concerned about CETs' being unqualified for teaching English to English learners in host countries. It is also argued that many CETs use only a conversational pedagogy without having enough knowledge of ELT and language education (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009).

There has been criticism that many CETs are not ready for either teaching English or understanding cultures of the host countries due to their lack of education related to ELT in ESL contexts (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). Also many CETs are teaching the English language without an awareness of how Christian beliefs function in ELT, relate to it, and affect students' lives in many institutions such as schools, churches and language schools especially in ESL/EFL contexts (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009; Wong & Kristjansson & Dörnyei, 2013). It is argued that language teaching is not just teaching a language. Without considering the influence of particular cultures, one cannot say that one has understood the issues related to CETs. Therefore, in the language classroom, a teacher's identity clearly affects his/her pedagogy and students’ minds (Gee, 2000, 2001). Many CETs have been
questioned about whether they are well enough trained to understand the power of the English language and the influence of a teacher’s identity in the ELT classroom.

*Moral (ethical) dilemmas*. Many Christian denominations have been known to utilize ELT as the platform of Christian witness in various TESOL settings (Edge, 1996). Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) criticized CETs for using teaching English to spread Christian values and beliefs, which they considered unethical. Yet, some language educators have a different perspective on CETs’ using ELT for Christian witness (Stevick, 1996; Snow 2009). ELT is also a pragmatic tool for serving underprivileged or isolated students who want to learn a desired language, English, from CETs who teach in isolated areas (Snow 2001). Smith and Carvill (2000) contended that foreign language teachers should provide a model of the virtues of Christ, such as hospitality in the foreign language classroom. In other words, from the perspective of Christian English teachers teaching English as a missionary language is not an ethical issue as it entails service to the poor (Snow, 2001).

Despite this perspective, research has demonstrated that ethical dilemmas do exist at various levels from CETs in training to experienced CETs (Johnston & Varghese, 2007). In the TESOL literature, primarily philosophical and theoretical issues have been discussed with regard to the relationship between Christianity, CETs and ELT. Nonetheless, there have been few empirical studies about CETs. Varghese and Johnston (2007) conducted a study on ten English language teachers-in-training at two evangelical Christian colleges in the USA in order to explore how the participants’ religious beliefs related to ELT in complex, varied, and still developing ways. The researchers identified themselves as non-Christians. The participants of the research had strong Christian mission convictions. Johnston (2007) used the term *moral dilemma*, but the term can be exchanged with the term *ethical dilemma*. 

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The researchers were interested in why participants in their early twenties were studying English education because they wanted to capture the process by which the participants' religion and teaching were being constructed. The participants identified themselves as evangelical Christians, some of whom had some missionary or teaching experience. The researchers found that all the participants' teaching and religious beliefs were thoroughly intertwined. To them teaching was a service of planting seeds, the role of the teacher was to be an exemplar of their religion, and the professionalism of teachers was a matter of significance. All but one participant agreed that using ELT as a missionary platform was a positive objective if it was done with good teaching quality and without imposing American values on students. The researchers found they did experience a moral dilemma raised by their values in relation to the discourses of ELT.

For some researchers, using ELT for spreading Christianity is clearly unethical (Edge, 1996, 2003; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). However, these researchers’ arguments have been attacked by researchers who claim the ELT classroom cannot be neutral for all ELT teachers (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). All teaching aims to transform students, implying that all teaching activities have an implicit or explicit agenda (Johnston, 2003). In other words, considering there is no neutrality in the classroom CETs alone should not be blamed for conveying values. They argue that not trying to persuade learners also represents a teacher’s beliefs and values (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). According to the TESOL organization, its mission statement includes “respect for diversity, multilingualism and multiculturalism” (http://www.tesol.org). That is also a belief. Some argue that the difference between the convictions of Christian English teachers and those of TESOL teachers is in the urge to convert learners to a particular perspective or belief (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin,
Some language educators even contest that CETs surreptitiously wish to subvert English learners’ deeply held beliefs and values and take children from their parents (Edge, 2003; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). To that argument, Purgason (2004) responded that all people today face those who try to subvert beliefs through powerful, even hegemonic contemporary culture. Research also revealed that many CETs did not try to convert English learners to adopt Christian beliefs (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009).

CETs’ lack of transparency has been criticized continuously by some language educators (Edge, 1996; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). They contend that CETs are veiling their identities and harboring hidden agendas for proselytizing, using the learners’ desire to learn English. Yeoman (2002) used the term ‘stealth crusade’ to describe the activity of one of the largest Christian groups, Frontiers, in Muslim countries where missionary visas were not allowed. Teachers belonging to this Christian group concealed their identity and applied for English teacher visas (E-2) for their mission activities in Muslim countries. Some language educators contest that transparency is one of the significant values in a teaching profession (Edge, 1996; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). Therefore, the call for transparency is significant not only for Christians but for all educators. This should not be limited to CETs (Morgan, 2009; Ferris, 2009). Transparency cannot be not simply defined and applied in a situation in which values are not free (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2002).

Some ESL teachers acknowledge a moral dilemma connected to issues of transparency and disclosure in the ELT classroom (Kubota, 2009). A entitled *Christian and Critical English Language Educators in Dialogue* presents the views of 31 TESOL professionals whose religious and spiritual perspectives vary among Christian, Buddhist,
atheist, spiritualist and other faiths (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). The volume concentrates on

The Christian identity because of the recent debate and criticism directed toward Christian teachers and the legacy of English teaching and Christian missionaries (p. xvii).

About half of the authors of the book identify themselves as Christian. The various arguments in the book show that while all these critical/Christian language educators share a belief in the importance of values in the classroom, they "disagree on whether and how spiritual values should find expression in teaching and learning." (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009, p. xvii). This position has been promoted and important and sensitive in almost all studies related to CETs.

In this discussion, I have reviewed pedagogical and ethical dilemma related to CETs’ use of ELT as a means of Christianity dispersion. Insofar as a teacher is a moral agent, his/her identity affects students in the classroom. Some CETs acknowledged ethical plights while others justified their using ELT for Christian mission and argued that Christian values were a favorable foundation for their pedagogy to benefit students. Because many missionary English teachers have received limited training for teaching the English language, the question remains as to what sort of pedagogical dilemmas exist should be probed.

*English, Christianity and Power*
It is natural that the topic of English linguistic imperialism\(^3\) and cultural imperialism\(^4\) related to CETs appears in the TESOL literature. There has been criticism that CETs especially in ESL/EFL contexts have been promoting English linguistic imperialism and cultural imperialism, because they have been promoting dissemination of the English language and western cultures, imposing linguistic and moral values on English learners (Edge, 1996, Edge, 2003; Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003). Critical language educators have echoed that both Christianity and English share imperialistic tendencies. The phenomenon is highly visible today in view of globalization. Their pursuit of their own goals of globalization is strongly supported by the increase of the USA’s influence at various levels (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003; Edge, 2003). Critics have argued that this has resulted in linguistic and cultural imperialism in various contexts, including ESL/EFL teaching (Philipson, 1992). ELT itself is a value-laden activity (Philipson, 1992; Canagarajah, 1999). It is also a well-accepted observation that linguistic imperialism is evident wherever the English language functions powerfully, as can be clearly observed in that postcolonial countries in Africa and Asia (Rassool, 2007; Makoni & Makoni, 2009).

In many postcolonial countries, consciousness of the value of local languages is increasing; however, awareness of English as a privileged world language has relegated local languages to a low status domestically and in global markets (Rassool, 2007; Philipson, 1992, 

\(^{3}\) English linguistic imperialism: “The dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (Philipson, 1992, P. 47).

\(^{4}\) Cultural imperialism: “The sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system” (Schiller, 1976, p. 9).
Because English became a desired language in post-colonial countries, it has enjoyed first priority as the most desired cultural and symbolic capital in the global language markets, leading to the marginalization of local languages (Rassool, 2007; Canagarajah, 1999). Many local languages are dying and disappearing today. Efforts to revitalize local languages have been observed in some locations, but they appear not to be successful. CETs have been chided for contributing to the strengthening of linguistic and cultural imperialism (Edge, 1996; Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003).

CETs have been also criticized for contributing to the tenacity of westernization and Christianization (Edge, 1992; Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003; Kim, 1999). In Korea, Christian missionaries employed three institutions such as hospitals, schools, and churches to accelerate westernization and Christianization (Kim, 1999). In many colonial countries, Christian missionaries used similar means to promote westernization and Christianization (Rasool, 2007). In Korea, for example, cultural imperialism became a dominant phenomenon in the early 1990s:

As more and more modern schools were built, more and more traditional schools were abolished. As churches increased and the modern concept of religion was established, both traditional religions like Confucianism, Buddhism, and folk religions, and indigenous new religions like Tonghak (Eastern learning), came to be considered inferior to the Western religion of Christianity (Kim, 1999, p. 213).

In China, becoming a Christian has been considered a means of westernization among college students who learn the English language from native English speakers in churches (Snow, 2013). In various post-colonial countries, military troops returned to their homelands
after securing independence to find that the English language still remained as a powerful legacy (Rasool, 2007). As a remaining legacy in schools, churches, and hospitals, the English language as a desired, privileged and world language has been continuously shaping the systems of societies and the minds of the people. The English language is the key medium of Americanization and Westernization (Philipson, 1992, 2010). CETs, armed with Christian faith and Western values, are welcomed in many countries where English learners desire to learn English in churches and schools. It has been very difficult for English learners to resist cultural imperialism despite various efforts by those who try to maintain their countries’ own cultures (Kim, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999).

Despite this overall picture of cultural and linguistic imperialism, there are contrasting evaluations of the legacies left by Christian missionaries in dissimilar countries. Understanding these evaluations is helpful due to the identification of CETs as missionaries (Snow, 2001). For instance, there are two clashing evaluations of Christian missionaries in Korea. Some think of Christian missionaries as *agents of imperialism*, while others hail them as *pioneers of modernization* (Kim, 1999). The evaluation of imperialism aligns Christian missions with imperialism, while that of modernism denies any connection between the two. Both evaluations have some supporting evidence. Missionaries arrived first, positioned themselves in influential areas of the land, and lingered even after the withdrawal of the secular imperialists (Kim, 1999, Canagarajah, 1999). Korea is quite different from many countries colonized by the West because of its colonization by Japan. Christian missionaries who worked in Korea defied the Japanese empire and sacrificed their lives for Koreans and so were not regarded as imperialists (Kim, 1999). Many Koreans hold the belief that Christian missionaries introduced modern western civilization to Korea.
Nevertheless modernization by the West has been continually challenged, and it is claimed that modernization has been defined as positive from the Western perspective (Kim, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999). The concept of modernity presupposes that western values and societies are central and others are peripheral (Fabian, 1983). It has been observed that many Christian missionaries have enforced their values and faiths on people in host countries (Edge, 1996, 2003; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). It is considered significant that most Christian missionaries have had two identities, as citizens of an empire and of heaven. Therefore, their imposing attitudes can be considered natural if they are not sensitive to the views of others.

I have reviewed the issue of linguistic and cultural imperialism related to Christianity and English in this part. The issue becomes weightier in light of the increasing presence of CETs in the TESOL field. CETs are dispersing English, western cultures, and Christian values. Some conceive this as a process of modernization while others view it as imperialism. South Korea has been westernized and Christianized over the past decades. Because South Korea was not colonized by the West, her experience and history are quite different than those of countries that were colonized by the West. Many Koreans have the perception of Christian missionaries as those who have devoted their life to Koreans. That may be why Christianity has been growing rapidly in South Korea.

*English speaking missionaries and Koreanized Christianity*

Based on the experience of colonization by the West, each country’s Christianity has its own styles and characteristics. It is also apparent that Korean Christianity is quite different from the Christianity of other countries. Korean Christianity is closely associated with
English speaking missionaries, so it is imperative to understand what Christianity has been created and developed by western missionaries' works. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, American missionaries from various Christian denominations came to Korea to evangelize Koreans by providing medical, educational, volunteer, and social welfare services (Kim, 1999; Kim 2000). During the Japanese occupation period from 1910 to 1945, Christianity was firmly established in Korea as Korean Christian churches played a significant role in uniting people to fight for their independence. Christianity further thrived during the chaos and devastation of the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. Christianity has the second largest population of believers in Korea today, following Buddhism.

Western Christianity has been transformed into a Korean Christianity through the filter of Korean history. The unusual success of Korean Christianity has several sources. In order to make Christianity more acceptable to Koreans, many Korean Christian leaders emphasized specific Christian messages and practices that were compatible with the shamanic worldview that was familiar to Koreans (Kim, 2000). That led to no real clash of values between Christianity and the existing religions in Korea. Another factor was that there were no substantial contradictions between Christianity doctrines and the core values of Koreans. The moral and social values of Confucianism that have determined Koreans' attitudes and behaviors were in harmony with the high moral code of Christianity, avoiding possible conflicts that could have been a considerable obstacle in the growth of Christianity in Korea. As Clark (1986) observed, "Today's church is a Koreanized church with theological and organizational undertones that echo Korean traditions" (p. 51).

However, the concern as to what degree Christianity has formed and molded the Korean character has been continuously debated among scholars. For instance, Christianity
became a Korean religion, but it is still foreign to Koreans who hold a more exclusive attitude towards Korean culture (Ryu, 1976). However, it mostly seems to be clear that the success of Christianity in Korea depends on its harmonization with Koreans' identity. It is correct to say that Christianity in Korea is a Koreanized or contextualized Christianity. The fact that Christianity is successful in Korea and familiar for Koreans may benefit CETs’ readier acceptance by Korean English learners than by learners in other settings. That is a legacy that Christian missionaries left behind in Korean history and society.

Koreans' religious culture

The 2005 Korean national census showed that nearly 25 million people, or over 53% of the total population, professed to have a religion, while 46.5% of the respondents answered that they did not (world.kbs.co.kr, 2012).

Table 1.1
Distribution of religious population in Korea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40,419,652</td>
<td>44,553,710</td>
<td>47,041,434</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have a religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism</td>
<td>17,203,296</td>
<td>22,597,824</td>
<td>24,970,766</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestantism</td>
<td>8,059,624</td>
<td>10,321,012</td>
<td>10,726,463</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholicism</td>
<td>6,489,282</td>
<td>8,760,336</td>
<td>8,616,438</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism</td>
<td>1,865,397</td>
<td>2,950,730</td>
<td>5,146,147</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Won Buddhism</td>
<td>483,366</td>
<td>210,927</td>
<td>104,575</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheondo-gyo</td>
<td>92,302</td>
<td>86,823</td>
<td>129,907</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeungsan-gyo</td>
<td>26,818</td>
<td>28,184</td>
<td>45,835</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62,056</td>
<td>34,550</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shamanism dominated Koreans’ minds and lives for over two thousand years, but it failed to generate a certain form of state. Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity have played major roles in constructing Korean culture. Korean Christianity has survived and thrived in the midst of such religious circumstances for over 100 years. It has become the second largest religion following Buddhism in Korea. In the present Korean society, with the two mainstream religions, minor traditional beliefs and shamanism have remained as secondary religions. (world.kbs.co.kr, 2012).

Research on D Education

Among the 31 Christian language schools of D education, the M language school is the research site of this study. Research on D education and its Christian mission work through CETs’ ELT has focused mainly on the history and growth of its schools through its long history of 46 years (Kim, 2000; Kim, 2004; Yoon, 2007; Kim, 2011). Three studies on D education (Kim, 2000; Kim, 2004; Kim, 2011) were master's dissertations while Yoon's (2007) was a doctoral dissertation. No investigation has been done on the relationship between CETs and ELT although D education has rich information on CET related controversies. The association of Christianity with ELT at D education language schools has been ongoing since D education started in 1969. It has accumulated a great deal of information on the relationship between CETs and ELT for the last 46 years and has had an
enormous impact on English education in Korea. Approximately 4,000,000 Korean English learners have studied the English language from CETs (Yoon, 2007; Kim, 2011).

Theoretical Framework

In order to investigate how Christian English teachers’ (CETs) identity pertains to their pedagogy at a Christian language school in South Korea, I will employ multiple theoretical lenses: Norton’s theorizing identity (1995, 1997, 2000), Bourdieu’s language and symbolic power (1991), Wenger’s Communities of practice (1999), and Vygotsky’s sociocultural lens (1962, 1978). These multiple perspectives can shed light on my process of understanding the participants’ English teaching experiences and identity (re)construction at a Christian language school in South Korea. Even though the participants teaching the English language at a Christian language school have not previously been studied (Wong, 2013), the aforementioned perspectives have provided insights and multidimensional approaches to investigating the relationship between Christian English teachers’ (CET) identity and their pedagogy.

Theorizing identity

Unlike Noam Chomsky’s (1972) linguistic stance, teacher's identity has been found to be closely related to and influential on language teaching and learning contexts (Norton, 1995, 2003; Johnston & Varghese, 2006). While linguistics researchers have usually focused on language learner identity, during the past decades language teacher identity has attracted linguistics researchers’ attention (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Pavlenko, 2004). Norton’s identity theories provide insight into language teacher identity as well as language learner identity. Norton (1997) defines identity as
How people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future (p. 410).

In her definition of identity, she emphasizes the term *relationship*, pointing out that understanding a person’s relationship to the world is the core of understanding the person’s complex and dynamic identity as (re)constructed in various social contexts across time and space. In theorizing her identity concept including socioeconomic dimensions, Norton was influenced by West (1992), Bourdieu (1977), Weedon (1987), and Cummins (1994). Identity is viewed as closely connected with such desires as recognition, affiliation, security, and safety (West, 1992). Such desires are relative and dependent on the distribution of material resources. A person’s identity goes hand in hand with shifts in social and economic relations. People who are granted access to multiple material resources will be allowed to access to privilege and power. A person’s identity, that is, who I am, cannot be understood without considering the question of what I can do (Norton, 1997). Using the term *investment*, Norton (2000) argues that second language learners invest time and money in language learning because they expect a wider range of symbolic and material resources that should lead to cultural capital and positive change in their identity.

Norton (1995) conducted research on immigrant women in Canada to explore the relationship between social identities and language acquirement. In social identity theory, identity is formed and (re)constructed according to social categories such as race, nationality, and class. A society creates these categories in relation to power and status (Varghese, 2005; Kim, 2012). According to Norton (1997), social identity refers to
The relationship between the individual and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services, and law courts (p. 420).

Social identities play a significant role in building a person’s relationships with others (Norton, 2000). These relationships serve as an important element in acquiring a language and provide access to economic and social capital in a society. Speech, speakers, and social relationships are closely connected with one another (Norton, 1995). Language plays a crucial role in shaping how people negotiate their identities and learn how to connect with the world. Whenever people have a conversation, they are (re)constructing their identities as well as exchanging information.

Norton (1997) also argues that subjectivity is a crucial factor in understanding a person’s identity in depth. She describes three characteristics of subjectivity as “the multiple, non-unitary nature of subject, subjectivity as a site of struggle, and subjectivity as changing over time” (p, 411). Various social sites, which are structured by power relations, produce different subjectivities. A person takes up dissimilar subject positions in different social sites as students, teachers, employees, missionaries, captains, etc. Subjectivity, language and social power are mutually influential in a person’s identity (Weedon, 1987). In particular, a person’s identity cannot be understood without considering power relations. Based on Cummins’ (1994) theory, Norton (1997) contends that “relations of power can serve to enable or constrain the range of identities” (p. 412). There are two categories of power: coercive power and collaborative power (Cummins, 1994). Coercive power is power exercised by a dominant individual, group, or country. This serves to maintain inequality of distribution of resources in a society. Collaborative power, on the other hand, is power exercised to empower rather
than marginalize. Power is not fixed but changing, which can be reciprocally developed in interpersonal and intergroup relations (Norton, 1995, 1997).

To summarize, identity is complex, contradictory, versatile, changing across time and space, and constructed by language (Norton, 1995, 1997, 2000). It is a site of struggle and responds to social and economic changes. It also relates to larger social processes and power. Norton’s identity theory illuminates how CETs’ identities are influenced as they teach the English language to Korean speaking adult students at a Christian language school in South Korea. They have a Christian faith supported by a specific Christian denomination which provides values and beliefs for them to practice. Their ELT classrooms are a place of struggle between them and students. Since 2013, the study participants have had to work alongside English teachers who have a different Christian faith or do not have a religion. Korean adult students come to the language school because acquiring the English language provides them with access to social and economic capital. The CETs’ identity must be continually (re)constructed through interacting with these factors.

Language and Symbolic Power: Cultural, Social, Linguistic Capital, and Habitus

Language is a crucial part of social life (Bourdieu, 1991). The establishment of communication should not be taken for granted. Bourdieu (1991) contends that the “right to speak” or “the power to impose reception” should be considered when understanding competence (p. 75). Language is also not a value free enterprise but a device of authority and power. “Language forms kind of wealth” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 43). People’s different uses of language play a significant role in reproducing unbalanced social structures. In theorizing identity, the language, the person, and larger networks of social relationships should be
carefully considered. Bourdieu especially emphasizes the concept of *symbolic power* as maintained by three kinds of capital: economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital. Language plays an essential role in *symbolic power*, which Bourdieu (1991) defines as follows:

> Invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it (p. 164).

It is pertinent to recognize that Bourdieu (1977) concentrated on the relationship between identity and symbolic power.

*Culture capital.* According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital is defined as forms of knowledge, skills, education, and other advantages through which one can acquire a higher social status. He explained differences in children's academic achievements in terms of cultural capital. He argued that the unequal scholastic achievement of children was closely related to different social classes. Parents provide their children with cultural capital. Acquisition of cultural capital functions as a means of social mobility beyond economic means. Cultural capital has three subtypes: embodied, objectified and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital is composed of both consciously acquired and passively inherited properties from the family through socialization. It is acquired over time. Objectified cultural capital is composed of material possessions such as works of art. It can be transmitted both for economic purposes and for conveying cultural capital. Institutionalized cultural capital consists of institutional recognition such as academic credentials or qualifications that can play a prominent role in the labor market.
Social capital. It is defined as follows:

The sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrues to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119).

The importance of Bourdieu's social capital concept is that its application pinpoints how society is reproduced, and how the dominant classes maintain their positions and reproduce the current status quo in a society. He argued that social inequality could not be explained by only economic factors. The society's institutional relationships can be maintained in a practical state or in material and/or symbolic exchanges. People can maintain and transfer social and economic capital by socially instituted and guaranteed institutions such as a family, a class, a tribe, a school or a party. The network is not a natural given but the product of continuing effort. The network of relationships is the result of individual or collective, conscious or unconscious efforts for building or reproducing social relationships (Bourdieu, 1986). This network is strengthened by material and symbolic exchanges for recognition and acknowledgment.

Linguistic capital. Because individuals' access to legitimized language is not equal, certain linguistic capabilities have a higher currency than others (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Thus, language competence is a form of capital.

Linguistic competence is not a simple ability, but a statutory ability... What goes in verbal communication remains unintelligible as long as one does not take into account the totality of the structure of the power positions that is present, yet invisible, in the exchange (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 146).
Language is a mechanism of power (Bourdieu, 1991). A person's language represents his/her relational position in a field which is a social context of action. Different languages used by different people tend to reproduce their positions in social space, social structures, and current status quo. Linguistic competence depends on one's background and social status. In the context of the linguistic market, linguistic competence is an ability to use the right language, that is, words, grammar, register, tone, accent, and body language favored in the social structure of the linguistic market. That view is opposite to many traditional linguistic theoretical views. The Saussurian tradition considers language as inner deposited treasures in the individual and in the community, without consideration of the social and economic aspects of language (Harris, 1987; Holdcroft, 1991). Chomsky’s (1972) linguistic theories are similar to the Saussurian tradition, focusing on the subject’s perfect speaking competence. Bourdieu (1991) opposed all the traditional linguistic theories that treated language as an object, pointing out that language was closely related to social and economic power relations. He also argued that the linguistic market was not a free market because power relations predetermined the standards for linguistic capital allocation.

Habitus. Bourdieu (1991) defines habitus as “a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways” (p. 12). Regarding identity, habitus is a significant factor. Early childhood experiences contribute to constructing the individual’s dispositions through inculcation. Through repeated training and countless acquirements such as class manners, the individual’s learned dispositions mold his/her body and become second nature. The individual’s natural inclinations develop regular practices, perceptions, and attitudes. These propensities mirror the social circumstances within which they were formed. For example, the dispositions of working class children are different from those of middle class
children (Lareau, 2003). Characteristics of the social conditions within which an individual’s tendencies were acquired will appear in his/her habitus. Middle class children are likely to have relatively homogenous dispositions with children from similar backgrounds. In that sense, the frame of mind is structured. The dispositions also have a characteristic of durability in the sense that they are ingrained in the individual’s body and endure through his/her life history and do not change easily. They are also generative and transposable. They can generate a large corpus of practices and perceptions in various social contexts.

The habitus controls the individual’s behaviors in his/her daily life. That is natural because the dispositions are ingrained in the body, so the individual pre-consciously acts in a way that feels comfortable and appropriate. Therefore, the individual’s particular practices and perceptions are to be seen as “the product of the relation between the habitus” and “the specific social contexts or fields within which individuals act” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 14). Bourdieu uses the terms social context, field, market and game as having the same meaning. For Bourdieu, a field or market is a structured space of positions. In this space the distribution of dissimilar types of capital decides individuals’ positions and their interrelations.

To summarize, Bourdieu’s theories elucidate how CETs’ linguistic capital functions in the society in which individuals seek access to social, economic and cultural capital through learning a powerful language, which is English. Bourdieu’s concept of habitus is especially helpful in understanding how the CETs’ Christian habitus functions in their ELT pedagogical practices in the ELT classroom and activities with students. Besides being Christians they are native English speakers, which gives them a powerful advantage in relations with Korean English learners.
Communities of Practice

Wenger’s (1999) *communities of practice* theory is a social theory of learning, which is based on the assumption that learning should be understood from the perspective of social participation (Toohey, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). According to Wenger (1999), *participation* refers to “being active participants in the practices of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities” (p. 4). A social theory of learning integrates four elements, meaning, practice, community, and identity. *Meaning* refers to the individual and collective ability to experience life and the world as meaningful; *practice* involves use of joint social and historical resources, perspectives and frameworks; *community* is a social arrangement in which the individual’s activities are construed as valuable and participation is recognized as ability; *identity* is construed in terms of how learning affects and transforms who the individual is and constructs histories of his/her becoming in communities. These four elements are closely interconnected and reciprocally affecting.

Communities of practice are observed everywhere and are an essential part of people’s daily lives. For example, families try to build a livable way of life. They cultivate their own habitual activities, conventions, customs, practices, histories, and stories. They love and hate each other. They develop ways of addressing issues and conducting matters so as to survive and prosper. The term *communities of practice* may be unfamiliar, but the experience and concept are very familiar. This perspective sheds light on the significance of the individual’s past, present and future communities of practice (Anderson, 1983). It also provides insight into how the individual becomes accustomed to recognizing that he/she belongs to the core members of some communities of practice or is a peripheral member of other communities of practice.
Wenger (1999) points out the characteristics of identity in practice. He defines identity in practice as lived, negotiated, social, and as a learning process, a nexus, and a local-global interplay. The individual’s identities are rich and complex because they are constructed within rich and intricate communities of practice. Identity is not just a category or a personal trait but an experience that involves both participation and reification. Identity is lived. It is a becoming in the sense that it is continuing and extending, which are not limited to specific periods of life. The characteristics of the individual’s social identity are formed by community membership. In the sense that the individual’s past and future identity integrates into the present meaning, an identity is a trajectory. An identity incorporates various forms of membership through reconciliation across edges of practice. An identity is the interplay of both the local and the global.

Wenger (1999) also suggests a belonging theory of identity. He argues that it is important to consider three modes of belonging: engagement, imagination, and alignment. Engagement is the individual's lifetime involvement in a reciprocal series of activities of meaning negotiation. Imagination is the individual's development of images of the world and seeing relations through his/her trajectories based on his/her own experience. Alignment is the individual's efforts to coordinate his/her activities to fit into and enhance broader structures. Wenger’s (1999) belonging theory of identity formation for learners is useful in understanding a teacher’s identity because a teacher is as much as a teacher as well as a learner in ESL/EFL teaching and learning contexts.

To summarize, Wenger’s communities of practice theory is very suitable for the participants of this research. As members of the S Christian denomination, they have similar values and beliefs that have been formed and reformed over time and space. Their Christian
values and beliefs produce and reproduce their pedagogy and pedagogical practices. Their Christian practices and pedagogical practices impact Korean English learners in the ELT classroom and in activities in/outside the classroom. Their present Christian life is a trajectory from their past to their future. The participants collaborate with members of the M language school church, who have the same values and beliefs. These Christian teaching communities of practice are constantly being bolstered. Their CET identities are (re)constructed through constant relations with Christian insiders and outsiders.

A sociocultural perspective

Vygotsky (1962, 1978) did not use the term identity in his literature; however, his studies on individual development, a concept closely affiliated with the analysis of the individual’s identity formation, have provided researchers with a subsidiary framework for the study of identity. He assumed a sociocultural perspective to examine the individual’s mental functioning in developmental contexts. Based on his sociocultural framework on individual development, much research has demonstrated that individual development is socio-culturally situated (Luria, 1976; Scribner & Cole, 1981). In that sense, Vygotsky is one of the most important progenitors of the sociocultural approach.

Vygotsky (1962) believed that understanding the development of the individual is not possible without considering the social and cultural context within which the individual's development has been embedded. In other words, he reasoned that the individual’s mental functioning should be understood throughout the individual’s developmental processes. Many researchers posited that development was an observable process within the individual (Piaget, 1965; Bruner 1990). However, Vygotsky considered development to be the individual’s
functioning transformation process through his/her internalization of many different forms of social practice (Wertsch, 1985, 1991). Therefore, his attention turned to the analysis of human action.

Vygotsky (1978) examined human action to understand the relationship between mental phenomena and their social origins. It is important to note that he concentrated on the role of cultural tools and mediational means in individual development. Mediation is the concept that all human activity is mediated by tools and signs. Any human action produced by individuals, groups, or institutions can be a unit of analysis for examining how various cultural tools and mediational means affect the individual’s functioning (Wertsch & Penuel, 1995). The significance of incorporating tools and signs lies not just in their facilitating action but in their transformation of the flow and structure of human mental functions through the process (Vygotsky, 1981). Vygotsky did not consider tools as mere aids, but as cultural artifacts that serve as the foundation for recognizing the individual’s social activity and mental functioning patterns. Tools and signs promote both a relationship to oneself and to others in order to increase the ability to communicate, maintain social relationships, and impact other individuals (Wertch & Penuel, 1995).

In Vygotsky’s studies (1978, 1962), three themes are useful for analyzing and understanding identity formation in individual development. The three themes are human actions as mediated by tools and signs, mental function’s origin in sociocultural contexts, and genetic analysis. The first two themes have already been mentioned. For genetic analysis, Vygotsky contended that four domains should be considered: phylogenesis, sociocultural history, ontogenesis, and microgenesis. Specifically microgenesis analysis has been an effective tool for understanding when and how development processes take place. In the
microgenetic settings, the shift from intermental processes to intramental functioning is observed.

Any function in the child’s cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category… [It] goes without saying that internalization transforms the process itself and changes its structure and functions. Social relations or relations among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships. (Vygotsky, 1981, p. 163).

Based on this view, Vygotsky (1978) codified the notion of the zone of proximal development (ZPD), which is a useful concept for understanding the development of an individual’s mental functioning. Vygotsky defined the ZPD as follows:

The distance between a child’s actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the higher level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (1978, p. 98).

To summarize, although Vygotsky’s theories routinely focused on adolescents, they are effective in understanding CETs’ identity formation and change. The theory that identity is socio-culturally situated is useful in this research because the participants share the same Christian culture and practice teaching the English language at a Christian language school in South Korea. The notion of ZPD is also instrumental. Vygotsky’s notion of zone of proximal development (ZPD) has been applied by many educators to designing instructional
interventions. The ZPD is also a practical tool to examine what is occurring between
Christian English teachers’ (CET) pedagogy and adult Korean English learners. They were
also using cultural tools and mediational means such as language, English language textbooks,
and the Bible.

The following is a summary of the views on identity formation based on the four
frameworks I employ for this research.

Table 1.2
Four Views of Identity Formation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Claim</th>
<th>Salience of Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norton (1997, 2000)</td>
<td>Social identity theory</td>
<td>“How people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourdieu (1991)</td>
<td>Identity and symbolic power</td>
<td>Language, the person, and larger networks of social relationships should be carefully ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenger (1999)</td>
<td>Social theory of identity formation</td>
<td>“A way of talking about how learning changes who we are... [that] creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities” (p. 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vygotsky (1962, 1978)</td>
<td>Sociocultural development theory</td>
<td>Understanding the development of the individual is not possible without considering the social and cultural context within which the individual's development was embedded.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Definition of Identity Grounded in Multiple Perspectives
My analysis of the collected data has provided a definition of identity formation. My own definition of identity formation is based on the multiple perspectives discussed above. Identity is formed and (re)constructed through social categories such as race, nationality, and class (Norton, 1995), which are produced by a specific society (Norton, 1995, 1997, 2000; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Varghese et al., 2005). A person’s identity is closely related to shifts in social and economic relations, that is, power relations (Norton, 2000; Weedon, 1987; Cummins, 1994). Identity is complex, contradictory, versatile, and changing across time and space (Norton, 1995, 1997, 2000). According to Bourdieu (1991), habitus demonstrates the individual’s identity in that it is “a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways” (p. 12). Countless repeated learning and training patterns contribute to the formation of second nature, which is closely related to the individual’s identity. Because dispositions cannot be easily changed, the individual’s identity cannot be easily altered. Identity is closely connected to social, cultural and political contexts (Pennycook, 1994, 2001; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Varghese, et al., 2005).

Identity in practice is lived, negotiated, and social; it is a learning process, a nexus, and a local-global interplay; and the individual’s identity and histories are affected and transformed by learning (Wenger, 1999; Anderson, 1983; Toohey, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). The concept of belonging is significant for understanding the individual’s identity (Wenger, 1999). Identity is socially and culturally situated (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978; Luria, 1976; Scribner & Cole, 1981). In understanding the individual’s identity formation, researchers should consider genetic analysis, human actions mediated by tools and signs, and the origin of mental functions in sociocultural contexts (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978). In addition, the researcher should be cognizant of the social plane and the psychological plane for
understanding the individual (Vygotsky, 1981). An individual’s identity is dynamic and complicated.

CETs are the participants in this research. The ELT classroom cannot be neutral because the teacher cannot be neutral. In the second language classroom, research on a teacher’s identity should include his/her sociocultural and sociopolitical dimensions (Pennycook, 1994, 2001). In the ELT classroom, the teacher’s racial background, religious aspect, sexual orientation, gender, age, and class are closely linked to his/her pedagogy (Varghese & Johnston, 2005). A teacher’s identity is also connected with social, cultural, political, and religious contexts. These factors all weigh greatly in both teachers’ and learners’ identity formation and change, complicating issues of the relationship between a teacher’s identity and pedagogy (Duff & Uchida, 1997).
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

Research Design: Ethnographic Case Study Research

I have employed an ethnographic case study design for this research in that this study focuses on Christian English teachers (CETs), who are a culturally homogeneous group. This design fits into this research because the participants have highly common beliefs, behaviors and language (Creswell, 2005). This research is about how CETs’ characteristics are related to their ELT pedagogy at a Christian language school in South Korea. This ethnographic research on specific CETs will provide an in-depth understanding about complex issues related to this growing population in the TESOL field. I have used various techniques such as observing the site and classes, spending considerable time with the participants at the research site, participating in activities as a participant observer, interviewing and engaging in conversations, and documenting exchanges, observations, and reflections. These techniques provide a detailed day-to-day picture of the dynamics of formation of and change of CETs’ identities during their ELT pedagogical practices and related experiences in/outside the ELT classroom.

A qualitative study is exploratory in nature, and this research focuses on four CETs in depth (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002). The efficacy of a qualitative study lies in its emphasis on the participants’ perspectives. Little inquiry has focused on the perspectives of CETs working at a Christian language school in expanding circle countries such as South Korea (Kachru, 1986). The strength of qualitative data also lies in its rich in-depth descriptions of participants and research site. In this study, verbatim transcripts from open-
ended participant interviews, class observations, journal entries, field notes, documents, and conversations with the participants provided a wealth of information on how CETs’ identity discloses their ELT pedagogy in/outside the ELT classroom. These qualitative data revealed the participants’ perspectives on the world and the patterns of their pedagogical practices in and outside their ELT classroom. This qualitative research has made their world visible, that is, has provided a detailed picture of what was occurring at the research site through interpretive and material practices (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

Creswell (2005) has stated that “A case study is an in-depth exploration of a bounded system” (p. 439). This research therefore concentrated on a participant group of CETs working at the same Christian language school to explore what was actually happening in their ELT classrooms and related activities. Therefore, the purpose of this case study is not for generalization but for contextualization. According to Denzin (1997), such research is no longer an objective report but represents a particular voice. With regard to legitimacy, there are no valid, reliable, and objective standards (Creswell, 2005). Based on the post-positivist perspective, the findings of this ethnographic case study research have been evaluated in terms of the participants’ lives, beliefs, historical and cultural backgrounds, and dynamic power relations.

In order to pursue an in-depth understanding of the participants, I collected various forms of data on D education and the S Christian denomination as well as the participants. Specifically, the S Christian denomination has a worldwide network strong enough to have united its many institutions with the same beliefs and values. I amassed a large amount of documentation regarding the S Christian denomination because the institutional identities affected the identities of the study participants (Wenger, 1999).
The institutions such as the Christian denomination, D education, the M language school and the participants are correlated but not separated in the sense that they share the characteristics of their Christian identity. I took the role of a participant observer in this research. I acknowledge my bias as a Christian; despite this, I endeavored to maintain a critical Christian participant observer perspective to make the strange familiar and the familiar strange (Erickson, 1973). Glesne (2006) contends that participant observation can produce the outcome of understanding "the research setting, its participants, and their behavior" (p. 51). This research has investigated the following overarching research questions in order to explore how experienced Christian English Teachers’ (CETs) identity relates to their ELT pedagogy at a Christian language school belonging to a worldwide Christian denomination and situated in South Korea, a setting in which English is a desired language.

Research Questions

1. How does CETs' identity relate to their ELT pedagogy in and outside the ELT classroom at a Christian language school in South Korea?

   1) How do CETs’ home identities function in (re)constructing their identities at the research site?

   2) How do CETs' Christian beliefs and values relate to their ELT pedagogy in/outside the ELT classroom?

2. How does CETs’ identity relate to the Christian identity of the institution?

   1) How does the Christian identity of the institution function in (re)constructing CET’s identities?
2) How does the Christian identity of the institution relate to CETs’ pedagogy and practices in/outside the ELT classroom?

3. How does CETs’ ELT relate to the spread of Christianity?

1) How does CETs’ ELT function in spreading Christianity in/outside the ELT classroom?

2) How do CETs perceive and understand their using ELT as the means of spreading Christianity?

3) How do CETs deal with any pedagogical and ethical dilemmas they experience in their use of ELT as a platform for spreading Christianity?

Study Participants

This ethnographic case study focuses on four individual participants who were experienced Christian English teachers (CETs) with at least three years of English language teaching (ELT) experience in Christian language schools belonging to a worldwide Christian denomination. They were working in South Korea. Based on the curriculum of the M language school, which was the research site, I concluded that to amass the rich information to answer the questions for this research, I needed study participants who could draw on at least three years of experience.

Prior to this main study, I conducted a pilot study in 2011. I recruited three American CETs, a white male, an African American male, and a Korean American female, who had three years or more experience teaching Korean adult students in Christian language schools in South Korea. I designed an open-ended interview protocol based on Varghese &
Johnston's (2006) research. I managed email interviews with the two participants who were currently teaching in South Korea while I was at a University in the USA. One was teaching at a Christian language school while the other was teaching at a Christian university. I did a face to face interview with the third participant, who was a graduate student in the English education department at the University I was enrolled in. The interview was conducted in a classroom of the university.

Interviews were transcribed verbatim. And thematic data analysis was applied. The pilot study encouraged my interest in various issues concerning CETs, who comprise a rapidly growing population in the TESOL field, principally CETs teaching English in Asian countries such as South Korea. My analysis helped me focus my dissertation research topic on the question of how CETs’ identity relates to their pedagogy as practiced in Christian language schools. It also encouraged me to design a more sophisticated interview protocol and helped me to obtain appropriate participants as well as the research site for the main study. Through the pilot study, I found that this research could be sensitive to the participants’ racial and national identity. Hence, I wanted to make the study participants diverse in order to obtain information on how their racial and national identity relates to their pedagogy. All of them came from inner circle countries (Kachru, 1992), the USA, England, and South Africa.

The participants were recruited by personal contact. For “information-rich cases” (Patton, 2002, p. 46), I had several criteria: years of English teaching, religious journeys, membership in the same Christian denomination, and national diversity. CETs with less experience can also give rich information (Varghese & Johnston, 2007), but for this study I wanted to concentrate on experienced CET participants who had teaching experience in South Korea. As Patton (2002) observed,
Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research (p. 46).

Participants with more than three years’ experience at the school were more likely than less experienced teachers to have taught at all levels in the program. The ELT program of the M language school for adult students is composed of six levels, each level taking two months. A teacher can teach all six level classes within one year, but in reality it commonly takes two or three years for him/her to experience all six levels because the M language school gives high level classes to teachers who have adequate teaching experience. A teacher customarily teaches level one classes for four or six months and moves to higher levels as his/her teaching experiences accumulate. A teacher's experiences and the student composition differ at each level. I selected those who had experienced all six level classes.

Native English teachers generally have one-year contracts in South Korea. Of course, the contract period can be varied based on the situation of the schools and the teachers. Having more than three years teaching experience meant that the participants had extended their contracts several times. Their extensions have some implications: they may have loved Korea and teaching Korean students; they may have obtained more economic capital in South Korea than in their mother countries; they may have constructed their identities as CETs over years in South Korea; they may have committed to English teaching at language schools where they could meet Korean English learners with various values and beliefs in/outside the classroom; or they may have experienced conflicts and dilemmas through ELT and interacting with student in other settings. Teachers usually have one or two weeks' vacation during which many travel in Korea and other countries. Their travel experiences may have deepened their understanding of the status and power of the English language in South Korea
and in other countries. The participants may also have developed a sense of diversity through their experiences. Thus, they may have constructed distinct identities as a native English speaking teacher in a foreign setting.

Furthermore, the participants’ coordinator experience was equally appealing. The responsibilities of a coordinator at language schools of D education are to assist inexperienced teachers, arrange teaching schedules, and negotiate matters between Korean teachers and English speaking teachers etc. Since this research was concerned with CETs, it was also significant to explore each participant's religious journey and history in becoming an English teacher in South Korea. As Johnston (2003) observed, “Religious beliefs are often the most personal, the most deeply held, and the most closely linked with our identity” (p. 112). Because an individual’s religious belief is often one of the most powerful forces affecting his/her decisions (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009), each participant’s personal testimony regarding his/her Christian faith and ELT in South Korea could be expected to provide high quality information (Johnston & Varghese, 2006).

I selected the participants who were belonging to the same Christian denomination because in qualitative research homogeneity can be of significance (Glesne, 2006). Some critics of CETs ignored the differences among Christian denominations in their research (Edge, 1996; Johnston & Varghese, 2006). As a theologian, I clearly know the influence of the different Christian faiths. The differences are closely connected with the formation of an individual’s Christian identity. The S Christian denomination to which the participants of this research belonged is one of the most widespread Christian denominations, operating in 216 of the 237 countries recognized by the United Nations as of 2014 (www.religionfacts.com). Historically speaking, the S Christian denomination has prioritized its world mission. It could
be assumed that the strong mission spirit of the S Christian denomination affected the
participants’ attitudes toward students and ELT pedagogy, and that the values and moral
codes of the S Christian denomination impacted the participants’ identities as CETs.

I selected participants whose nationalities were diverse. Such diversity improved the
trustworthiness of this research. Diversity complicates the research and makes it more
engaging. I expected multiple views from the participants who have contrasting cultures and
individual backgrounds. Koreans prefer American English to other forms of English. Even
British or Australian English does not have as high status as American English in South
Korea, where the term *American Standard English* is often used. I was interested in how the
teachers felt about their English in the classroom. Debates over what is meant by Standard
English have surfaced in the TESOL literature for a long time; however, no such debates
seem to have appeared in Korea because most Koreans believe that there is an American
Standard English even though they cannot define what American Standard English is.
Historically, Korea and the USA have had close relationships in many areas. In addition, the
USA is the most influential country in the 21st century and has the dominant language of the
21st century. (Johnson, 2003 cited in Kumaravadivelu, 2006). These factors have caused
Koreans to prefer American English to other forms of English. Table 2.1 illustrates the
participants’ demographic information.

**Table 2.1**

*Participants’ demographic information*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>ELT experience in Education</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Schooling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gomez (M)</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Criminology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

61
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Major</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luria (F)</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Christianity 35 years</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John (M)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>Christianity 7 years</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim (F)</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Christianity 26 years</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ELT experience: English teaching experience in D education language schools in South Korea.

Gomez was an American who was born into a Christian home. He was raised by his devout Christian mother. His faith greatly impacted the formation of his Christian identity. Christianity was very important in his life. He did not major in an ELT related field, but was very interested in English literature and English teaching. He had not known about the power of English before coming to South Korea. At the time of the study, he had been teaching English to Korean adults and juniors in Christian language schools for over five years. He acknowledged the power and usefulness of ELT for Christian mission in South Korea.

Luria was a conservative Christian, raised by a pious Christian father. She took pride in her Christianity and her nationality. She was especially proud of her particular Christian denomination. She understood the power of English in South Africa before coming to South Korea. She understood Koreans’ desire to learn English to survive in the international economic market. She majored in Theology. She thought ELT was a good method of Christian mission.

John was an English citizen who had lived in South Africa for many years. Christianity was very important to him, and he believed that the S Christian denomination to which he belonged was the only one that maintained all the teachings of the Bible. He majored in Theology. He had not understood the influence and status of the English language.
before coming to South Korea. He was proud of his British English. He had been teaching English to Korean adults and juniors in Christian language schools for over eight years. He perceived ELT as one of the most outstanding methods for advancing Christianity.

Kim was a South African who was born into a Christian home. All the members of family were Christians, so Christianity was central for her. She was proud of her Christian faith and believed a Christian should be distinct from others in many ways. She had majored in Chemistry at a university in South Africa and had never thought of becoming an English teacher in any country. However, globalization and Christianity opened the way for her to become an English teacher in a Christian language school in South Korea.

A $50.00 gift card was given to the participants for their active participation in this study.

Setting

The research site was the M language school, which was established by the S Christian denomination in 2001 as one of the 31 branch schools of D education. The M language school is therefore a Christian language school operated according to the beliefs and values of the S Christian denomination.

A History of D education

During the 1960s, there were very few language schools with English programs in Korea. Even universities did not offer programs. Koreans however realized that the acquisition of the English language could improve their access to various forms of capital and change their social status (Bourdieu, 1991). The need for English instruction was growing
among Korean intellectuals and young people at that time. An American missionary who had been contemplating an effective mission strategy for young Korean people concluded that an English language school could be an effective place where young Koreans could learn the English language and study Christianity together. His idea was inspired by the success of a Christian language school in Osaka, Japan, which a missionary named Bascom had started in 1966 a Christian language school to attract Japanese young people (Kim, 2011). He had found his missionary work encountering difficulties due to conflicts between Christian values and Japanese traditional conventions and cultures. He noticed that Japanese young people had a strong desire to learn the English language, and that their visits to his missionary center were to learn English from him. He reached the conclusion that English could be a positive means for attracting young people and circulating Christianity in Japan.

Bascom invited American student missionaries who were participating in the program of Student Missionary Movement instituted by William Loveless at Washington Missionary College in 1959. As a result, he could meet with many Japanese young people who wished to learn the English language from student missionaries. Moved by Bascom's success in Japan, Hubbard founded D language school in Seoul in 1969. Before starting the language school, the missionaries working in Korea and Korean pastors studied teaching methods for Korean English learners. For instance, Dr. Irene Wakeham, who had been teaching English to Asian students at Philippines Union College for 35 years, helped construct the curriculum of D language school. D language school began with eight missionary English teachers and 723 Korean students. The language school had an auditorium with 250 seats, an audit-oral practice laboratory with 72 seats, seven classrooms and staff rooms.
The early Korean English learners who enrolled in the D language school were significant in that they represented Korean middle and upper classes’ interest at that time. The student body comprised 5 Christian pastors, 10 medical doctors, 34 nurses, 8 pharmacists, 53 school teachers, 40 businessmen, 121 company workers, and 291 university students (Kim, 2011). Many Korean English learners became Christians through CETs’ ELT at D language schools. Many also became leaders in Korean society. The graduates of the language schools during the early years clearly contributed to the growth of D education and of the S Christian denomination. During the 1960s and 1970s, there were few language schools where Koreans could study English. The idea of establishing an English language school in South Korea turned out to be a brilliant one that skyrocketed the reputation of D language school and of the S Christian denomination among Korean English learners. It was well known that many students had wait all night in a long line of people to register for D language schools during the 1960s and 1970s. The D language school changed its name to \textit{D education} in 2009. The branch language schools of D education have greatly contributed to English education in South Korea.

D education began with only adult English programs in 1969, but expanded its scope to include Junior English programs in 1996. In 2000, it began a distance education program. It changed the name \textit{Korean junior teacher} to \textit{Korean junior missionary}. The change was of importance in that it signified a change of identity. In 2002, it registered its textbook publications with the patent office under the name of \textit{D Books}, making possible the publication of textbooks for English learners and of various books in English for the public. The sale of books to English learners studying at the language schools of D education as well as to other people online and at bookstores has proved to be very profitable. The books reflect
the values and beliefs of D education. For example, on the first page of each chapter of the adult textbooks, a Bible verse is recorded, although the books for external sales do not have Bible verses or Christian references in them. In 2007, D education opened a TESOL program at an American university belonging to the S Christian denomination for native teachers of English and Korean English teachers. In 2008, it was entrusted two English villages in Gyeonggido and Seoul. It also started D Kinderest school for kindergartners.

In 2010, D education had 62 branch language schools, 84 directors and pastors, 246 native English speaking teachers, and 573 Korean English teachers (Kim. 2011). All identified themselves as Christians belonging to the S Christian denomination. In 2015, it has 31 branches, 130 native English speaking teachers, 273 Korean English teachers. It had started with 723 English learners, yet it once had over 50,000 English learners. Until recently, all the directors, teachers, staff, and workers of the language schools of D education have been Christians who belong to the same Christian denomination. However, D education began hiring non-Christian English teachers and teachers who do not belong to the S Christian denomination in 2013. The motive behind this shift was to satisfy the desire of the Korean education market through hiring more qualified native English teachers. That has caused some confusion of identity among CETs. About 10,000 Korean English learners are learning English, Chinese, and Japanese at the Christian language schools of D education. However, over 95% of the students are English learners. D education is still one of the biggest language schools and of the most successful language schools in South Korea. It is the only Christian language institute that has associated Christianity with ELT systematically, actively and strategically in South Korea.

The M language school
This research was conducted at the M language school, a S Christian denomination language school in Seoul, South Korea. The S Christian denomination is a worldwide Christian organization that has churches, universities, hospitals, factories, schools in over 200 countries. Among many Christian denominations, the S Christian denomination has established churches in the largest number of countries. In other words, the S Christian denomination is a highly global mission ascribed organization. It has divisions on each continent. Each division has conferences in every country belonging to each division. Each conference has many institutions such as churches, schools, factories, hospitals, language schools, and sanitariums (cf. Appendix B). The S Christian denomination holds the K conference in South Korea. The M language school is a part of this immense S Christian denomination.

The M language school began in 2001. At one point it had over 2,000 students, but at the time of the study it had about 550 students learning English, Chinese, Japanese, and mathematics. About 90% of the students were English learners. From the beginning, it offered dual junior and adult English programs taught by six native speaking teachers of English from the USA, England, Ireland, and South Africa. They were teaching juniors and adults for approximately seven hours a day. Class began at 6 a.m. and finished at 9:30 p.m. Adult classes were in the mornings and evenings while junior classes were from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. All of the teachers routinely taught both juniors and adults. The junior programs were for elementary and middle school students. There were approximately 20 kindergarten English learners. The adult program students were college students, English teachers, company workers, job seekers, housewives, retirees, etc. They had various social, economic, educational, and religious backgrounds. They also had various reasons for learning the
English language. The school had maintained a high reputation in teaching the English language in the region.

The M language school is located in the western part of Seoul, the capital of South Korea. The district to which the school belongs has a population of about 500,000 (http://ko.wikipedia.org). The area is well known for Korean parents’ enthusiasm in education for their children and considered to have the best middle and high schools in which students earn excellent scores in the college entrance examination. About 3,000 cram schools compete with one another. For these reasons the area has been successful in attracting middle class people who want to provide their children with high quality education. Although housing costs are very high, parents want to move into the area for the future social and economic capital for their children. Because many young parents live in the area, the number of institutions such as schools, cram schools, hospitals, banks, and churches has been increasing. Several subway lines cross through the area, and the public transportation system is efficient. Skyscrapers are visible alongside many well manicured parks. At the time of the study, The walk from the subway station to the school is 7 to 10 minutes. Adult students generally use the public transportation or automobiles while many of the junior students are transported in six school buses provided by the M language school.

The M language school is housed in a six-story that, like all the language schools of D education, has a church on site. The first four floors have classrooms and the fifth accommodates the church, where worship service is held every weekend. This building arrangement clearly reflects the language school’s association of ELT with Christianity. The following table shows the space allocation of the M language school.
Table 2.2

*Design of the M language school*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Floor</th>
<th>Staff room</th>
<th>Dining room</th>
<th>Small rooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td><strong>Church</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Mathematics classrooms</td>
<td>Chinese classroom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td><strong>English classrooms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td><strong>English classrooms</strong></td>
<td>Japanese classrooms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Receptionist desk</td>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To sum up, the M Christian language school belongs to D education which belongs to the S Christian denomination. It is strategically located in a popular area in which middle and upper class Koreans live. In this area, several schools and cram schools compete with each other. The M language school has been attracting many English learners and established a good reputation. The building arrangement of the M language school, which houses a church, clearly reflects the religious identity of the school. All the students who come to the school could recognize the association of Christianity with ELT.

**Data Collection**

To generate multiple sources of data for rich information, I utilized questionnaires, individual interviews, casual conversations, language and religion class observations, participant observation in summer camps, mission days observation, attending weekend activities, writing reflective journals, and collecting relevant documents.
Table 2.3

Data Collection Procedure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases</th>
<th>Timeline</th>
<th>Data Collection Methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase I</td>
<td>June. 2012-Feb. 2013</td>
<td>Gaining access to participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Obtaining informed consent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Collecting data through observing classes, mission days, and weekend programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Initial interviews and follow up interviews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writing my own reflective journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase II</td>
<td>July 29 through Aug. 1. 2013</td>
<td>Observation of pre-camp activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Participating main summer camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writing my own journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase III</td>
<td>June. 2014-July. 2014</td>
<td>Collecting data through interviews of students, administrators and Korean English teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Writing my own journal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observations

During the first phase, I gained access to the participants who agreed to participate in this research. After receiving informed consent forms from each participant, I explained to them about what I would do during the first phase such as class observations, attending mission days and weekend programs, and conducting individual interviews. While engaged in observations, I wrote my own reflective journals. After the individual interviews, I conducted follow up interviews to clarify my thoughts on and interpretations of the previous interviews. In the second phase, I participated in the 2013 and 2014 summer camps sponsored by D education. I analyzed data from only the 2013 summer camp this was due to the similarity of the 2014 summer camp. I observed the participants’ pre-camp activities and participated in the camp activities while observing them. During the third phase, I collected data from students, administrators and Korean English teachers. I included their voices in the
research. The data collected through these multiple sources were complex, interesting and rich.

**Class Observations.** The M language school has six 2-month terms a year with a seven week class schedule in a term. I observed two of each participant’s classes for seven weeks in a span of two months, taking fourteen weeks in four months to finish all the participants’ class observations. The participants routinely teach both adult and junior students. Adult classes are held from 6 a.m. to 11 a.m. from Monday to Friday and in the evening starting at 7 p.m. or 8 p.m. from Monday to Thursday. Morning classes are 50 minutes and evening classes 60 minutes long. The junior classes start at 2 p.m. and end at 9:30 p.m. Thus the participants have a quite rigorous teaching schedule. They primarily teach six classes on a daily basis for 30 hours a week. Because they teach both junior and adult classes, they have a great amount of work. I observed only adult classes, including three or four classes in the morning and one or two classes in the evening from Monday to Friday.

**Religion Class Observations.** I also observed the participants’ religion classes. All the participants were also teaching a one-hour religion class every day. This is a five-week course that begins the second week of each term and ends after the sixth week. Because the religion class is not an academic class, any student can register for the class irrespective of his/her English skills, and it is less expensive than the regular classes. The teacher uses the Bible and other Christian materials, and students know that the class is Christian oriented. In 2013 there was a sizeable revision in the policy of D education, which began hiring non-Christian English teachers or CETs belonging to other Christian denominations. Before the new policy, all the CETs of D education had to teach at least one religion class. Hiring non-CETs or CETs associated with other denominations made the religion class optional. All the
participants of this research had chosen to teach one religion class. I observed each participant’s religion classes for one week.

    **Weekend Program Observation.** I observed weekend programs on Friday nights and Saturday mornings for four months. On Fridays, the program started at 7 p.m. and ended around 8:30 p.m. On Saturdays, the programs started at 10 a.m. and ended at 11 a.m., at which time there was to be a worship service in the chapel. The participants and Korean English teachers worked together on the weekend programs, to which they regularly invited their students as well as posting advertisements about the weekend programs on each floor and on classroom walls. They designed the programs to be varied, interesting and appealing to the students.

    **Mission-Day Observations.** Since its beginning, the CETs of the M language school offer one mission-day program each term to accelerate the growth of Christianity, which I observed and recorded four times during the data collection period. Attendance was not mandatory, but all students were encouraged to attend the program in the M school’s chapel. On the mission day, there were no regular classes. As the name indicates, the mission day programs were special Christian programs at which heard Bible stories and sang Christian songs together. One of the CETs presented a sermon about Christianity. The mission-day program is another way in which the M language school aligns itself with the church. As one of the directors commented, “Without the church, the language schools of D education do not need to exist.”
**Observations of the Teachers’ Meetings.** I observed the teachers’ meeting held at 11 p.m. on every Monday. I observed the participants’ discussions. The meeting usually lasted about one hour.

**2013 Summer Camp Observations.** In phase II, I observed the 2013 summer camp held from July 31 through August 2 at an English village operated by D education. The English village was on the property of the local government, which entrusted it to D education. During the one-day pre-camp before the main camp, the CETs designed a one-day program through which teachers and students could become more acquainted. I observed the pre-camp of the M language school and the activities of the main camp. I recorded the activities of the camps with an audio and video recorder and transferred the recordings to a computer. The summer camp was a large event in which I could observe the association of ELT with Christianity. About 500 campers including teachers, directors, and students were in attendance, including about 20 campers from the M school. The following is the term schedule of the M language school.

Table 2.4

**Term 4 of 2013**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sun</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Day1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Weekend programs</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Weekend program begins</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mission Day</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Weekend programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Religion class</td>
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73
<table>
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<tr>
<th>meeting begins</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Teacher meeting</td>
<td>10 11 12 13 Weekend programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Teacher meeting</td>
<td>15 16 17 18 Weekend programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feedback Day 19 20 Summer Camp</td>
<td>Summer Camp Summer Camp No Class No Class</td>
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**August**

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<tr>
<td>Summer Camp No Class</td>
<td>Day 21 Teacher meeting</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25 Weekend program</td>
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<td>26 Teacher meeting</td>
<td>27 28 29 Weekend program</td>
<td>Weekend programs</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Teacher meeting</td>
<td>Term Project Religious Class ends</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33 Weekend program</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>34 Teacher meeting</td>
<td>35 Term Ends Term Break</td>
<td>Term Break Term Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term Break</td>
<td>Day 1 Term Begins</td>
<td>Term Break</td>
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*Individual Interviews*
To examine the individual perspectives of the participants, I conducted an initial interview and a follow-up interview with each.

Initial Interviews. The initial interview for each participant lasted about for 90 to 120 minutes in an office of the M language school, a location selected by the participants for their privacy. The interviews were recorded with a digital audio and video recorder and transferred to a computer. I sent the interview protocol to each participant by email one week before the interview. The interview protocol was based on the pilot study and on the research of Johnston and Varghese (2007). The questions were open-ended to encourage the participants to reveal their thoughts. Data collected during Phase III is on the subject interviews of students, administrators, and Korean English teachers. The questions were principally about how they perceived CETs, understood their pedagogy, and the contact on their perceptions on and understandings about CETs’ using ELT to spread their Christian beliefs and values. I recorded the interviews using an audio and video recorder.

Follow-Up Interviews. The follow-up interviews were conducted two months after the initial interview so that I might observe whether the CETs’ identities had been challenged or changed as the study continued. The follow-up interviews lasted around one hour to clarify points from the initial interview and probe more deeply into the questions asked earlier. The initial and follow-up interview questions can be found in Appendix A.

Documents

I collected documents about D education, the S Christian denomination, and the M language school. These included newspapers, articles and archival materials. I also accumulated lesson plans, syllabi, brochures, and flyers, and obtained information from
Facebook, Websites, and blogs about D education, the M language school and the S Christian denomination.

Field Notes

I recorded field notes, which are considered a primary data collecting tool of qualitative research (Glesne, 2006). I recorded descriptions of people, places, events, activities, conversations, ideas, reflections, hunches, notes about patterns, and my personal reactions. I categorized the field notes as descriptive notes, analytic notes, and autobiographical notes (Wolcot, 1994).

Audio-Visual Materials

I collected photographs of the activities of the participants, the Christian books used by the CETs, materials used on the mission days, videotapes of the 2013 summer camp, etc.

Data Analysis

Thematic Analysis. I used thematic analysis, a traditional qualitative data analytic method, which I considered appropriate to answer my research questions on how the participants’ CET identities related to their pedagogy at the research site (Creswell, 2004; Wolcot, 1994). First of all, I undertook a preliminary exploratory analysis to obtain a general sense of the data. I read through the entire interview data several times, checked the organization, and checked whether I required any more data. Through this process, I could acquire a holistic sense the participants’ interviews (Agar, 1980). At this point, I realized the need for more data on the participants’ activities outside the classroom and about the S Christian denomination, the latter because of the close association between the participants’
identities and pedagogical practices and the morals and values of the S Christian denomination.

When I formatted the text version of the original data, I created two-inch margins on each side of the text document to be able to jot down codes and themes. Sometimes, a computer analysis was beneficial for editing; however, I found myself preferring the hand analysis of this qualitative data because I wanted to have a hands-on feel and be close to the data. The manual analysis helped me to easily see the whole data in primer folio. I organized all the collected data into participants, site, observations, documents, and so on. I transcribed the interviews and conversations verbatim and continued the method throughout the remainder of the process (Creswell, 2005). I sent the transcribed data to the participants to check whether the transcription was accurate. The following is an example of codes and categories utilized in this study.

*Codes and Categories.* The following is extracted from Gomez’s interview:

I am trying to correct students’ English mistakes *as much as* I can [‘*concern*’]. …

At first I thought I probably was intervening too much into their conversation. I know they want help from me to learn English [‘*felt needs*’]... I try to fix every error and hear the sentences spoken by them *as much as* I can. … When I was in schools, it was difficult for me to see compassion from teachers [‘*reason of compassion*’]. …I work with students *as much as* I can.

In my analysis of the participants’ interview transcripts, line-by-line coding was productive. In this script, I had derived three codes. For example, from Gomez’s repeated use of the following words: *as much as, correct, help, try.* I derived the category *compassion.*
However, I also frequently utilized memos instead of constructing a concept so as not to fail to see the big picture. The following my memo about the above segment:

Throughout his transcript Gomez is employing the following words repeatedly such as try, help, as much as, correct, compassion. That clearly indicates a pattern that he is a compassionate teacher. His compassion toward students has been intensified through the teachings of Christianity according to the whole transcript.

Line-by-line coding is a time consuming and exacting process. It was however effective for analyzing each participant’s interview. However, I tried to also see the whole picture and not totally depend on the interview transcripts.

*Description, Analysis and Interpretation.* I employed the process of description, analysis, and interpretation for a thematic analysis approach to analyze the entire data corpus (Wolcot, 1994). Through this process I could determine the emerging themes. According to Creswell (2004) and Wolcot (1994), the three categories of description, analysis, and interpretation are effective in qualitative research. *Description* addresses the question, *what is going on here?* I described what was ensuing in the participants’ classrooms and their activities outside the classroom. For this category, conducting close observations as a participant observer was a suitable and necessary method. Interviews were also effective for this category. *Analysis* addresses the identification of essential features and the systematic description of their interrelationships, in short, *how things work.* In this part, I took an approach that involved layering and interconnecting themes to identify featured motifs on how the participants’ CET identities were relevant to and functioned in their pedagogy. In terms of objectives, the analysis also addresses questions of *why a system is not operating*
and how it will work better. This category required me to revisit the original data on multiple occasions. The realization of the importance of the original data is of significance.

Interpretation addresses processual questions of meanings and contexts: What does it all mean? What is to be made of it all? Through these processes, I have attempted to answer the research questions. The detailed analysis is recorded in Chapters from four to eight.

**Trustworthiness and Reliability**

The trustworthiness of this research relies on several factors such as extended engagement, various data collection methods, member-checking, and peer review (Glesne, 2006). In terms of extended engagement, this research was conducted over a period of about two years. I utilized multiple data collection techniques such as observations, questionnaires, individual interviews, conversations, active participation in activities, reflective journals, and artifacts. The long period could strengthen the trustworthiness of this research (Glesne, 2006; Creswell, 2004). Triangulation also supported the reliability of this research. I triangulated the collected data by employing various data sources, several theoretical positions, multiple data analysis methods, and comparisons within the collected data (Denzin, 1970). I also triangulated the data through member-checking. I sent the transcribed interviews to the participants to check for accuracy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and received their feedback, which I was able to incorporate after transcribing and coding the data. In addition, I checked the data with the method of peer examination and compared the findings with the raw data repeatedly. I discussed the findings and interpretations with my colleagues. The peer examination helped me to see different aspects I could not see otherwise.

**Usefulness**
The aim of this research is not generalize the findings. I purposefully applied sampling methods to recruit participants who may not be representative of all Christian English teachers (CETs) working in Christian language schools. Even though the participants were CETs, they belonged specifically to the S Christian denomination, which held different beliefs and values from those of other Christian denominations. In particular, the S Christian denomination is considered a worldwide denomination with a strong mission spirit. The research site was a Christian language school in South Korea. The findings may be used for similar situations and for CETs working in various ELT contexts but they cannot be broadly generalized. This research can be advantageous for future researchers in similar contexts and for giving insights into new but similar settings.

Limitations

The participants of this research are all Christians who belong to the same Christian denomination. As a theologian, I know that different beliefs and values of each Christian denomination complicate the identity formation of the people in that denomination. This research is highly focused, but has limitations at the same time. It is very misleading for a researcher to generalize the whole of Christianity as one entity, a mistake which has been made in the TESOL literature. As a case study, the research involved only four participants and did not include the voices of other CETs who held different Christian beliefs from those of the participants and of teachers with no religion, even though they were working at the same research site. If included, this research could have been richer and more dynamic. However, that must be another substantial project. In addition, for their voices to be informative, I think any such participants should have been teaching at the research site than was the case at the time of the study.
As an insider researcher, I interpreted the data from my point of view even though the participants were westerners or Africans. Their interpretations might have been different in light of their cultural differences. Additionally I am an ordained minister, so my Christian identity could have an impact on my interpretation of the data. If I did not have that identity, my interpretations might be more critical than they were. The identities of the researcher complicated this research more deeply and broadly. As a male Korean researcher, it was challenging to interpret Western cultures, racial elements, and gender issues. I have not included racial elements and gender issues in this research, but these factors could have added to the value of the research if included (Kubota, 2009).

Ethical Issues and Reflexivity

In qualitative research, the researcher as a decisive instrument collects and analyzes data. That raises the issue of subjectivity, which presumably affects the choice of theoretical frameworks, analysis and collection of data. As qualitative researchers might commonly point out, I could not avoid some ethical dilemmas. One of the dilemmas was confidentiality of the participants. Even though I used pseudonyms for the participants, there is still the possibility of identification. Interestingly enough, all the participants in this expressed little concern about the exposure of their real names. They considered their participating honorable in that all thought they should expose their Christian identity at any time and in any situations. They did not want to conceal their Christian identity (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003).

As an insider researcher, I uphold the same Christian beliefs and values as the participants. I was born into a Christian home. I majored in theology at a University of the S Christian denomination in the USA. I am an ordained pastor of the S Christian denomination.
Because of my identity, I consider many of my spiritual experiences to be similar to those of the participants. The participants’ identities that contrasted with mine complicate the similarities between us, but the same Christian beliefs and values could contribute to similar spiritual experiences at various levels of life. In this regard, I deem my bias and assumptions might have influenced the interpretation of the data even though I was trained to be critical in a highly reputed research-based university. Therefore, I had to be aware of my subjectivity consistently to keep balance throughout the whole process of doing this research.
CHAPTER FOUR

FROM CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY TO CET IDENTITY

I have found that the critical issues of *English and power, Christianity and ELT, and Pedagogical and moral dilemmas* cannot be fully understood without considering the institutional identity that broadly and deeply affected the identities of the CETs in this research, much more than I initially conceived. In this chapter, I describe how the institutional identity related to the (re)construction of the CETs’ identity at the M language school in South Korea. The identity of the S Christian denomination, of D education, of the M language school were deeply intertwined with the formation and change of the CETs’ identity, impacting their ELT pedagogy (Wenger, 1999).

_The M language school._ The research site, the M language school, clearly shows the association of Christianity with ELT. As discussed above, the M language school building, in which most of the participants’ activities were carried out, itself reflects the identity of the school and affects the identity and ELT pedagogical practices of the CET teachers working there. The prominent characteristic of the building is that it has both a church and ELT classrooms, a pattern followed by all the branches of D education. In order to comprehend the meaning of the building, it is essential to understand solid hierarchy of the S Christian denomination, which unites all the institutions under its control.

At the top of the S Christian denomination’s worldwide hierarchy is its headquarters, located in Washington D.C. which presides over divisions on six continents. Under the divisions, there are union conferences in almost every country. Each union conference has churches, factories, schools, hospitals and so on. Interestingly, only the Korean union
conference of the S Christian denomination has language schools. All the members of the S Christian denomination have a strong worldwide mutual sense of solidarity. That is why D education could have been provided with Christian English teachers from English speaking countries during the past 46 years. All the CETs have assurance of the support of the S Christian denomination. All the institutions of the S denomination should be mission oriented. That is why all the schools including the M language school have a church inside their language school buildings.

That arrangement strengthens the association of Christianity with ELT through CETs. The fact that M language school houses a church is of significance in that all the activities and routines practiced in the building play a crucial role of (re)forming and strengthening CETs’ identities and the impact on their pedagogy. The structure of the M language school as well as the identity of the institution weigh in on CETs’ pedagogy and behaviors at the language school. There are many other language schools established by various organizations in South Korea. However, none has a church on site. According to the policy manual of D education (2013), its mission statement is the following:

The mission of D education is to share the following beliefs: God loved the world so much that He gave the gospel embodied in His son (John 3:16); and that we are living during the time of the end (Matthew 24). Jesus gave the following commission and promise to all of his followers: Therefore go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Teach these to new disciples to obey all the commands I have given the teacher. And be sure of this: I am with you always, even to the end of the age (Matthew 28:19, 20).
Despite several revisions of the policy manual of D education, its mission statement has not been altered. Between the policy manual of 2005 and of 2013 there has been one alteration in the goals, which was to add “spiritually prepare for global leadership” to the original goals, which were to apply the commission of Jesus locally and globally; provide high-quality language instruction; and financially support evangelism. The mission statement and goals of D education emphasize that all the schools of D education including the M language school were established to use ELT as a means of spreading Christianity.

*The classroom.* The classrooms of the M language school also reflect the association of Christianity with ELT. There is a podium in front of each classroom, on which is posted a laminated statement, which states,

> Children are the younger members of the Lord’s family, heirs with us of the grace of life. Christ’s rule should be sacredly observed toward the dullest, the youngest, the most blundering, and even toward the erring and rebellious (White, 292).

Teachers are directed to read the wording before class. The purpose of this practice is to remind teachers of the identity of the M language school. Under the wording, the guidelines for classroom management are recorded. These guidelines have three categories, *before class, during class, and after class.* According to the classroom management guidelines, *before class* the teacher has the duty to enter the classroom early before students arrive, arrange the seats in a semicircle or U shape to promote familiarity and effective interaction between teacher and students, and welcome the students cordially when they enter the room. *While in class* the teacher is tasked with assuring that students do their homework, following a well-organized teaching procedure and leading the class in a lively and creative
manner, encouraging students to study English by giving positive compliments and treating all students without partiality. Teachers are also admonished not to sit on a chair while teaching, not to use cellular phones in class, and not to vacate the classroom in order to make copies or drink coffee. *After class* the teacher is supposed to stand at the entrance of the classroom and greet each student by shaking his or her hand, to call or send text message to absent students to show concern and encourage them to join the class, and to check and improve their teaching skills through watching CCTV regularly. The laminated notice found in every classroom clearly shows the association of Christianity with ELT. Classrooms are shared by junior program teachers and adult program teachers, so all the teachers will read the wording and the classroom management guidelines every day.

Other observable characteristics also reflect the identity of the M language school. There is a triplex bookshelf in the right corner of the classroom which holds English books and textbooks on the top shelf, there are stickers, gifts, and board markers on the second shelf; and Korean-English Bibles on the bottom shelf. On the back wall of the classroom is a calendar with a photo of an opened Bible and the name of the M language school church printed at the bottom. On the left corner of the ceiling of the classroom is a closed-circuit television (CCTV) camera for surveying and recording teachers’ classes to be viewed by the director and reviewed by the teachers later. The M language school has used CCTV effectively in order to improve the quality of classes. Thus the classroom itself clearly indicates the association of Christianity with ELT.

*The Church.* The M language school church has about 100 members. Because church exists for the proliferation of Christianity, the purpose of the M language school church is to win students to Christianity with the cooperation of the CETs. Therefore, the close
cooperation between the church and the language school is clearly observed. This cooperation has been developed through several decades’ experience and is very systematic. I could see the church is active. The church members welcome new CETs and strive to make the church a comfortable and valued place for them. Many members of the M language school church became Christians through the language school. They came to learn the English language, but met God through the CETs. Therefore, the M language school church has a unique culture different from ordinary Christian churches. ELT has been a means of attracting new church members.

CETs invite students to church through various Christian activities such as mission-day programs during the week alongside weekend programs. The church serves food and provides small group rooms. The director of the school also designs various Christian programs for CETs and students. CETs attend church services and closely cooperate with the church. Students are led to a Christian culture through CETs’ invitation. The church has a worship service every Friday night and Saturday morning. CETs work with the M language school church in the activities for spreading the specific beliefs and values of the S Christian denomination. It bears repeating to state that there are crucial differences of beliefs and values among Christian denominations to which researchers should be sensitive because Christians’ identities rely on the values and beliefs of each Christian denomination (Johnston, 2007). Strictly speaking the M language school and church are not propagating Christianity but spreading their denomination’s values and beliefs. Two weekend programs held on Friday nights and Saturday mornings are main channels through which CETs attract students for evangelizing them.

The Friday night program begins at 7 p.m. in a large room on the sixth floor. The
Saturday morning program starts at 10 a.m. and ends at 11 p.m. in the classroom on the third floor. The programs are Bible study discussion in English that center on Christian beliefs, values and ethics. Students come to learn the English language through programs that are Christian based. After the Saturday morning Bible study, the CETs invite the students to the worship service beginning at 11 a.m. in the church. The students primarily come to the worship service as the result of their relationship with CETs. The students’ attending the worship service indicates that the rapport is strong enough for them to feel comfortable. The Friday night meeting and the Saturday morning Bible study have continued since the M language school was opened in 2001.

When I observed, the CETs sat by the students during the worship service, which was presented bilingually in Korean and English. A Korean English teacher who had studied in inner circle countries and was fluent in English translated the pastor’s Korean sermons into English. The pastor was the director of the M language school. The CETs often performed a special Christian music program. Because the nationalities of the CETs were dissimilar, the students could experience various cultural differences. For instance, once the CETs sang a song in three languages. The First stanza was sung in English, the second in Korean, and the third in South African. In addition, students could experience the culture of the S Christian denomination. In church, the students heard about the beliefs and values of the S Christian denomination from the pastor’s sermon. They students could also observe differences from other religions among the church members, which affected their thoughts about Christianity. Members of the M language school church do not wear necklaces or rings. The S Christian denomination emphasizes the importance of vegetarian food. These values of the S Christian denomination are based on its interpretation of the Bible. Different Christian denominations
have their own beliefs and values based on their interpretation of the Bible, resulting in various Christian cultures dissimilar to one another.

After worship, the CETs invited the students to a lunch prepared by the M language school church members, not only for the students, but for all guests and all church attendees. The food served by the M language school church was vegetarian based on the teachings of the Bible. Not only food but sermons are provided for spreading the beliefs and values of the S denomination. For example, once one of the church elders who was a medical doctor preached about health. He quoted the Bible verses concerning food and health. One of the Bible verses was Genesis 1:26. It says,

And God said, behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat.

Another Bible quotation was from chapter 11 of Leviticus, addressing the issue of clean animals and unclean animals. Following the vegetarian lunch, the CETs and the students convened to discuss various topics of the Bible in English. As I observed them talking about the Bible, I could see a systematic affiliation of Christianity with ELT in the M language school church. The Bible study continued for one hour and a half. The topics were various yet all based on the Bible such as the prophecies in the Bible and the gospels of Jesus. The M language school church’s strategy of using ELT to effectively disperse its beliefs and codes has been quite successful in winning students. A very effective system for the distribution of Christianity has been at work in the M language school and church.

*The church and non-CETs.* The M language school church has enlarged its role to
welcoming non-Christian English Teachers (non-CETs) and to seeing to their needs. Since 2013, D education has hired not only non-CETs, but CETs affiliated with other Christian denominations. That was a substantial variation in light of D education’s original practice of hiring only missionaries belonging to the S Christian denomination since 1969. This shift was motivated by the practical consideration that the English education market in Korea required more qualified English teachers than the S Christian denomination could provide. D education had at first ignored the request to change the hiring policy. But it had to develop ways of surviving and give in to the financial pressure. They came to the conclusion that they must accept the demands of the English education market to survive. It was therefore resolved to hire English teachers with no Christian faith or with Christian faith of another Christian denomination.

Although the director of the M language school eventually realized that hiring non-CETs was essential to compete with other language schools because the market was shifting very swiftly, D education seemed not to respond to the change expeditiously. One of the reasons for the system’s reluctant acknowledgment of the transition was linked to its identity. The market shifts were based on the economy, but D education and its schools had a unique Christian character. It was feared that a full pursuit of financial benefits might mean a confusion of identity for D education. Materialism and Christianity cannot cohabitate easily. The S Christian denomination is a quite conservative denomination, so this deviation has caused a great perturbation. The adjustment raised a serious debate about the identity of D education among directors and CETs. With the change of the policy, non-S Christian denomination teachers came to the M language school, which opened a critical deliberation in reference to the identity of the school as well. I heard countless discussions among CETs and
directors relating to their identification because of this transition.

The shift affected the M language school church as well. I observed identity confusion in the church. Some of the M Church elders raised crucial questions as to why the church should exist if the language school had to seek money. Nonetheless, the concern was not about money but about survival as the M language school was forced to let go of many staff due to financial pressures. They discovered that economic issues were much more complicated than they realized and touched the church and the school. Ultimately, the church actively responded to a new change and welcomed non-CETs and collaborated with the M language school to overcome the national and international economic crisis.

The M language school had eight native English teachers, four of whom belonged to the S denomination. The other four teachers had various backgrounds. One was an atheist, one was a Catholic, and the other two teachers were Lutherans. They would attend their respective churches. While I was collecting the data for this study, I never observed them praying. They gave the impression of being cultural Christians. On the first Saturday of the first week when they arrived, the M language school church invited them to church. The Church prepared some gifts for welcoming them. The teachers said thanks to church for the welcoming ceremony. Korean English teachers gave a welcoming card to the new teachers. Although the teachers attended church just once, they appeared to be impressed by the warmth of the M language school church. I observed that one teacher who belonged to a different Christian denomination voluntarily cooperated with the CETs in the weekend Bible clubs. The M language school church was one of the eminent communities for the CETs in this research. Through the above mentioned activities and processes, the M language school church was strengthening its identity as a Christian language school church. This connection
was important because the M language school church would not exist without the M language school.

Discussion

In the literature, I have never found any research on the concept of a language school building designed for advancement of Christianity through ELT. I found that the M language school building reflects its Christian identity and regulates the CETs’ identity as well. This Christianity mission oriented building should be understood in terms of English and power first of all. If the English language were not a preeminent language, this sort of the school could not exist. Christianity and English are authoritative in the Korean society. In the classrooms of the M language school, the English language is taught. Some teachers of the English language are Christians imbued with S Christian beliefs and values. The building has a church inside. Endless activities including ELT transpire inside the building. The school building itself exerts its identity and outcomes on the CETs’ identity formation and reformation. The CETs and the church are strengthening their identity together through ELT at the M language school.

The M language school and the CETs’ pedagogy

The textbook reflecting the association of Christianity with ELT. The textbooks being employed at the M language school also affirm the union of Christianity with ELT. All the language schools of D education use the same textbooks published by D education. The original textbooks were designed by American missionaries during the 1960s. Despite several revisions of the textbooks, they still echo the Christian identity. The lessons central to the textbooks are composed of pronunciation, dialogue, drill, and conversation. Before coming to
class, students are directed to listen to and practice the day’s lesson on the D education website. After class, students are to listen to and practice the day’s lesson through the internet again. The M language school refers to the former as before lab and the latter as after lab.\(^5\) D education provides the service for students to listen through smart phone or i-phone nowadays.

The M language school once had a laboratory room for students to practice on site. However, the development of the internet changed the preference. Students prefer the internet lab to the onsite practice\(^6\). Students can practice the lessons as much as they want by way of the internet through various devices such as the computer and cellular. Since 1969, D education has utilized an audio-lingual method for ELT. About 10 years ago, D education once tried to change to a communicative language teaching method (CLT). However, the Korean adult English learners did not approve of the CLT approach. Since then, D education has kept the audio-lingual method. Besides teaching methods, another issue is the kinds of contents to which the students are exposed as they study the textbooks.

Looking into the textbooks, I discovered how Christianity and ELT are coupled within them. On the first page of each lesson, there is the section called today’s word, which is a Bible verse. The teacher is expected to explain the current lesson’s Bible verse to students for five minutes. Following rules of comportment in the classrooms, all students listen to the CET’s explanation. Following this discussion, each lesson is composed of several parts including pronunciation, dialogue, substitution drill, and conversation. All the D

\(^5\) The school calls before laboratory before lab and after laboratory after lab shortly.

\(^6\) D education regrets the change of onsite laboratory practice into internet based one because students’ English command has turned out to be lowered after the change.
education schools in addition to the M language school use the same textbooks, the sales of which constitute a sizable source of income for the M language school and D education. The adult program of the M language school has a six-level-program with a different textbook for each level. Each level has 36 lessons that have 21 conversational topics. In the conversation component, some functional questions reflect Christian views and serve as a catalyst for students to ponder Christianity.

One of level five textbook lessons briefly addresses the topic of evolution and creation. In the section of today’s key words, the textbook targets the definitions and explanations of important words. According to the definition in the book, evolution is explained in terms of creationism: in contrast to blind evolution, the theory of creation teaches that God purposely created the universe. Creation is described as this: the final act of creation was making humans in God’s image. In the conversation part of the lesson, the following question is suggested: do you believe the human body evolved or was created? To respond, the students must contemplate the matter of creation and evolution as presented in the lesson. The textbooks are clearly mission-oriented even though many topics are general ones. Students are to discuss Christian elements with each other. If they have inquiries, they should meet their CETs.

The Christian English weekend clubs. The participants in this research were actively involved in the Friday and Saturday activities, all of which were Christian oriented. Most of the attendees were Korean adult English learners. The weekend clubs have been carried regularly out by CETs since the M language school started in 2001. Every Saturday at 10 o’clock, there was a weekend club for Korean adult English learners on the third floor, which continued for about one hour. At 11 o’clock, there was the main Korean-English worship
service in the church on the fifth floor. Responding to the CETs’ invitations, many Korean English learners voluntarily attended the main worship service where they listened to the pastors’ sermons and learned about the beliefs and values of the S Christian denomination. The church members closely cooperated with the CETs in order to ensure that the CETs’ mission went well. The students might attend church or leave after the weekend clubs. However, many attended the worship service because they thought listening to it in English could advance their listening capabilities and provided a chance to converse more with their teachers.

For the Friday night Bible club, I could detect that Korean English teachers were making dinner for students. One of the Korean English teachers said,

I was impressed when I first attended the weekend club to learn the English language when I was a college student. They prepared good food for students. That was touching because we came here from our work places or colleges to learn English without having dinner. We did not have enough time to have dinner.

Interestingly, she became a Korean English teacher at the M language school after successfully finishing the adult English courses there. Her past experiences shaped her desire to cooperate with the CETs and serve dinner for students attending the Friday night Bible club, at which Bible study was conducted in English. About 7:00 p.m., the CETs and Korean English teachers overseeing the weekend program gathered on the sixth floor to check the program including the computer setting, selection of songs, and preparation of the presentation. The program started at 7:30 p.m. with 10 to 20 students and the CETs. One of the CETs led a prayer for the program while the students were observed closing their eyes. A
Korean English teacher presided over the program by playing the piano and leading the students and CETs in singing Christian songs for which the lyrics were projected onto the computer screen. One of the songs’ lyrics were the following:

Give thanks unto the Holy One; Give thanks because He’s given Jesus Christ, His Son. And now let the weak say I am strong. Let the poor say I am rich, Because of what the Lord has done for us. Give thanks. Give thanks, give thanks.

The students were singing the song in unison with the CETs. Even though the song was in English, the lyrics were easy to follow and the message of the song was clearly Christian. The song had a very smooth and touching melody. Singing several Christian songs appeared to play a vital role in creating a comfortable atmosphere. After singing the songs, a Korean English teacher presented on the theme of U.S. Independence Day. The presenter had substantial amount of teaching experience and had studied in England, the Philippines, and South Africa, so her English was native quality. In addition to her excellent English, she had multicultural experiences. Her father was a minister of the S Christian denomination, and she had lived with foreigners while studying in various countries. In her presentation, she related the U.S. Independence Day to the Korean Independence Day. Korea achieved her independence from Japan as the United States of America did from England. She ended her presentation by stating that God would help them all in every difficulty and agonies in their life. She encouraged the students to repeat some Bible verses after her in English.

After the presentation, she divided the students into three groups of four or five students, each led by a CET teacher. The students were provided a one- or two-page English script linked to messages from the Bible. Before the discussion began, they ate the dinner
prepared by the teachers. During the meal, they introduced themselves to one another and spent time of building relationships. After dinner, the small group discussions started. In each room, the teachers and the students studied the script together. The students asked some questions about difficult vocabulary and idioms in the script. They read the script in English, and the teacher asked some questions from the script. Because they had been informed of the nature of the meeting in advance, the students looked comfortable with the Christian discussion. They discussed their script in detail for about one hour and thirty minutes. This weekend program of the M language school was another example of how the CETs used the English language for spreading Christianity. These kinds of Friday night programs have been repeated every week for years.

*The English Bible Camp.* D education has held the English Bible camp every year. In the past it had several camps such as junior summer camp, junior winter camp, adult summer camp and adult winter camp. Some schools of D education even held spring camps. About 1,000 English learners were baptized at the camps every year. In the recent years, D education has had one summer camp due to economic constraints and the hiring of non-Christian English teachers. Not many students get baptized through the camps nowadays; nevertheless, summer camp is still a powerful method for D education to win souls. One of the directors said, “The camp is one of the most effective methods for spread of Christianity.” The CETs of the M language school noted that the camp was a great opportunity to share their faith with students, recharge spiritual power, take a rest, meet friends and build a close relationship with their students. The camps were popular to all the CETs of D education. The
CETs in all the schools of D education were expected to attend the camp.\footnote{According to the policy of D education, the highlight of its mission experience is camp meeting. Every summer D education holds English Bible camps. At this time, students and teachers come together to learn about God through spiritual meetings, Bible study, recreational activities, social events, English seminars and fellowship. It is also the time when many students choose to be baptized due to their Bible study with teachers and pastors. Missionary teachers (CETs) are expected to participate because they are the link between students and their understanding of God. These are unforgettable, life-changing events when missionary teachers (CETs) can truly share the love of Christ with their students. Teachers and students both must pay a fee to attend camp, but teachers can check with the local school church for any possibilities of camp fee sponsorship.}

I attended the 2013 and 2014 summer English Bible camps. Both camps were similar in program and in style. The 2014 English Bible camp was held at a language school in Seoul. The 2013 camp was bigger than the 2014 one. So I will focus on the 2013 camp here. The 2013 summer camp was held from July 19 to 22 at the English village in use by D education. The English village was established by a local government of South Korea for improving students’ English, but the founders were not experts in English education, so they decided to entrust the English village to a reputable English language school and subsequently relegated the English village to D education. D education could provide various programs at the English village and sponsor a camp there every year. The buildings of the English village replicated authentic contemporary New England architecture such as one would find in the United States. The site was beautiful enough for a famous Korean drama that was filmed there. The campers were satisfied with the site and proud of being students in the language schools of D education.

To prepare for the 2013 summer camp, the director of the M language school put the posters on the advertisement boards of every floor of the school about one month in advance. From the poster, students could obtain such information as the speaker, the location, fees, and activities. The camp would last for three nights and four days. The name “Bible Camp”
revealed some characteristics of the camp. The poster indicated the following: camps were held every year; it was recommended that only English be spoken at the camp; the Bible would be taught at the camp; and campers could build relationships with teachers and students. The poster in itself adumbrated the association of Christianity with ELT. The CETs of the M language school did not only attend the camp, but prepared it in detail and carried out its programs. The first day program called pre-camp was held at each school, which was in charge of designing its first day program for the purpose of building relationships between the CETs and the students before the main camp commenced.

The CETs, director, and Korean English teachers of the M language school prearranged going to a park with the student participants. Twelve students applied for the camp. To recruit them, the M language school utilized several methods. On mission days the CETs showed a video clip from the previous camps, featuring interviews with student regarding their experiences at the 2012 summer English Bible camp. One of the interviewees said, “This camp is fantastic because we can meet teachers of various nationalities and practice English.” It showed various activities and the Bible lectures so that students might clearly be informed of what to expect during the camp. Students could not misunderstand that the camp program would project Christianity through ELT.

The speakers on mission days also mentioned the camp. At the end of mission days, the teachers distributed the camp application forms to the students. In the application form, information concerning the camp was described in detail. The CETs also created a bulletin and a songbook for the students. The title of the songbook was Our Summer Camp Praise Jingles. The book was composed of two parts. The first segment comprised Christian songs, which the students would learn and sing during the camp period. An example is the following:
He is exalted the King is exalted on high. I will praise Him! He is exalted forever exalted and I will praise His name. He is the Lord. Forever His truth will reign Heaven and earth rejoice in His holy name. He is exalted the King is exalted on High~.

The second part was composed of four chapters with summaries of the lectures that would be given by the speaker during the four day camp period. All the chapters contained Christian material. For instance, the topic of the first chapter was perfection, destruction, and redemption. Each chapter was composed of the day’s lecture summary, discussion questions, and vocabulary. Each chapter had six questions. One of the questions was the following: *What was the world like when God created it?* On the final page of each chapter was a list of English vocabulary items with explanations in English. The students reviewed the second part for four days.

Before the main camp, the CETs and the students gathered at the M language school to engage in the pre-camp. The pre-camp of the M language school started at 9:00 a.m. and finished around 4 p.m. Beginning with the pre-camp, all the participants were encouraged to speak only the English language. They introduced themselves in English, sang the Christian songs in English, engaged with each other in English, and studied the Bible in English. The English language was the bridge to connect students with Christianity and CETs. The CETs seemed to strengthen their Christian missionary identity through the English pre-camp program. The instructional method used by the CETs for the pre-camp was a conversational method.

The next day the director and all the students, CETs, and Korean English teachers
left for the camp site at 9 a.m. While on the language school bus, the students talked with the CETs in English and shared many ideas concerning the English language, English learning and even their lives. They sang Christian songs in English alongside the director and pastor, who played the guitar. It took approximately two hours to arrive at the camp site. In the course of the trip there they conversed over western culture, Christianity, English study, Korean history, and life etc. The bus trip was an occasion for developing friendship as they began the team building process. When they arrived at the camp site, they were welcomed by the camp staff. About 700 participants attended the camp. The camp staff had created a facsimile of an immigration office to give students the opportunity to experience the immigration to the United States of America. The participants appeared to enjoy this. Passing through the immigration section, the students received the camp book, the camp shirt, a ball point pen, a name tag, and meal tickets. On the cover of the camp book, the theme of the 2013 summer English Bible camp was recorded: *Open doors to the world*. The camp schedule was listed on the first page of the camp book. It clearly showcased the association of ELT with Christianity. The schedule revealed that this was a means of spreading Christianity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.5</th>
<th>The 2013 Summer English Bible Camp Schedule</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30 - 6:00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30 - 8:30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 - 9:30</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity 1</th>
<th>Activity 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:30 - 10:00</td>
<td>Bible school</td>
<td>Special lecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 - 10:40</td>
<td>Making T-shirt</td>
<td>on ELL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40 - 11:00</td>
<td>Sing along</td>
<td>Sing along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 - 12:00</td>
<td>Lecture II</td>
<td>Lecture IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 - 1:00</td>
<td>Registration</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00 - 2:00</td>
<td>Sing along &amp; Baptism I</td>
<td>opening ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 - 4:00</td>
<td>Booth activity I</td>
<td>Booth activity II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 - 5:30</td>
<td>Booth activity I</td>
<td>Baptism II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to be continued)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30 - 6:00</td>
<td>Outdoor mini concert</td>
<td>Rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00 - 7:00</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00 - 8:30</td>
<td>Sing along &amp; Lecture III</td>
<td>Lecture I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 - 9:30</td>
<td>Small group I</td>
<td>Talent show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30 -</td>
<td>Sound sleep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See you at the next camp!
The students entered their rooms after they received all the necessary things for the camp. The rooms were clean, modern, and well furnished. The camp staff was endeavoring to provide best circumstances for students to enjoy the camp. The English village was designed after a city in the United States of America simulating an experience in which students could practice situated English. The English village was arranged in five zones from A to F. The A zone had a soccer field, information center, and Water Park. The B zone had a cafeteria, market, gymnasium, and airport. The C zone had lecture halls 1-4, a global leadership development center, a space for toddlers, a city hall, and a pathfinder. The D zone had a dormitory. The E zone had a guest house, observatory, and outdoor stage. The F zone had a studio. The English village had a grand site with beautiful western-style buildings. One of the most popular Korean dramas was filmed there. That made the English village more popular among young Korean English learners.

Each student paid 100,000 won to attend all the events at the camp. About 700 campers came from the schools of D education in major cities of South Korea. There were foreign teachers of various nationalities, who were willing to speak with the students in English. That provided a special experience for the students of the M language school. At one o’clock, the opening ceremony began with the sing-along team’s energetic songs in English while the lyrics of the songs were shown on the three large screens so campers might follow them. One of the songs was the following: *God is so good. God is so good. God is so good. He is so good to me.* I was informed that the singers had practiced the Christian songs for almost one month. The singing was powerful enough to unite all the campers. Without English language teaching and learning (ELTL), such an experience could not have been possible. The captain of the camp gave welcoming remarks and introduced the speaker, who
was a pastor of the S Christian denomination, to the campers. The intention of the camp to disperse Christianity through ELT was clear. One of the camp staff related,

> Our summer camp has been planned to help everyone practice their English and learn new cultures, but most importantly to discover God’s plan for our lives.

After the opening ceremony, the campers took part together in Booth activity 1. This served the purpose of giving students time to become acquainted with one another. All were supposed to speak only the English language during the camp period. All the members were encouraged to attend as many booth activities as possible. One of the booth activities was taking photos. Below was an example of the photos taken by students and CETs. Some other booth activities were water jar delay, water pistol, rope jumping with water balloons, and take off footwear. Whenever each school attended an activity, they received some points that they could accumulate for gifts. The CETs and students of the M language school were entertained by the booth activities.

Table 2. 6
*A Photo taken by a participant*

The booth activities were finished around 5:30 p.m. The CETs and students then
went to the cafeteria for dinner together. They spoke a great deal at dinner. They became closer than before due to their interactions during the booth activities. The students began displaying more interest in the camp and CETs. After dinner, they went to the English village square to hear the outdoor mini concert being presented by English speaking teachers and students. Participants could present a mini concert to introduce themselves, their school, their country, and/or their traditional music. Two CETs of the M language school presented a South African traditional dance. Their dance was fascinating enough to attract the attention of many campers. The students of the M language school were enjoying the mini concert together, sitting on the benches around the stage. The students and CETs of the schools were laughing and talking. The mini concert played the essential role of introducing all the attendees to the cultures from the various countries represented.

An announcement was made that all the campers should come to the gymnasium to listen to the speaker’s first day lecture. The CETs and students of the M language school took seats together in the 10th row from the front, near the speaker due to their early registration time. They could see the stage well. The sing-along team began their song service from 7 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. After the theme song, one of the sing-along team members said a prayer. Although not all the students were Christians, most of them had their eyes closed and hands folded for the prayer. After the prayer, a CET performed a special musical number. Then the first day lecture started. All the programs seemed to be well prepared. The pastor, who had come from the United States of America, began by saying, “It is my great privilege to be able to share God’s gospel with you.” A Korean pastor translated the English sermon into Korean. The lecture lasted one hour and appeared to epitomize the Christian message for the camp. The speaker ended his lecture with a closing prayer.
Following the lecture, all the participants of the camp were expected to discuss the lecture further in their designated small groups. There were 20 camp attendees from the M language school including the CETs, director, and Korean English teachers. As noted, the CETs formed three small groups, each with one or two CETs, one Korean English teacher, and four students. During the camp period, these groups functioned for the students to effectively participate discussions, practice English, and study the Bible and the small group book that covered the lectures given by the speaker. The director was overseeing the three groups. The students were observed discussing the topics of the day’s lecture in English. For the first day’s lecture, was A New Beginning, some of the questions given were what was the world like when God created it? Why were Adam and Eve created? Because they had heard the lecture, they did not express difficulty in discussing the questions. Through the discussion in English, students seemed to be taking Christianity to heart. The discussion lasted for about 30 minutes. Although the small group discussions were intended to last about 30 minutes, I could observe many talks going on with the CETs for hours.

The students and CETs of the M language school awoke at around 6:30 a.m. and went out to take a walk. The air was fresh and the skies were clear. The camp village was surrounded by many trees. There was a mountain behind the camp site. The students of the M language school hiked up the mountain with the CETs, discussing casual issues such as weather, food, and exercise. This suggested that they had become friends in a short time. They studied, played, ate, and stayed together. Some students were not proficient English speakers; however, they seemed to enjoy the camp with the CETs. They were trying to speak the English language as much as they could. Because the CETs could not speak the Korean language, the students had no choice but to speak the English language for communication.
The CETs had the advantage of leading conversations and discussions. That looked natural in every situation in which the CETs interacted with the students. The CETs were English speaking teachers, meaning that they had authority over the students.

After hiking, the CETs and the students of the M language school gathered in one room to study the small group book, which was to be studied every morning. They had a brief study session and prepared to eat. They went to the cafeteria together. The menu was wholly vegetarian, reflecting the beliefs of the S Christian denomination, to which the CETs of the M language school belonged. The S Christian denomination emphasized not eating meat for health reasons. Besides being vegetarian, the CETs of the M language school did not smoke or drink alcohol. The menu was interesting enough to intrigue the students. I overheard the students and the CETs talking about food and health. One of the powerful means of spreading the beliefs of the S Christian denomination was associating them with food and health. People are usually interested in these topics. That was why many students were responsive to the food and teachings of the Bible on health.

At 10 o’clock a.m., all the campers gathered in the gymnasium to prepare T shirts to send to Uganda, where a missionary sent by D education was employed. The participants did not make the T shirts but decorated the white shirts, which had been purchased by the directors of the camp, with pictures and words. The CETs and the students of the M language school designed some drawings on them together. They wrote such phrases as we love you, God is with you, and we are praying for you. All the campers appeared to take pleasure in designing the T shirts. The CETs and the students shared their ideas and opinions in English.

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8 The S Christian denomination considers Genesis 1:26 and Leviticus 11 the basis of its belief on food and health.
In this way, they cooperated in fulfilling the Bible teachings about loving the poor and their neighbors. It was because of their desire to learn the English language that students had the chance to take part in the S Christian denomination’s world mission. They were proud of supporting people in need who were residing in impoverished countries. Through the activity, the students and CETs were increasing a sense of belonging to the worldwide Christian denomination.

All the campers listened to the speaker’s second lecture before lunch. After lunch, there was a scheduled baptism ceremony. Three members of the M language school church were baptized while two students of the school got baptized last year.\(^9\) Altogether about 20 students during the 2013 summer English Bible camp, a number that was low compared to previous years. One director said, “We usually had about one hundred students baptized every summer.” Almost all of the campers watched the baptismal ceremony, which must have been a new experience for them. It could be argued that the camp was a high point of the CETs’ ELT at the school and service to the church that year.

The last program of the second day was Talent Show. Native English teachers, Korean English teachers, and students could participate in the talent show. Some native English teachers played their traditional musical instruments, and a student sang an opera. Some students sang popular music. Some children who came with their parents sang Kangnam Style, which was a very popular song at that time with dancing. The camp headquarters invited a professional drum team. Their excellent performance elicited numerous calls for encores by the students. After the talent show, participants from each

\(^9\) A local director told that about 1,000 students had received baptism by immersion a year through the junior and adult camp programs.
school, including the M language school, held their own individual party. The CETs and students reflected on their camp experience. They seemed to be satisfied with the programs and their experiences at camp. The last night was different from the previous days. Participants conversed long into the night. On Sunday, all the campers left for their schools with good memories of the camp. I could see some students attending church of the M language school after the camp. I hold the camp as prime example of Christianity working through ELT.

_CETs’ national community and English learners._ The CETs working for the M language school came from different countries such as the United States of America, England, and South Africa.\(^\text{10}\) They had been communicating closely with teachers who came from the same countries. Together, they shared their experiences in Korea. I saw many native teachers of English reinforcing their CET identity through their teaching experiences at different schools. The CETs did not limit their activity to their classroom. For example, the teachers who came from South Africa invited students, prepared South African food, and shared cultural differences. In this way the CETs and students had a special South African time at the M language school. Although the teachers held the party on a Sunday, which was a day off, the students came and enjoyed their time. The students attended the party to learn the English language and experience South African culture.

CETs were practicing Christian values through which they could build friendships with students. The CETs’ pedagogy was closely intertwined in the teachers’ lives in numerous

\(^{10}\) The policy of D education limits the teacher nationality such as the United States of America, New Zealand, Canada, England, Australia, and South Africa. Among the six countries, South Africa belongs to outer circle country according to the category of Kachru. The reason D education includes South Africa is that the S denomination is strong in South Africa, meaning that D education can easily recruit CETs in the country.
ways. One of the CET teachers recounted, “We are here to share gospel with others.” That spirit distinguishes the pedagogy of the CETs from that of other native speakers at non-Christian language schools. All the activities of the CETs were connected with Christianity. Although the CETs did not intend it, students perceived the CETs through a lens of Christianity.

*CETs and community of middle class women.* The M language school taught many middle-class women English learners. They were graduates of high ranking universities, rich, and enthusiastic about learning the English language. They had a great amount of free time in the morning while their children attended their schools. They primarily came to the M language school for at least two reasons. One was to learn the English language for travelling in foreign countries. The other was that they wanted to have a social group of middle class women at the school. In other words, the English language was a vehicle for members of the middle class to socialize. The middle class women students registered for 10 or 11 o’clock morning classes. The students of the early morning and evening classes were quite different from this group. The early morning and evening class students did not have sufficient time to build relationships with their teachers, primarily because they were usually office workers or professionals who had to leave for work after class. They were overloaded and exhausted. They were learning English to be more eligible for promotion in their company or to simply survive in the competitive Korean society.

The middle class women, however, had the free time after class to build relationships with the CETs. In this sense, the economics of class seemed to define the reasons for learning the English language. The teachers often ate lunch with these women. They conversed on various issues such as culture, religion, children, education, English, and life. They appeared
to enjoy talking with the CETs about the issues in English. They were making friends and practicing the English language. They would often invite the CETs to their home and travel with them during term breaks. Occasionally, their husbands also register for the adult English program of the M language school. Thus the English language became a ground on which to introduce Christianity to the community of middle class women. Their desire to learn English implied that the English language was a mark of the middle class status in the Korean society. The conversational pedagogy was not limited to the classroom but widely used in restaurants and various social meetings between the teachers and the middle class women students. A mechanism working inside and outside of the M language school for the dispersion of Christianity through CETs may be summarized as the following:

Table 2.7
*Diagram: Factors of interconnecting CETs with the world*

To sum up, as the diagram shows, globalization is affecting a Christian language
school in an expanding circle country, South Korea, by enhancing the status of the English language in many fields such as economy, politics, international trade and even religion, which has led to an upsurge in interest in learning it. Christian denominations are utilizing the demand to learn the English language worldwide to attract English learners to their faiths. Many CETs who desire to go abroad to begin their Christian mission aspire to make money through teaching the English language. It is a matter of interest that globalization is impacting a Christian language school in this way. ELT is at the center of this phenomenon. The S Christian denomination has successfully employed ELT as an effective means of spreading its beliefs and values through CETs’ teachings and activities in its language schools, including at the M language school in South Korea.

The S Christian denomination community in which the CETs are engaged have a strong and systematic mechanism for spreading its beliefs through CETs’ ELT in South Korea. The center of the mechanism is Christian English language schools. Three important elements at each Christian language school are English, CETs, and onsite church. At each school the three factors have been functioning systematically. Through the mechanism of the school’s programs, many students of English became members of the S Christian denomination. The sub-factors supporting the three core components were CETs’ English Bible study, Korean English teachers’ service, the M language school’s financial support, CETs’ weekend club, and the summer camp.

The salient point is that ELT is at the center of all the factors. I observed that the elements had been effectively operating to allow the M language school church and the M language school the means to disperse the values and beliefs of the S Christian denomination. When the M language school started, the members of the church were just native teachers of
English, Korean English teachers, and staff. However, at the time of the study the church had over one hundred church members including children. Many of the church members became Christian through ELL (English language learning) at the M language school.

**Discussion**

In this chapter I have shown evidence that the CETs’ ELT had regularly been strengthening the M language school, the S Christian denomination, Christianity, power of English, and globalization. In other words, a CET’ ELT could be considered a global force. The identity of the S Christian denomination, D education, and the M language school permeates and regulates the identity of the CETs to circulate Christianity effectively. The prominent concept found in this chapter is that the CETs of the M language school are interconnected with capacious factors such as the global English market, Christianity, and globalization. The factors sustain one another and the identity of the CETs working at a Christian language school in a small country, South Korea.

Therefore, the CETs are mediators who connect students with Christianity. The English language is the means. The Christian identities of the CETs instill the beliefs and values of the S denomination into the hearts of the students. The institutions of the S Christian denomination methodically employ ELT through CETs. The critical issues of *English and power, Christianity and ELT, and Pedagogical and moral dilemmas* can be interpreted from the perspective of the CETs’ identities, which are formed and regulated by the identity of the institution they belong to. If the institution is a Christian institution that strives for a world mission, then the teachers of English must be willingly using ELT as the means of projecting their beliefs and values. In this chapter I have argued that the identity of
the Christian institution absorbs the power of English, ELT, and pedagogical and moral dilemmas to transfer its beliefs and values to the identity of the CETs.

In the following chapters, I analytically discuss how each CET’s identity relates to his/her pedagogy in terms of *English and power, Christianity and ELT, and Pedagogical and moral dilemmas*. Without considering these, understanding the (re)construction of CETs’ identities depict their ELT pedagogy would be incomplete.
CHAPTER FIVE

LURIA: FROM LANGUAGE TEACHER TO DEDICATED MISSIONARY

In this chapter, Luria’s stories and experiences both in her home country and in/outside of the ELT classroom at the M language school are analyzed with a focus on English and power, Christianity and ELT, and Pedagogical and moral dilemmas. These three motifs are closely interconnected. This chapter is divided into three sections that delve into the themes of this research. Each section provides stories and experiences of how Luria’s CET identities relate to her ELT in terms of the critical matters.

**English and power**

In this section, I look at how Luria’s English as linguistic capital and Christianity as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) functioned in her ELT at the M language school. In addition, I review how she as a CET perceived linguistic and cultural imperialism through the activities of her ELT at/outside the M language school. I also consider how she as a South African English speaker perceives her English.

**English is a powerful language in South Africa as well as in South Korea**

Luria brought her perceptions and understandings about the status and influence of English in South Africa to South Korea. In her country, almost all subjects were taught in English. Almost 90% of television programs were in English despite some serious objections from South African intellectuals about the English programs. The programs were dubbed in African channels, but they never stopped being in English. In South Africa, there were multi-racial schools and white schools where only English was used as the medium of teaching and
learning. In black schools, teachers also used the English language, but when students could not follow, teachers would speak African languages. Parents preferred white schools or multi-racial schools to black schools. They knew that the English language would be very profitable for their children’s access to social and economic capital. Luria clearly comprehended the power of the English language in South African society.

She saw a similar desire to learn the English language in South Korea. She sensed that people were obsessed with English in South Korea as in South Africa. She saw that even children as young as five years old were studying the English language. She was concerned that Korean children were losing childhood. She observed that Koreans felt the need to be advanced in everything, so they were eager to excel in the English language. For them it seemed essential to excel in the international trade markets. According to her, Korean students were prepared when they attended class and had studied their lessons. That was how she understood Koreans’ English learning as she observed it at the M language school in South Korea. Because she had grown up and learned in an atmosphere in which the English language was powerful, she was able to understand Korean students’ desire to learn English. As an African language teacher in South Africa, she had previously been an educator of the Julu language, one of the African languages. Her language teaching experience gave her significant support as a teacher of the English language to Korean students. She thought she was lucky to be a native English speaker.

**Christian identity overrides the demands of the Korean language market**

She said, "I am proud of being an African." Specifically, she belonged to the Julu tribe, one of the tribes in South Africa. I was intrigued to observe Luria teaching the English
language to Korean students even though her mother tongue was the Julu language. She had not come to the M language school to teach the Julu language or culture. She had come to South Korea to teach the English language. However, she had the rare opportunity of introducing her Julu culture to Korean students, who had not previously been exposed to the Julu culture or language. I once saw her give a special music performance at the M language school church. She sang a song in three languages: English, Julu language, and Korean. Despite being a native speaker of English, she could not teach her students about American culture or British culture to students because her culture was South African.

It was difficult for me to find South Africans teaching English at other language schools in South Korea. In fact the Korean ELT market prefers American English to other Englishes. Of course, those who were from Canada, England, Australia, and New Zealand were teaching the English language at language schools in South Korea. But I had never seen South African English speaking teachers in Korean language schools except the schools of D education. I was interested in how she was first introduced to the idea of teaching the English language at the M language school. According to her, before she came to South Korea, one of her friends had already been teaching English at a D education school.

Her friend was also a South African English speaker, but she had secured an English teaching job at a Christian language school. The reason Luria and her friend could obtain English teaching positions was that they were Christians who belonged to the S Christian denomination. That reflected the theme of identity issues. Christianity was cultural capital for her because if she had not been a Christian, she could not have had the opportunity of teaching English at the M language school. For her, Christianity and ELT went hand in hand, with regard to her being involved in ELT in South Korea. Christian identity overrode the
preferences of the Korean ELT market in the sense that D education hired a South African Christian English teacher instead of a teacher from an inner circle country.

The Korean English market was very sensitive in choosing the countries from which their teachers came. Although the recruiters of D education were aware that Luria was a South African English speaker, they had hired many South African English speakers to work in their language schools. Christianity contributed to South African access to the international job market in the sense that D education provided opportunities to South African CETs. Between the demands of the Korean ELT market and a South African English speaker, D education would have willingly chosen the latter because of its identity. However, in 2013 it began hiring non-Christian English teachers. That meant that D education could not ignore the demands of the Korean ELT market any more. Moreover a critical struggle was felt among the CETs of D education regarding this policy. One could see this was a natural result of a shift in the purity and integrity of the institution.

Her story clearly revealed how the identity of the Christian language school functioned as a standard in hiring CETs. D education considered CETs’ Christian identity to be a more influential factor than which the English they were speaking. It weighed its Christian mission to be more significant to its identity than anything else. I found that Luria was emphasizing her Christian identity more and more in light of the new policy. She was assumed to have a CET identity dilemma at the M language school. A shift that appeared to alter the character of the school produced this serious dilemma. A predicament of this nature

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11 For about one year D education hired many non-Christian English teachers. However, it found out that that was failing in both teaching English and in achieving its Christian mission. Thus, it began hiring more Christian English teachers again.
is commonly found in cases in which a name of an enterprise remains the same but its integrity has possibly been compromised.

**English provides opportunities for cultural communication not a cultural imperialism**

During the 2013 summer camp, I observed a captivating dance performed by the South African teachers. The dance perfectly replicated one I had once seen on a TV program regarding African cultures. I had once seen a similar dance before; I enjoyed the dance at that time. But at this time, as a researcher I observed the dance and the response of the audience more carefully. The summer camp was an exhibition of various cultures. I could hear American country music, see dynamic African American dancing, and meet teachers who spoke various forms of English. At the summer camp teachers had the chance to express their cultures and enjoy others’ as well. The camp site was a place of cultural communication. The opportunities to mingle with many teachers whose cultures differed and with students who had different backgrounds raised the campers’ awareness of the global world around them.

Luria had never thought of cultural imperialism and linguistic imperialism prior to this research. She had never heard of the terms. In fact she was also a victim of linguistic and cultural imperialism when one considers South Africa’s long history of colonialism by the Netherlands followed by England. Through the colonial periods, South Africans must have experienced linguistic and cultural imperialism. However, the colonial history had some qualities of its legacy have given one benefit to the original South Africans, which is the English language. She said she was a beneficiary as an English speaker. If she had not spoken the English language, she would not have had the chance to teach English at the M language school in South Korea. Ironically enough, as an English speaker educated in the medium of
English, which was the legacy of colonialism, she was using English as a tool of cultural communication in Korea. She had never considered that English was functioning as a mechanism of linguistic and cultural imperialism.

**Christianity and ELT**

In this section, I examine how English was being used as a missionary language by Luria in/outside the ELT classroom. I also examine how English functioned in dispersing Christianity in Luria's ELT experiences.

**I like my religion classes**

Luria customarily began her religion class at 7 a.m. or 10 a.m. Beginning in 2013, when it initiated hiring non-Christian English teachers, The M language school allowed CETs to choose between a missionary English teacher contract and an English teacher contract. The latter meant that CETs could sign up for an English teacher contract without the duty of teaching a religion class. Some CETs signed up for English teacher contract, but they were voluntarily teaching a one-hour religion class on a daily basis. Luria's religion class started one week after the regular class and ended one week earlier as was the policy for the religion class,12 a five week program each semester. Luria had a large collection of religion class materials as the result of teaching many years. She knew well how to teach the religion class and how to accommodate the students.

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12 According to the policy of D education, the material presented in religion class should be centered on the Bible. Religion classes are required for missionary teachers and optional for English teachers. Teachers can volunteer to teach a second religion class if they choose. If a teacher does not fully fulfill their minimum required hours for the term, the director may ask the teacher to teach an extra religion class. If there is at least one student registered in the religion class, you are expected to teach it. If no students register for your class, then you must join another teacher's religion class and help teach it. In this case, both missionary teachers must be present each class day.
Luria’s 7 a.m. religion class had seven students, who were of various religious backgrounds. No students belonged to the S Christian denomination. All Christian denominations have different beliefs and doctrines. Luria’s Christian beliefs and values had some doctrines in common with other Christian denominations and some that were different. She recounted,

English has been very useful, especially in my religion class. Students just come for English, but when you are talking to students’ personal related issues, they are taught from you.

In the religion class, a positive relationship between her and students was being established. In that she was officially allowed to speak about the Bible and her Christian beliefs to students, she found teaching the religion class supportive. She related,

I always pray. Every time I teach English and religion class, I pray for students to accept Christ through my teaching. After teaching I feel kind of relieved.

She continued, “I will say that they are learning English and I am teaching about God. That is a good mission work.”

Through teaching her religion classes, she was reinforcing her CET identity as a diligent and dedicated missionary English teacher. Christianity is very well established in South Korea, so many students were associated to a Christian denomination. Thus it can be inferred that the students’ stress level about English learning was low in her religion class because they were familiar with Bible stories. They were also interested in the teachings and beliefs of other Christian denomination. The Bible study and ELTL (English language teaching and learning) were a good combination for her religion class students. Through the
students’ desire to learning both the English language and the Bible, Luria was successful in imparting the values and beliefs of the S Christian denomination to students in her religion class.

**My ELT class is teacher centered**

Luria’s English teaching methods seemed to reflect a power imbalance between teacher and student. A power imbalance seemed to be evident in ELT classrooms in which Korean adult students who did not speak English well were compelled to use the language. They could not express their thoughts freely due to this language barrier. In the classroom, a teacher’s power overwhelms students even when they speak the same language. Luria was a native speaker, she preferred a teacher-centered method, and English was a desired language for Korean English learners. These three factors seemed to intensify the imbalance between her and the students in her ELT classroom. Her Christian English teacher identity and teacher-centered pedagogy were strengthening the power and status of English through her ELT at the M language school.

Luria was a popular teacher of religion at the M language school. She had much to say about the Bible and Christianity because she had majored in Biblical studies at a university in South Africa. Even in her religion class, she was known as a strict teacher. Her students said, “Luria is strict in class.” Luria said, “Class in South Africa is teacher centered.” It appears that South African and Korean classes are comparable. Most Korean classrooms are teacher centered and use a cramming method of teaching. Her traditional teaching method was being applied to her ELT classroom as well as to her religion class. She taught the Bible with authority in comparison to the CETs from America, who favored a student-centered
class. Of course, she would sometimes employ a conversational method; nevertheless, her teaching was strongly teacher-centered. Korean students were acquainted with the style, but I was inquisitive about how her students perceived her teaching style and method in her religion class. A student said, “She teaches well. She knows a lot about the Bible. But we want to talk more.”

She used her religion class for widening her Christian values and beliefs. The M language school was providing students with religion classes which were affordable and with an open-communication. All the CETs of the M language school with a missionary contract were expected to teach a one-hour religion class each day. The students attending the religion classes were graduates of the M language school and students who wanted to study English at a lower price. In the religion class the textbook was the Bible and other Christian materials. The Bible was a Korean-English version. All the Bibles for the religion classes were granted by the M language school. The CETs designated the topics and contents themselves. The students in religion classes were not always Christians. Students were attaining Christian values and beliefs in a pleasant atmosphere. I could observe that both English and Christianity were being transmitted in the religion class.\textsuperscript{13}

**I use the conversation time in class**

I was curious about whether there was a chance for her to speak about her faith in class. In addition, I was keen to know what she thought about teachers exposing their faith in class if the opportunity arose. She said,

\textsuperscript{13} From the viewpoint of Phillipson (1996), that was one kind of cultural imperialism.

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It is my responsibility to inform others on where I stand. I am representative of God on this earth.

She had never speculated about this opportunity in her classroom. However, chances would come during the conversation time. The textbook for adults had a few questions about Christianity in the conversation section. Students asked some questions, and she would respond to them. She said, "We do not preach in class. But the Bible says everything is on time." If students asked questions regarding Christianity in class, she believed she should expose her faith to students, even in class.

I was interested in the conversation part of the textbooks to learn how Luria could have an opportunity of exposing her faith in class. Although most the conversation questions were general ones that had nothing to do with Christianity, some questions were related to Christianity. Irrespective of their will, students had to practice the conversation part with the questions. In the level 4 text book of the M language school, the topic of the conversation part for day 14 was air and sun. Luria allowed the students to practice the conversation section after the role-play part. The conversation segment comprised ten questions and five discussion questions. One of the questions was “why is fresh air important?” Two possible answers were suggested for students’ practice. One of them was

If I do not get fresh air, I feel claustrophobic. I think fresh air helps people remember that they are free. I do not think God created us to be inside buildings all the time.

These questions and answers were designed to lead Luria and students to discussion about God’s existence and virtue. I discovered that Luria’s classroom could not be neutral. In the textbook, I detected many questions supporting this notion. One of the questions of day
21 of level 4 textbook was “how important is religion in relation to the family?” The suggested answers were the following:

I think it is really important. Having a belief system helps unite the family. It has been said, “A family that prays together stays together.” Or,

I do not have any religious beliefs, so I do not think it is that important. I think it is more important that parents raise their children to have good values and care about people.

The questions in the textbooks addressed many sensitive topics such as marriage, politics, and ethics. They were intended to force the students to consider such matters and to search the answers in the Bible. Luria had actively been participating in these conversations, correcting students’ pronunciation and exchanging ideas about the questions with students. Luria was contributing to the propagation of Christian ideology in her classroom. The textbooks were equally responsible.

All ELT circumstances can be an opportunity for spreading Christianity

According to Luria, English had given various opportunities to her to be able to share her thoughts and opinions with students about life style. Some connections opened the way for conversations on Luria's Christian faith. For instance, students would invite Luria to a Noraebang. It was a nightspot where people could drink alcohol and sing popular songs. It was very popular in Asian countries such as Korea, Japan, and China. One day she and her whole class went to a Noraebang after class. She soon realized that the place was not a place in which she should belong. Korean popular music was filling the Noraebang. Colorful lights were shining on them. The students began drinking alcohol and the pictures on the screen
were not something Christians should watch in Luria’s opinion. A student said to her, "Let us dance and sing." She said to the student, "I enjoy dinner, the outing, and everything. But singing here is not appropriate for Christians." The students took her four times to the Noraebang within the term. All of them came to realize that Noraebang did not fit in with her standards.

They became curious as to why she did not sing popular music and drink alcohol. She had to explain to them about her Christian values and beliefs, "The Bible says that my body is the temple of God. So I should keep it holy." Some never understood her. Others were intrigued by her Christian beliefs and behaviors. As many of her students were housewives, they were interested in health. Luria could speak with them about the principles of health recorded in the Bible. Now that her contemporaries were interested in her ideas on health, her lifestyle and behaviors, their attention was peaked. One day some students asked her to have dinner during the weekend. They recommended some beer. She said, "Dinner is O.K. But do not buy me alcoholic drinks." They conversed with her a great deal about health and alcohol. She spoke to them about the teachings of the Bible on health. Discussing her life style was one of the many convincing means she employed in spreading the beliefs and teachings of the S Christian denomination. However, the bridge to connect Luria and students was English language teaching and learning (ELTL).

**Christianity is a powerful cultural capital**

Luria was born into a family of the S Christian denomination. She learned Christian beliefs from her father, who was an elder. She was raised in an S Christian denomination culture. She believed that only the S Christian denomination among many Christian
denominations was following the whole teachings of the Bible, which had greatly impacted her thoughts and behaviors. Her Christian faith was a strong cultural capital as well as the foundation of her ELT pedagogy. Without having the Christian faith of the S Christian denomination, she would not have been hired by the M language school. D education had never hired South African English speakers who did not belong to the S Christian denomination. In other words, her Christian faith and culture were much more pertinent than her English for teaching at the M language school as she knew very well. I could observe that her daily life routines were very Christianomical, indicating that they affected her pedagogy in dealing with students in/outside the classroom. She said,

The Bible says to pray without ceasing. As a Christian I try to do it every day. I start the day with a prayer. Then, everything in life becomes easy. …I usually get up at around 4:20 a.m. to take a shower. And then I prepare for work and read the Bible for an hour. And I pray and go to work. In the afternoon, I pray. In the evening, I read the Bible and pray. I am trying to do it every day… Jesus prayed the whole day sometimes.

Her Christian routines confirmed her Christian identity at the school every day. Her routines were focused on practicing her Christian beliefs and values in/outside the classroom. Her ELT was a seamless continuation of her Christian life. Her Christian convictions had brought her to South Korea. She asserted that her situation in South Korea had been transforming her into a more committed CET. She said,

In South Africa, I spent time with students as I do here; in spite of this, I have to spend more time with students here than I did in my country. In South Africa, I could
go anywhere. Here I do not know many places. I am kind of stuck. I have to spend more time with the Bible because of hectic schedule, spending time more at home than going out. You grow spiritually. Then you become to treat others more as God’s children.

Teaching in a Christian language school, the M language school, was strengthening Luria’s Christian identity as a missionary English teacher who could spread Christianity through ELT. The context bolstered her Christian routines, which affected her pedagogy greatly. Through this process she believed that Christianity was infusing her students’ hearts more broadly and rapidly.

**Pedagogical and ethical dilemmas**

In this section I discuss whether Luria experienced any pedagogical and ethical dilemmas as a CET using the English language as a means of Christian mission at the M language school. In addition, I explore how she coped with the dilemmas if she had any and whether she had predicaments other than dilemmas.

**During the orientation I was informed that I would be called missionary**

I asked her about how she had come to be recruited to become an English teacher for the M language school. At that time, one of her friends had been employed at a D education language school. From her Luria obtained the majority of her information on what was occurring in language schools in South Korea. She applied for a position with D education. She had an interview on the phone with a Korean recruiter in South Korea. The interview lasted about one hour. The recruiter asked whether her English was proficient. That seemed to be the most vital point for him. The Korean recruiter and an American came to South Africa
to recruit teachers and met her, and asked general questions again. They never discussed her teaching the Bible in case she was hired to teach the English language at a school of D education. When she arrived in Korea, they called her a missionary during the orientation. "Really? Am I a missionary?" She was embarrassed to hear that. Before she arrived in Korea, no one had acquainted her with the topic of Christian mission while they discussed teaching the English language at one of the D education schools. She discovered that D education called all CET teachers missionary during the orientation.

She came to South Korea to teach the English language, but she had no problem with teaching the Bible because she was born into a Christian family and was raised as a Christian. In addition, she had taught children the Bible for years in her church in South Africa. She had discussed the Bible and its teachings with others in her church. She thought this was a continuation of a Christian life. Her distinction was the addition of English proficiency. In this manner she became an English teacher. I was curious about whether she had experienced any predicaments in the situation. She was embarrassed, but she did not have any dilemmas. She thought Christians should be always missionaries under any circumstances. For her there was no difference between an English teacher and a missionary English teacher. She said, "Even if I had had known about that in South Africa, I would not have changed my mind." Rather, she became more excited at the prospect of teaching the Bible as well as English.

**Jesus did not teach English, but he taught people all the time**

As a Christian, Luria reflected that she had to imitate Christ in many aspects of her life. Christ did not teach English; nonetheless, he educated people all the time. She concluded that she should love what she was doing. She should love her students as Jesus loved people.
For her the classroom was just an extension of her love for others. Students should see the
distinction between CETs and non-CETs in the ways she treated, spoke, and interacted with
them. The classroom was a continuation of what she would do as a missionary. She thought
she should apply Christian principles to students and the ELT classroom. A Christian English
teacher was a teacher who not only taught English but also was attentive to students’ lives.

She believed there was a clear contrast between non-CETs’ love and CETs’ love. A
Christian English teacher could pray for students and give them Biblical advice. She believed
she had the responsibility of caring for students. She had her students’ names on her prayer
list. Non-CETs could be friends with students, but CETs could intervene in students’
problems. As a CET She should be interested in their lives as Jesus was interested in people's
lives. Her Christian beliefs functioned in almost all her activities including her ELT. For
instance, in the conversation part of her adult English class, she did not deliberately tell
students about her Christian beliefs, but she shared her beliefs naturally during the
conversations. She did not think that that was wrong. She said,

While teaching the students I pray for them. I believe God and the Holy Spirit will
work in them through me.

Her pedagogy was completely based on the Bible teachings and the examples of
Jesus. She did not feel any pedagogical dilemmas because the foundations of her pedagogy
were solid in the teachings of the Bible. She considered using ELT as a means of spreading
Christianity was a very useful Christian mission method.

I came as an English teacher, but I return as a missionary

During the interview, I discovered she experienced one dilemma. I asked her about
whether there was a change in her understandings and perceptions of Christian beliefs and ELT after several years’ teaching in D education schools in South Korea. She had never taught English in South Africa, where she had been a Julu language teacher. After teaching English at the M language school for years, she realized that she should do mission work for her people in South Africa. She felt guilty because she did mission work through teaching English for Koreans, but she was neglecting her own people. She said,

I think I teach God and the Bible to Korean students. They will go to heaven, but my neighbors will not go to heaven. That is my guilt.

Her ELT experience in South Korea led her to make a decision to return to South Africa to do mission work for her people. She would return to South Africa soon. She said,

I came to Korea to teach the English language to Korean students, but I am going back to my country as a missionary for my peoples.

That was a sudden shift in her view of Christian identity, and it resulted in her moral pondering. She had come as a CET but was going back as a missionary for her people, which was a major change in her Christian identity. In other words, her experiences as a CET carrying out a mission through ELT strengthened her Christian beliefs and motivation to advance Christianity. A similar phenomenon was found in Wang's (2009, 2013) research, in which the participants revealed changes in the capacity of their Christian beliefs and their Christian identities. In addition, some participants decided to pursue degrees related to ELT or education so they could return to the host country to do Christian mission work through ELT. John, one of the participants of this research, told me that he would study English education in his country and come back to Korea if he could not find an acceptable job in his
We are just spreading English

When in 2013 D education began hiring non-Christian English teachers, Luria’s teaching situation changed significantly. When I had started this research, there were no non-CETs in M language school. But D education wanted more young American teachers with higher qualifications to meet the demands of the Korean English market. They speculated that their schools would suffer financially if they did not comply with the market expectations.14 The M language school could not neglect the rapid change in the Korean English market, which, it was clear, preferred American English to other Engishes. So, D education changed its policy for business reasons. However, the changed policy caused a serious debate among the CETs about their Christian identity and the identity of the school. Many CETs including Luria were disappointed with the new policy. In fact many CETs left because only D education altered its policy. She said,

When the school started, its purpose was for spreading the gospel. If they want to change, they should change everything. If they are no longer mission oriented, what should we do for spreading the gospel through English? We are just spreading English. … If they forget the original purpose, it is dangerous. Very dangerous.

Luria was in a difficult situation due to presence of non-CETs at the M language school. According to her, she knew that non-CETs were exceptional English teachers, but

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14 Since 1969, D education had enjoyed the English boom. Especially D education had been very popular as conversational programs for adult learners. However, globalization and growth of the Korean economy made it possible that Korean young people could go abroad to learn the English language from native English speakers at various levels. In addition, many universities and institutions opened English conversation courses for their students and employees.
they were just teaching the English language without having any Christian impact on students at a Christian language school. She deduced that non-Christian English teachers came to earn money through teaching the English language at the M language school. She was not satisfied with seeing the M language school as a place where just the English language was being taught. That confused her as she thought that the M language school was losing its mission spirit. She concluded that if the school gave up its mission spirit, it lost its reason to exist.

One of her statements was that “this school is just spreading English” (Edge, 2003). In fact, it is impossible for non-CETs to teach only English. They were naturally conveying their cultures and ideas to students (Gee, 1996). From her stance, that could be a serious matter causing a dilemma regarding her Christian identity. In her mind, it would be fatal to damage the distinctive character of the M language school.

Luria’s identity dilemma could not have been anticipated when I had started this research. It was an important finding to see the dilemma between Christian mission and ELT at the Christian language school. The M language school (all the language schools of D education) had to face this identity confusion because of externalities such as the economic situation. In fact D education should have anticipated this current situation. However, all the schools of D education including the M language school had enlarged the number and size of the schools, which needed more and more teachers. It seemed that the identity of the schools changed from being mission-oriented to being business oriented. The M language school had hired many Christians belonging to the S Christian denomination. They were pastors, Christian Korean English teachers, Christian staff, Christian drivers, Christian cleaners, etc.

For the M language school to discharge these employees simply due to economic crisis was opposed to their Christian values and their priorities. The outside economic factors caused the
M language school (all the schools of D education) to hire more qualified non-Christian English teachers for survival. That resulted in a great shift in their Christian particularity.

Discussion

In this chapter, I have looked at how Luria’s CET identity functioned in her ELT pedagogy in/outside ELT classroom in terms of English and power, Christianity and ELT, and pedagogical and moral dilemmas. In this section I consider how Luria’s identity formation related to her ELT pedagogy in her ELT activities at a Christian language school.

Language and power. Above all globalization made it possible for her to have an English teaching position in South Korea. She took pride in her English abilities throughout her tenure in South Korea. That strengthened her English teacher identity. However, she had another kind of cultural capital, Christianity. Her acquisition of this position was made possible through her association with Christianity. Koreans are friendly toward South Africans, but they are familiar with American culture, which has increased the preference for American English in the Korean society. However, D education considered her Christian identity more important than the demands of the Korean English education market. That strengthened her Christian identity more. In her case, Christianity was a weightier factor in obtaining an English teaching post in South Korea than which English she spoke. I observed that the two powerful factors, English and Christianity, had strengthened her CET identity in this globalization era.

Christianity and ELT. I observed that the identity of the institution regulated her CET identity and pedagogical practices. She was hired by a Christian denomination to work at a Christian language school which has a church on the premises. All the routines and activities
including ELT took place in the M language school. The M language school is not just a language school but a part of a worldwide Christian denomination which has had a strong world mission spirit. Luria’s ELT pedagogy was based on the beliefs and values of the S Christian denomination. Because her ultimate goal was to attract students to Christ, her pedagogy was strongly based on the teachings of the Bible. Her teacher-centered instructional method might have enabled her to impose her beliefs on students who did not speak English well.

*Pedagological and moral dilemmas.* Luria did not experience any pedagogical or moral dilemmas in teaching English and utilizing ELT as the means of Christianity diffusion. Even though she had not majored in languages, English education, or education at the university, she did not have any pedagogical issues, perhaps due in part to the emphasis on English speaking at the M language school. She had the qualification of being a native speaker. It seems that the English conversational or speaking program allowed room for her qualifications to teach English. (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). She did not consider the dispersion of Christianity through ELT as cultural imperialism. However, she had an identity dilemma in light of non-CETs being hired by D education. That caused a serious confusion of identity. I have found that a person’s identity cannot be separated from what he/she is doing and controls a person’s behaviors.

*Reflection*

The findings on Luria show that she challenged the theoretical research of the literature I reviewed. She did not accept the argument that CETs strengthen cultural and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992). Rather CETs are increasing multiculturalism and
multilingualism. These findings suggest that TESOL researchers should more seriously consider the importance of the influence of an English teacher’s religious identity (Norton, 1997), an aspect that many language educators have neglected. They are also challenged to engage with the argument that the habitus controls the individual’s behaviors in his/her daily life (Bourdieu, 1991). As in Luria’s case, a higher authority can strengthen and change one’s habitus in an isolated situation.
CHAPTER SIX
JOHN: FROM PRODIGAL SON TO MISSIONARY ENGLISH TEACHER

In this chapter, John’s stories and experiences in both his home country and in/outside of the ELT classroom at the M language school are analyzed with a focus on the points of English and power, Christianity and ELT, and pedagogical and moral dilemmas. These three areas are closely interconnected. This chapter is divided into three sections, each dealing with how John’s CET identity related to his ELT pedagogy in/outside the ELT classroom at the M language school in terms of one of these three points or issues.

English and Power

In this section, I discuss how English as linguistic capital and Christianity as cultural capital related to John’s CET identity formation (Bourdieu, 1991). Although John had no experience teaching the English language before coming to South Korea, he could obtain an English teaching position due to his citizenship and his capabilities as a native English speaker.

I am an English and Christian who are privileged

Compared to other participants, John had gone through difficult times in life, which, interestingly enough, gave him the chance to come to South Korea to teach the English language. At the age of 11, he was baptized, but he left the church and did many wrong things in his teens and twenties. But two events greatly changed his life. When he was 30, the World Trade Center15 was attacked on 9. 11, 2001, and his grandmother suddenly died. He said,

15 A scholar argued that the 9. 11 events changed the United States of America forever. However, the events did
“The two events shocked me to retrospect on my life and make me return to the church.”

However, he suffered frustration obtaining a position due to his previous nomadic lifestyle. After conversion, he decided to study theology. After graduating from the university, he was a pioneer worker, knocking on doors to sell Christian books. The job was very difficult.

One day the pastor of his church received an email from D education inquiring about Christian English teachers (CETs) who could teach the English language in South Korea. John considered the job offer for a few weeks. He did not know anything about South Korea or what teaching the English language in a foreign country would be like. He had never taught English. However, he decided to accept the challenge and had an interview with the recruiter of D education on the phone. He was accepted after the interview. The international English market gave him the chance to teach the English language to Korean English learners. That is, without the South Koreans’ desire to learn the English language, he would not have had the opportunity of obtaining an English teaching job in South Korea.\(^1\) He said, “I think I am lucky because I am English.”

He had never been in a foreign country except England before coming to South Korea. His being a native speaker of English made it possible for him to have new experiences and meet South Koreans. He was surprised to see many Korean English learners coming to the M language school to learn the English language from the early morning. He said, “I think I am privileged, because I do not need to suffer from learning English.”

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\(^1\) Rassool (2007) contends that the international economic market has provided inner circle English speakers with advantage over non-native speakers of English.
realized that English was a prestigious language. He could not enjoy the advantage of being a native English speaker in South Africa as much as in England. He recounted that he had tried to learn a foreign language but found it very difficult. He tried to learn the Korean language but gave up. He saw and experienced the power of the English language at the M language school in South Korea. He said that his English teaching job in South Korea was much better than his job in South Africa. His status as a native speaker of English entitled him to teach Korean English learners.

**I love my British English more than American English**

In South Korea, the most favored English is American English. I asked John what he understood about the debates on American Standard English and world Englishes. Among the participants, his English was highly similar to British English. That could be due to his parents being of English descent. Although he did not know the term and concept of *world Englishes*, he understood that there were many different forms of English such as South African English, British English, and American English. He made an interesting comment that he was trying to help people understand that there is diversity in English. He argued that acknowledgement of culture and diversity was paramount. He did not have any previous knowledge about American Standard English; however, he revealed his negative perceptions of it.

Interestingly, his attitude was caused by his personal experience. He had once desired

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17 Thomas (1996) argues that English is considered to be “the prestige language associated with power, and those who can afford the often private education with high quality English instruction benefit as their linguistic ability affords them further access to the economically and politically elite stratum of society” (p. 133).

18 Bakhtin (1981) and Bourdieu (1991) point out the unbalanced power between speaker and listener.
to go to America. But he was denied a visa. He said, “I think Americans are arrogant.” He did not like the term, *American Standard English*. He argued that there were more English speakers in the world than in America. He said that in Microsoft dictionaries, he could find an American dictionary, a British dictionary, and even a South African dictionary. He contended that choosing English was a matter of preference, and American English was not an ideal one for him. He said he preferred British and South African English to American English. He found some students did too:

I met a few students who liked my accent because mine was British. In fact my accent is not pure. It is more South African than British.

Because his accent was different from that of the American teachers, some Korean students might have inferred that he spoke British English. His story of his British identity formation related to the US’s denial of his entry to America was affecting his perceptions of and attitudes toward American English as well as Americans. He would not support American English in the classroom. His British identity was critical in his teaching.  

**Christianity and ELT**

In this section, I review how John as a CET taught the English language to Korean adult English learners in/outside the ELT classroom. I particularly look into how John as a CET related to the promulgation of Christianity through ELT pedagogy. In addition, I view how John’s CET characteristics had been altered in various activities associated with ELT.

**I teach English with Christian English text books**

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19 Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson (2005) argue that the teacher’s identity is critical in the ESL classroom.
The textbooks being used by the M language school clearly showed John how to teach the English language in a Christian way. The six textbooks of the M language school were supposed to accommodate Level One to Level Six students. Lower levels meant more basic courses. Each level textbook had seven units. Each unit had five daily lessons for the total number of lessons corresponded to the 35 days of a two-month term. On the first page of each lesson was Bible passage referred to as the word of life. For instance, the word of life for day one of the Level One text book was Genesis 1:1, “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.” The teacher was supposed to begin every lesson discussing the word of life for five minutes.

On the first day of a new term, after introducing himself to his students, John opened the Level One text book to the word of life. Without any hesitation, he read Genesis 1:1 and had the students repeat after him. They could not avoid repeating after him in English. The teacher was encouraged to explain the word of life for five minutes every day. He explained the meaning to the students, that the Bible supported creationism. Only five minutes were allotted for the word of life, so the teacher had to answer any questions from students briefly but could talk with the students longer after class. On the first day, no students asked him questions regarding the Bible text.

The textbooks had been revised several times, but the word of life had always survived. Thanks to John’s university major in theology, he explained the Bible text to his students very well. I could not tell how well the students understood his explanation, but I could observe how the M language school textbooks were designed to advance Christianity to English learners through CETs’ ELT. The students had to learn the Bible text. I asked John how he perceived teaching the Bible verse in the ELT classroom. He said, “I think it good. If
Korean translation is there, that will be better.” The association of Christianity with ELT was being controlled by a greater system beyond John as a CET. By presenting the verse only in English, the textbook showed how the system preferred to associate Christianity with ELT.

My pedagogy is based on Christianity

I found that John’s pedagogy closely followed his Christian values and beliefs. His Christian values and moral codes were the center of his ELT pedagogy. He said,

A teacher can come to Korea to earn money. But I am here to do God’s work first of all. I love students.

I am confident that most teachers love students. However, John’s love was rooted in Christianity. His love toward students was connected with winning them. That was why he spent extra hours teaching students in the weekend programs. That was why he prayed for the students and did his best to help them in/outside the classroom. He believed Koreans’ respect for the teacher and the Korean Christian culture made his mission activity easier than in South Africa. He said,

I do not know any European countries where students respect teachers as much as Koreans do. I have not seen it before. I will not teach students in England. I know teaching students in South Africa is also very difficult.

It seemed that the Korean culture’s enthusiasm for education and respect for teacher were strengthening his Christian English teacher identity as a committed CET teacher at the M language school. In fact many Korean educators think that the Korean education system is

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20 Bill Johnston (2003, 2006) argued that a religion was the strongest identity in a human mind.
collapsing in the public schools. Many Korean teachers argue that teaching students in public schools is very difficult.\textsuperscript{21} John’s love for Korean students and cultures were reflected in teaching as well as in interacting with students outside the classroom. Love, one of the Christian values, was playing a major role in his teaching.

**I pray in the ELT classroom**

My observation of John’s class showed how he could contribute to the advancement of his faith as a CET. One of the characteristics of the ELT classrooms in D education language schools was that all the CETs began their classes with a short prayer. John instructed the students to close their eyes for prayer. Almost all the students closed their eyes, but some did not, but John did not give unnecessary attention to the latter. Some students must have been surprised to see their English teacher praying before class. They came to learn the English language at the M language school, but they had to meet an English teacher praying for them in the ELT classroom.

The students expressed gratitude in that the prayers were for them. One of the CETs related one experience concerning her prayer before class. While praying, she could hear a student thumbing through pages. After class, she called the student to come to her office and talked with her about the rules of the M language school. The student never did it again.

Because the teachers who originally established D education were American missionaries, their goal was clear, to enhance the profusion of Christianity through ELT. They always began their class with a prayer, and the practice has become the tradition. John was an

\textsuperscript{21} A famous educational video, *Superman*, deals with the crisis of American public schools. Unlike the American public schools, Korean students have been facing serious problems for much study load at schools. It is ironic that some American educators think of Asian countries’ educational systems as a model for the American public schools.
English teacher; however, he was a missionary English teacher above all. John’s pedagogy at the M language school should be different from teaching at other non-Christian language schools. His pedagogy seemed to be regulated by a broader system, which was D education under the influence of the S Christian denomination. John loved the prayer time, which was a sign that John as a missionary English teacher was working at a Christian language school for the glory of God.

I feel a huge responsibility rooted in Christianity

I had seen John maintaining his zeal for teaching the English language and doing his best in the weekend programs. I asked him what had been driving him to keep up his enthusiasm in and outside the classroom. He answered, “A huge responsibility. To look like Jesus and to be like Jesus every day.” He had a model in his life. Teachers should have responsibility for teaching students in the classroom. However, John’s responsibility was different from that of English teachers teaching at other language schools. His responsibility was deeply rooted in Christianity. He contended that there was a distinctive difference between an ordinary English teacher and a missionary English teacher. He argued that the latter was related to working on more various and deeper levels.

His teaching began at 6 a.m. and ended at 9 p.m with a break from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. However, his teaching schedule was demanding enough for him to feel tired. He had been teaching one and a half years with similar schedules every term at the M language school. He perceived that to act as a CET was to represent and portray Jesus every day. Being a Christian English teacher meant having a huge responsibility. “You can come to Korea to earn money. Or you can come to Korea to save lives.” The purpose of his coming to Korea was to advance
the gospel and save lives as was apparent in his practice of praying for students and commending students’ English improvement. He was well aware of his privilege as a native speaker teaching English at a Christian language school.

**Dispersion of Christianity occurs on multiple levels**

I noticed that a female student in her forties was close to John. She spoke English well. She was a high school English teacher. I had several chances to talk with her. I found out that she and John had become friends for several reasons. She wanted to have more chances of talking with a native speaker of English. John wanted to learn about Korea and Korean cultures. They met often. They were tutors for each other’s language and culture. I found that their relationship had been developing beyond just a tutoring relationship because of the influence it had on many areas of their lives. For instance, John as a CET belonging to a Christian denomination wanted to share his Christian beliefs and values more deeply. She used to attend the weekend program. Her English was quite proficient; she did not take any regular courses of the M language school. Although she had not been interested in the Bible, her interest was growing.

She recounted an interesting story about John. She had perceived John as different from other English teachers whom she had met at other language schools. Firstly, he was interested in her life in the sense that he had tried to help her personal matters based on his Christian beliefs. She attended the weekend programs and studied the Bible with John many times. However, she was not interested in Christianity at all. She was interested in learning the English language. She did not particularly care for the materials John had used for the weekend programs. She had used the time for enlarging her knowledge and experience about
westerners and western culture. John was interested in Korean culture. He especially loved the status accorded to teachers in the Korean society. Koreans had the tradition of respecting teachers a great deal. He loved Korean traditions that had a long history rooted in Confucianism.\footnote{According to Confucianism, there are three persons that have the same high statue. They are King, master, and father. Koreans call it king-master-father trinity.} He said,

In South Africa it is totally different. Teaching students is very difficult. I want to live in Korea if I can find a good Korean girl. I love Korean cultures.

**I teach Christian Beliefs through the English weekend programs**

Because John had majored in theology, he enjoyed the school’s two weekend programs. One was a Friday night program, and the other a Saturday morning program. The weekend programs seemed to be enjoyable both for students who wanted to practice English conversation with native speakers of English and for the CETs who wanted to share their Christian faith with students. Because talking with students about the Christian faith in class was limited, the weekend programs provided the opportunity for the teachers and students to deeply discuss the teachings of the Bible and Christianity. All students attending the weekend programs knew that the topics would be Christianomical; they did not have any opposition to Christian topics.

John loved Friday night program for various reasons. One was that he could meet students who were fluent English speakers. Many of the participants were those who had been attending the M language school for years. Of course, some of the participants were poor English speakers; however, they also wanted to practice English with fluent English
speakers. Because of that, the discussions of the weekend programs were active. During the week, students studied English in class with similar level students. However, in the weekend program discussions among students at different levels of English proficiency could give and receive a positive stimulation. Poor English speakers could be stimulated by fluent speakers. Fluent English speakers could practice their English to reach a higher level. John loved the atmosphere.

Another reason was that he could present at this time. On a Friday night John was presenting to students his views on evolution and creationism. He presented what was considered scientific evidence of creationism to oppose to the evolution theory. He supported creationism based on the explanations of the Bible. He argued that creationism was more scientific than evolution. His presentation lasted for thirty minutes. The students listened to him seriously. I concluded that the topic was an interesting one for the students to discuss in their small groups. After his enthusiastic presentation, the audience applauded. The atmosphere was congenial. During the weekend programs, every topic was possible. The congeniality of the atmosphere was due in part to the students’ familiarity with CETs’ Christian presentations. They seemed to gladly endure that sort of presentation.

After the presentation, John distributed a discussion paper to the students. They were divided into three small groups in order to discuss the day’s topic. John seemed to be happy because he believed he was doing God’s work. The pedagogy used by the CETs in the weekend programs was one-sided lecturing followed by conversation. The students had to listen to him and participate in the free discussion related to the lecture. Without Koreans’ desire to learn English, John would not have had the opportunity to present his views on that kind of controversial topic during the weekend program at the M language school in South
Korea. The discussion sheet was composed of questions from general to biblical ones. For instance, what do you think of evolution and creationism? Or what does the Bible say about the origin of the earth? I observed John and the students discussing the topic seriously. John played the roles of preacher, missionary English teacher, and counselor at the weekend program.

**Pedagogical and ethical dilemma**

In this section I discuss whether John has any pedagogical and ethical dilemmas as a CET exercising ELT as the means of Christian mission at the M language school. John had never taught the English language or any language before coming to South Korea. In addition, I look into how he managed any dilemmas he experienced. I explore whether he had dilemmas other than pedagogical or ethical difficulties as well.

**I feel some pedagogical dilemma because of English grammar**

Some critics have argued that there are many unqualified missionary English teachers in ESL and EFL contexts (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003; Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). I was curious about how John measured his capabilities as an English teacher. According to him, a recruiter of D education interviewed him for about one hour on the phone and said to him that he was qualified for teaching the English language although he had never taught English before he came to Korea. The recruiter was interested only in his English and Christian background. John’s English, Christian background, and theology major were considered sufficient qualification to teach the English language at a D education.

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23 Stevick (1996, 2009) argued that discussing Christianity under an acceptable condition should be allowed. The weekend program of the M language school can be the case of the acceptable situation.
Christian language school. I was curious of what he thought about the interview process. He thought that interviews should be carried out more carefully to avoid making hiring mistakes. One of his friends had to return to South Africa after teaching for three months in a D education language school because of his unique accents and pronunciation. John deduced that if the interview for his friend had been done more carefully, his friend would have not come to South Korea to teach the English language and then been discharged.

I was intrigued with how D education recruited John despite his not having English teaching experience. D education was working through its worldwide church network to recruit Christian English teachers. The recruiter of D education sent an email to John’s church pastor,\(^{24}\) who said to John, “Why do not you go to Korea to teach English?” He answered the pastor that he would consider the suggestion. Two weeks later the recruiter sent an email to the pastor again. The pastor forwarded it to John, who then decided to be interviewed. John was informed that he would teach English classes for five hours and a religion/Bible class for one hour from Monday to Friday. The recruiter said English classes would be conversational and the religion class would be light. At the M language school he was called a missionary. Of course, students called him teacher. I asked him whether the recruiter had informed him of his missionary title in South Korea. He answered, “Not really. He said I would teach English in Korea.” I asked him whether experienced any dilemmas in teaching English without any teaching experience. He said,

\[\text{I think my English teaching is improving slowly. I do not feel totally confident. I wish I had a grammar manual. I learned grammar in England, but I forgot. If I had a} \]

\(^{24}\) The S Christian denomination has churches in over 200 countries in the world.
manual for English grammar, I would answer the questions asked by students better.

Even though the adult courses of the M language school were conversational, students would ask questions about English grammar. That seemed cause him some doubt regarding his English teaching qualifications. However, despite such dilemmas, he perceived that he was a qualified teacher for two reasons: one was that the recruiter had said that he was qualified; the other was that the courses were well set up and easy to follow. And the curriculum emphasized speaking English. He concluded that his being a native speaker of English was sufficient to teach the English language to Korean students. All the participants of this research had a common view in this matter. They considered themselves qualified teachers.

I asked him about whether his theology major was helpful for teaching students the English language. He answered,

I do not think the theology major gives me big help in teaching English. However, having learned a language such as Hebrew seems to be helpful a little in teaching another language such as English. But not really.

D education provided new teachers with a two week training course. The period was not long enough for them to be familiar with the programs of D education. In actuality they had to learn how as well as teach the English language after finishing the two weeks’ training course. John also experienced a mild pedagogical dilemma about teaching English grammar to Korean students. Even professional language teachers might have that kind of predicament when teaching students in an ESL/EFL country (Snow, 2000). John seemed to be worried more about English grammar for he had never taught a language systematically to students.
He was learning about how to teach English to Korean students in the real ELT classroom.25

**I feel some ethical dilemma because of the absence make up rule**

I was curious about how John felt about ELT being used as a means for Christian mission. Given the nature of this research, it is significant to observe the faith journeys of the participants. John’s family moved from England to South Africa when he was young. When he was 11 years old, he was baptized. From 11 to 18, he went to a Christian school established by the S Christian denomination in South Africa. He was trained in the prophecies of the Bible predicting that many terrible events would occur in the last days. As mentioned before, the two events were the catalyst for his turning point. He said, “In fact I always knew God, I just pretended that he was not there.” On account of his long vagabond period and conversion experience, his daily routines were very Christianomical. Especially at the M language school in South Korea, his daily Christian customs were crucial to him.

For him simply becoming a Christian was different from becoming a member of the S Christian denomination. He believed that his denomination kept the core beliefs of the Bible, which made him different from those who belonged to other Christian denominations. He argued that the S Christian denomination accepted the Bible literally. He said, “We believe everything in the Scripture.” He did not assume that only the members of the S denomination were God’s people, but he accepted that all the truths of the Bible were rightly interpreted by the S denomination. He said that Christian beliefs and values had been affecting his every decision. He would try to read the Bible for one hour when he got up in

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25 Snow (2001) argues that even professional teachers should learn something new as he/she teaches a language in a foreign country.
the morning. In the evening he would try to pray and read the Bible before going to bed. He began every day with a prayer and reading the Bible and tried to end it with reading the Bible. He was not just an English teacher but a missionary English teacher.

He was living a God-centered life. He considered using English teaching as the means of spreading the Christian mission as rewarding. However, he strongly objected to pushing students to attend the weekend programs. In fact, the M language school did not push students to attend the weekend programs, but it had provision that students who missed more than eight classes could make up their missed classes by attending weekend programs. He assumed that the provision was in a way pushing students to attend weekend programs and he seemed to disapprove of it. He said,

Do not threaten people. If this school is under the government control, we should be strict. But this school is not. For instance, weekend programs should be more flexible. If they attend the weekend programs, it will be good. Do not force them to attend weekend programs. Do not push your religion into others’ throats.

He had perplexities due to his interpretation of the make-up provision. In fact, during the last weekends of each term I could see more students attending the weekend programs than usual, not all of whom seemed to want to attend. These were students who wanted to make up their absences. Although John felt some dilemmas about the absence make up rule, he perceived the use of ELT used for the Christian mission as an admirable thing. He said,

I think what you have in Korea is excellent…. Students pay for learning English. We give a five-minute message at the beginning of each class; have religion class and Bible study club at the weekend programs. I think that is excellent.
Trust first and evangelism follows

I asked him about his purpose in teaching English in Korea. “Evangelism!” he responded immediately. He speculated that if someone should come to them every day, he/she would know who they were. Then they could build relationship and trust. He said, “Trust first and then message. No message before trust.” I reminded him of criticism of CETs’ using ELT for their evangelism. He answered,

I have thought of it a lot. I do not have any solution yet. I think I need to be open to help people to choose. … If people see something in me and can trust me, are interested in me, then, good, and thank you for coming. God does not force people to come to church. Business and Christian mission cannot go together.

Although he thought ELT would be an excellent means for expanding Christian values and beliefs, he felt an ethical dilemma related to making students attend the weekend programs. However, he would not give up this effective method for evangelism because he knew the power of ELT. He would go back to South Africa several months later. He had been apart from his family for 17 years. He missed his family a lot. He said he would come back if he could not find a job in South Africa. He said, “I want to educate myself better.” If he had to come back to South Korea, he would come back as a better qualified English teacher. ELT was an effective method enough for him to presuppose that he would come back more qualified. If he wanted to, he knew he could come back at any time.

If we do not keep the mission spirit, we should close the language school

I observed that John had a serious dilemma caused by the new policy of hiring non-Christian English Teachers (non-CETs). That was a major shift for the M language school. In
actuality, some teachers hired under the new policy were Christians belonging to other denominations. However, they did not pray before class and for the students in class because they did not think praying was right in the ELT classroom. The M language schools could not enforce prayer in class. John was not happy with the alteration. He argued,

D education and the M language school are losing their mission spirit. If they do not keep the mission spirit, they should be closed.

Some students were also disappointed with the change. They missed the past. They said that there was no difference between the M language school and other non-Christian language schools now. One student in John’s class said, “CETs were different. That was good.” Many students wanted all the teachers of D education including the M language school to be different from those in other language schools.

Discussion

In this chapter, I have reviewed how John’s CET identity functioned in his ELT pedagogy in/outside the ELT classroom in terms of English and power, Christianity and ELT, and pedagogical and moral dilemmas. In this section I interpret how John’s identity formation related to his ELT pedagogy in his ELT activities at a Christian language school.

*English and power.* As a native teacher of British English teaching English learners in an expanding circle country, John was affected by the international economic market in forming his English teacher identity. Globalization and the desirability of learning the English language in South Korea provided John with the chance to obtain an English teaching job. In addition, John brought his British English speaker identity with him to the host country, which linguistically and culturally influenced Korean English learners in the ELT classroom.
I found that the tension he felt between British English and American English grew out of his personal experience if being denied entry to the US, which caused him to strongly favor British English. This section clearly shows the interconnection among globalization, English power, and advantage of being a native speaker of English. John’s Christian English teacher identity formation is adjoined to these complex factors.

*Christianity and ELT.* John’s CET identity formation at the M language school should be understood in terms of his experiences including his personal relationship with students, his Christian denomination, and the international English market in this globalization era. His Christian identity was a primary factor in his coming to South Korea and obtaining an English teaching job at the M language school. The 9.11 events influenced his reconstruction of his Christian identity. His pedagogy was based on and deeply affected by his Christian values and beliefs and the identity of the M language school. His CET identities changed under particular circumstances and through ELT experiences in/outside the ELT classroom. He believed that ELT is one of the best ways for evangelism.

*Pedagogical and moral dilemmas.* John was made aware of some pedagogical and ethical dilemmas at the Christian language school. He had never taught English as a foreign language in a non-English speaking country, and he held some fear of English grammar questions. The stress was quite high because Korean English education emphasizes the importance of grammar. However, he did not believe that he was unqualified for teaching English to Korean students because he had native speakerism and thought that his English skills were sufficient enough for ELT. Even though he regarded ELT as one of the most promising outlets for the dispersion of Christianity, he thought that religion should be not imposed. He did not like the make-up provision of the M language school. He had a
predicament due to the new hiring policy. He thought that the M language school should preserve its mission spirit.

Reflection

The findings in John’s case challenge language educators to extend their attention to ESL/EFL contexts in which Christian or other religious English teachers are teaching the English language (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009; Wong, Kristjansson, & Dornyei, 2013). John’s case also challenges us to consider that religious identity can be much stronger than a person’s habitus, including the desire for social, economic, and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991). The individual is socio-culturally situated, but religious identity endures long and will not be affected by space and time easily (Vygotsky, 1978, 1981). Being involved in a religious community of practice strengthened John’s CET identity as part of his Christian mission (Wenger, 1999). His ELT pedagogy was based on the principles of the Bible and influenced by them strongly.
CHAPTER SEVEN

KIM: FROM CHEMIST TO DISAPPOINTED CHRISTIAN ENGLISH TEACHER

In this chapter, Kim’s stories and experiences in both her home country and in/outside of the ELT classroom at the M language school are analyzed with a focus on subjects of English and power, Christianity and ELT, and Pedagogical and moral dilemmas. These three matters are closely interconnected. This chapter is divided into three sections that correspond to the focal issues of this research. Each section provides stories and experiences showing how Kim’s CET identities were related to her ELT pedagogy.

English and power

In this section, I look analytically at Kim’s teaching experiences and stories in terms of English and power. I especially draw attention to English as linguistic capital. As a South African speaker of English, Kim could come to Korea as an English teacher because she was a Christian. Thus Christianity made it possible for her to be an English teacher in South Korea.

I am a South African but speak English

According to Kim, about 90% of South Africans speak the English language. English is the medium of instruction in many schools even though there are eleven official languages in her country. It is the English language that connects South Africans with one another and bridges diverse languages and cultures to promote unity. Because the English language had been functioning as a lingua franca in her country and she was blessed to learn English in excellent schools, Kim could come to South Korea to teach Korean English
learners. However, English being spoken as a lingua franca in South Africa suggests linguistic and cultural imperialism in light of the history of South Africa. She considered the English language as more important than African languages. Although she belonged to the Julu tribe in South Africa, she did not say anything about the Julu traditions and cultures.

As in South Africa, she found out that English was a powerful language in South Korea. Although the English language was not used as a lingua franca among South Koreans, it was functioning as the means for accessing social and economic capital. Koreans’ desire to learn the English language impressed her a great deal. Her first class started at 6 a.m. After class, her Korean adult students went to work, showing how vital learning the English language was for Koreans. For instance, in her class she had an older woman with a bad memory. However, she did not miss a class. Kim thought that English was a requirement for Koreans to obtain a decent occupation and to get promoted in their companies as well as to enable them to travel comfortably to foreign countries. Based on her experiences in South Africa, she well understood the status and power of the English language in South Korea today. However, she had never heard of linguistic and cultural imperialism.

She could see that English was changing the lifestyle in Korea. She understood how powerful English was in Koreans’ life. She believed the felt need to master English was a pressure in the competitive Korean society. English seemed to be a requirement. She supposed Koreans could have invested their time, money and energy in other areas without needing to acquire the English language. But in the early morning or at night after work, adult learners came to class to learn the English language from Christian English teachers (CETs). She understood that she was privileged because she was an English speaker. If she were not a native speaker, she would not have had a teaching opportunity in South Korea. Koreans’ need
to learn English opened the door for her to come to South Korea and experience new cultures and surroundings. For her the English language acted as a passport to foreign countries.

**English and Christianity go hand in hand**

Kim believed that English and Christianity could not be separated in her teaching. Although she was a speaker of South African English and the English market in South Korea preferred American English to other Englishes, D education hired her because she was a Christian. Other language schools would not hire South African English speaking teachers because most Koreans want to learn only American English. Korean parents want their children to acquire American English. In addition, Koreans wished to learn the English language at a highly regarded language school. D education maintains reputable Christian language schools in South Korea. Christianity, English and job opportunity went hand in hand in Kim’s case. For her, Christianity and English were powerful factors in obtaining her English teaching position at the M language school. I was interested in how she had become involved in ELT at the M language school. Her story showed again that English, Christianity and job market were connected with one another.

In 2007 she heard about D education for the first time. A Korean recruiter and pastor came to her sister’s university, where he advertised that CETs were needed in Christian language schools to carry out Christian mission through teaching the English language to Koreans. She was a sincere Christian; therefore, she was interested in Christian mission activities in South Korea. What captivated her mostly were the summer and winter Bible camps advertised in the brochure. She decided to come to South Korea for mission work. In addition to having the opportunity of doing mission work, the salary for teaching the English
language in South Korea was high. For her the opportunity appeared to be very promising. The combination being an English speaker as well as a Christian gave her the opportunity to become a CET at the M language school. The distance between South Korea and South Africa was thousands of kilometers, but Christianity, English and economic logic made it possible for her to cross that distance. Kim enjoyed the advantage of being a native speaker of English and a Christian in the global economic market. Globalization also paved the way for her to obtain an English teaching job in South Korea. Globalization, Christianity and English enabled her to become a devoted Christian English teacher at the M language school.

**Christianity and ELT**

In this section, I consider how Kim conceptualized *English as a missionary language* and the idea of ELT contributing to the diffusion of Christianity. I also review how her CET identity related her ELT pedagogy and activities in/outside the ELT classroom.

**I as a CET should be different from other English teachers**

Kim concluded that she as a CET should be distinct from teachers who just taught English because she had a duty to introduce Christ to students not only by teaching the Bible but also by her activities and behaviors. That was her responsibility as a CET. She said,

> I should be different from the rest of the world. That is why I am here. Being a CET is not only about teaching English but about looking at students as candidates of souls who should be saved.

I asked her whether there was any distinction between a CET and a non-CET in her mind. She believed there was a vast difference between a CET and a non-CET. She said,
A non-CET does not need to pray for students. They do not need to worry about students who do not come to class. A non-CET comes to South Korea to earn money or experience something new. He/she does not need to go extra miles to care for students.

I inquired about whether as a CET her attitude toward students would be different if she had to work for a non-Christian language school. She said,

You cannot change your attitude and behavior because of circumstances. If you profess to be a Christian, you should be a Christian all the time.

She was confident that she should be different from the rest of the world because she was a Christian. She was born into a Christian home and grew up as a Christian. Her routines were Christian as well. She got up early in the morning. The first thing she did was to read the Bible and pray for the day. During the weekend she listened to sermons and read Christian books. Her Christian routines were impacting her teaching in the classroom and behaviors with regard to her students. Christianity was the foundation of her English teaching, which in turn supported her mission to disperse her religion.

**We have an agenda, but it is not unethical**

Some language educators have criticized CETs for having a hidden agenda to win souls. They argue that this tactic is unethical (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). I was interested in Kim’s point of view. It was her thinking that if the M language school were a non-Christian language school, CETs’ agenda for winning souls could be unethical. She argued that the purpose of the M language school was to advance Christian mission, so CETs working for the M language school should have an agenda. That was not secret. All the
students coming to the M language school knew that it was a Christian school. She said,

You cannot say it unethical. The agenda is that we are pushing the mission. We cannot push that far. Our job is to plant seeds…. If we do not expose our beliefs, that would be unethical. However, we do not hide our identity. We have to be honest. Yes. We have an agenda. It is nothing wrong.

That the M language school was a Christian language school seemed to alleviate the inner conflict that she might otherwise have been experiencing. The identity of the M language school was one of the most powerful factors strengthening her missionary English teacher identity.

Religion class is an effective method for sharing Christian beliefs

Kim effectively used her religion classes for sharing her Christian beliefs and values with students. I carefully observed her religion classes. The M language school offered four religion classes each semester, three in the morning and one in the evening. However, this term it did not have enough CETs to offer a religion class in the evening. Hiring non-CETs made it difficult for the M language school to offer as many religion classes as before. The religion classes usually began at eight, nine and ten in the morning. Her religion class was offered at a different time based on her regular class schedule. She started the class with a short prayer, which students expected because they had known the characteristics of the class when they had registered.

She distributed a Biblical script to her students for discussion. The topic of the script was “The fall and its consequences.” The script was based on Genesis 2 and consisted of introduction, several questions, response and vocabulary. The introduction started with some
questions like “Why is our world so messed up?” Or, “Why do we see really bad things happen?” Then the script gave an answer, “The Bible gives solid answers to these questions.”

The question part began with the following question:

When God created Adam and Eve on the earth, what was the one thing they were told not to do? (Genesis 2:9, 16, 17).

In the religion class, every student had a Korean-English Bible. In each classroom of the M language school, the Bibles were placed for students to read whenever they wanted. The students found the Bible verses themselves and filled in the blanks. In the last part of the script, there was the part of your response:

Sin is a horrible thing that destroys our lives. It ruins our relationships with friends and families, but, it especially ruins our relationship with God. Would you like to be free from the destructive power of sin through Jesus Christ? Yes / No (Please circle your choice).

Students’ response was optional, but they could sense the implications of the question. In addition to the response section, there was the vocabulary and expression section at the end of the script in which words were given with definitions, for instance, consequences: the results of an action. The students could understand the meanings of the words in the vocabulary part. Kim taught her students in her religion class for five weeks every semester. Without Koreans’ desire to learn English, she would not have had the experience of teaching the Bible with students in South Korea. In a similar fashion, Christianity was being promulgated in the classrooms of the M language school. I could observe that there was a power imbalance between Kim and her students in her religion class. The students did not
speak the English language well while Kim spoke fluently and had a deep knowledge of the Bible. In addition, her teaching style was teacher-centered. The students had to listen to Kim's explanations about the Bible most of the time.

**Mission day program is for students’ decision**

The mission day program of the M language school provided a chance for Kim to share her Christian faith and values with students. It reflected the identity of the M language school. All the schools of D education have had the mission day programs since they opened the schools. The mission day program was an optional class offered each term apart from regular classes. During this program, students hear Christian messages from a pastor instead of studying in a classroom. In the past the program had lasted a week, but now it was only a one-day program because the one week mission day program was burdensome to students as well as to the teachers because they were both very busy.

Students attending the mission day program gathered together in the chapel. Kim was responsible for leading the song service. She chose many Christian songs to sing with the students. A Korean English teacher played the piano. Students seemed to be enjoying the program because they could practice the English language in a new way. Singing English songs was helpful in improving the students' pronunciation. However, the fact that all the songs chosen for the program were Christian songs might be a point of contention. David, one of the CETs working for the M language school, was the mission day program speaker this term. After the song service, Kim sat with the students to listen to the lecture. The lecture was about money and the principles of the Bible. After the lecture, she distributed a paper entitled “The M language school mission day decision card” to the students.
On the decision card, the students were supposed to write their name, their teacher’s name, their English nick name, their class time and level, and their cell phone number. Then they were to answer the following questions:

Please circle your choice. Would you like to learn about more messages like this one? I want to join a weekend programs; After hearing the speaker’s message, I would like to have Bible study with a pastor; After hearing the speaker’s message, I would like to have Bible study with an English teacher; If yes to a Bible study, please write down your available time; Please pray for me and the following item(s).

Without globalization and South Koreans’ desire to learn English, the mission program of the M language school could not have existed. The M language school organized the mission day program to enlarge the sphere of influence of the S Christian denomination through the CETs' ELT.

**Spreading the values of the S denomination depends on CETs**

I was intrigued by how much Kim considered ELT to be effective in promoting the beliefs and values of the S Christian denomination. She gave a thought-provoking response to my question about this point, concluding that she attributed the effectiveness of ELT to the CETs, who introduced Christian faith and culture to the students of M language school. Some students got baptized during the 2013 summer camp. Even after the CETs left Korea, the students who were baptized would continue to attend the M language school church. They attended the camp because of their interest in English and were baptized during the English Bible camp, so the M language school help them grow spiritually as well as improve their English. Therefore, she considered the role of the CETs was vital for the students to grasp the
concept of Christian life. Students would see how the CETs talk, dress, and behave. These matters would strongly affect students and encourage them to ask themselves poignant life-choice questions. When students asked such questions as these:

Why do not you wear jewelry? We have never seen you with polished. Why you do not wear short skirts?

She said,

It is important for students to see CETs as different. That would affect students’ thoughts on CETs and their Christian denomination.

I found that it would be helpful to identify the differences of beliefs and values among different Christian denominations because some researchers showed little understanding of the impact on teachers’ identities of the beliefs and values of different Christian denominations (Johnston & Varghese, 2007). In order to understand the formation and reformation of CETs’ identities in ELT classrooms, it is necessary to consider these differences because their identities regulate their pedagogy and pedagogical practices. She believed that the S denomination was the only one that was keeping all the teachings of the Bible. Her Christian beliefs had formed her CET identity and were strongly impacting it at the M language school. I realized that the different beliefs and values of Christian denominations were complicating CETs’ identity and pedagogy. These differences would result in varied pedagogies based on individuals’ Christian beliefs and values.

**ELT makes friendship evangelism possible**

Some scholars have criticized CETs for utilizing ELT as a platform for their Christian
mission (Edge, 2003; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). I was interested in what Kim thought of the criticism. She said that CETs’ using ELT as a means of Christian mission was the best way to conduct friendship evangelism. She used an example. In her religion class, she had 14 students of whom 12 were women. Nine of the twelve women students were married and had enough time and wealth to come to the language school during the day. They disclosed a few of the obstacles they were facing in their marriages. In her religion class, they were interested in what the Bible said about marriage. The Bible contains many lessons about how to manage a home and married life. One of the benefits of religion class was that she and students could build close friendships through talking about various topics. Once built, such friendship made it possible for Kim and the students to feel comfortable talking about religious points of concern. Kim’s references always came from the Bible. The women students were not interested in obtaining answers from any source outside the Bible. They wanted to know what the Bible was saying about the issues they had. Kim said,

They needed the English language. They paid for it. They began getting something more. They paid for English only. But they receive a bonus from studying the Bible. I think it is not wrong.

She thought English could be just the vehicle to carry Christian mission. Jesus first attended to people’s needs and that was what the M language school had been doing through teaching the English language to Korean students. She thought that CETs were attending to Korean people and society, helping Koreans who wanted to travel, get promoted in their work place, or go to better universities. She thought that teaching English gave CETs more doors to open and share their faith with students. She argued that English was very powerful because Koreans wanted, needed, and were passionate about it. She thought ELT was an effective
method of Christian mission.

**Pedagogical and ethical dilemma**

In this section I look at whether Kim had any pedagogical and ethical dilemmas as a CET using ELT as a means of Christian mission at the M language school. Kim had never taught the English language or any language before coming to South Korea. In addition, I look into how she coped with the dilemmas she might have. I explore whether she has other dilemmas but pedagogical or ethical difficulties as well.

**Really? Am I an English teacher?**

I was interested in how she had been recruited by D education. Kim was born into an S Christian denomination home where she was educated with Christian values and beliefs. She had three brothers and two sisters, who still belonged to the same Christian denomination. Her father was a strict Christian elder who woke her and her siblings up early for the morning worship. At the age of thirteen, she got baptized. She believed her Christian denomination was following all the Bible teachings. She said her life had been formed based on Jesus' teachings in the Bible. She went to public schools where classmates recognized soon that she was a Christian because she was different from them in ways she talked, behaved, and dressed. For instance, she did not wear earrings, which were popular among her classmates. She was not a fundamentalist but a conservative Christian.

She had majored in Chemistry at a university in South Africa and worked as a chemist in the laboratory of the university. She had a part time job at the university, which was only her teaching experience before coming to South Korea. She did not know she would teach English when she was recruited. She imagined that she would go to the Bible camps to
be able to share Christian beliefs with camp participants as she did in South Africa. She knew she would teach English, but not in the classroom as an English teacher. She thought she would teach English through the Bible. Even when she read the following sentence in her contract, “you will be teaching five hour English classes and one hour religion class,” she thought the five hour English classes might be light. Religious matters would be where the real work lay. She thought she would work as a missionary teaching the Bible.

During the orientation, she realized that she would be teaching more English classes than doing mission work at a local school. That was shocking to her because she was not prepared for teaching the English language. Her case was the opposite of Luria’s case. Kim had no choice. She could not go back to her country. She had not chosen to get involved in English teaching at the M language school. She felt that the recruiting process had been misleading. She had to be brave about teaching English to Korean students. Thus she became a CET for the M language school. As a CET, she assumed responsibility for introducing Jesus to students through her behavior and life style, a responsibility which she took seriously. She understood that she must be different from teachers who did not have the Christian faith. For her, being a CET meant not only teaching English but looking at students as candidates to save. She also thought that there was a difference between regular English teachers and CETs. The former would only teach English while the latter would go the extra mile for students. A CET should be interested in students’ lives and pray for them. She said,

Even if I were to work at a non-Christian school, my attitude might not be changed because a Christian should be Christian in all ways all the time.

She had wanted to work as a missionary before coming to South Korea. However,
unexpectedly she had to teach the English language. She seemed to be readier for doing mission work than for teaching the English language. I could not understand why the recruiter had not given her enough information or how Kim had not understood that she should be teaching the English language. Most of the CETs working at the schools of D education had obtained accurate information on what they would do; strangely enough two participants, Luria and Kim, had not been precisely informed of what they would do at their schools. Even though she unexpectedly became an English teacher, Kim did not feel any pedagogical or ethical dilemma regarding using ELT as a means of Christian mission work. Among the participants, Kim had firm convictions that ELT was useful in expressing her Christian beliefs and values to students. She said,

Koreans need English. We came to teach English and we reach out to people with the Bible as well. So we first give them what they need, and we can get trust through friendships and relationships with them. Then they will see our lives and we can impart truth we have on them.²⁶

She deemed trust and relationship could come first through ELT. Then evangelism could follow. Kim did not think that trust and relationship obtained with ELT were unethical. She believed that it would be beneficial for the students to have Bible studies. Therefore, for her, trust and relationship gained through ELT would be an excellent strategy for mission work. She imagined that this had little to do with ethics, but was a natural process because she as a Christian had good intentions when it came to her students.

²⁶ Some critics strongly criticize that CETs’ thought of English learners’ trust and friendship can be a base of mission is unethical (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009).
I have no ethical dilemma in the classroom

Kim mentioned a conflict she had to face in her ELT classroom. At times she discovered that her Christian practices were conflicting with the beliefs of some Korean students. For instance, there were some students who were thumbing through the pages of the text book when she was praying on the first day of class. Some were busy on the phone. While she was praying, they would answer the phone. It greatly distracted and bothered her. She had to understand them because they were not Christians. These students came to school only to learn the English language. The CETs of the M language school were supposed to read the Bible text and explain it for five minutes before class every day. The five minute’s time was sometimes a lag for students who were not ready for hearing the Bible text.

However, Kim said she had no personal objections to speaking about the Bible for five minutes. The M language school was a Christian language school, and students were aware of that. Although the M language school did not obtain permission from students, she perceived the advertisements and website of the M language school clearly informed them of the identity of the school. Rather she focused on students who had positive attitudes toward the Bible reading. Some students would come to her and ask some questions, saying that the Bible verse written on the board explained their situation. Others said, “I really like this Bible verse. It made me think about my situation and experience.” Some students, however, said, “I do not care about that.” She could accept all opinions because she believed her role was planting the seed of the gospel.
I gave the student a Christian book for making up his absences

She recounted a story about a student who missed several classes and could not go to the next level because of the absence policy, which was that students in morning classes could not go to the next level if they missed eight or more classes a semester. For evening classes, only five absences were allowed a semester. The rule was not easy for some students, who had busy schedules at their work place. They might have to travel to other places or work late. I found that some students had difficulty in satisfying the requirement of the absence rule. The M language school had some alternatives for students who did not satisfy the requirement of the policy but proved their ability for the next level with their results on the mid-term and final test given each semester.

The M language school had another make up option. Students could erase one absent record if they attended the weekend program twice. Because the weekend programs emphasized English conversation, the school considered the programs effective in improving students’ English conversational skills. At the end of each semester I found the number of attendees of the weekend programs increasing. Most students reasoned that the make-up rule was for their benefit. However, some students seemed to not like the make-up rule. Kim told a story about a student who had to do a make-up. The student had a hectic work schedule that made him accumulate too many absences. His grade was high enough for him to advance to the next level. However, he did not wish to attend the weekend programs to make up his absences. He hoped for an alternative to the weekend activities.

Kim and other CETs discussed this issue at their Monday morning staff meeting. Their solution was to let the student do a book summary in English. The obstacle was that the
book was a Christian book. The student was upset. He did not want to read the book. He wanted to see the vice-director of the M language school to discuss the issue. The vice-director said, “The decision of the teachers is to be respected. I am sorry but I cannot do anything.” The student stopped attending class. I asked Kim about whether her decision of giving a Christian book to him was unethical. She did not think so.

We did our best. If he had to pass, he should have read the book. The book was a good book for him. It was written in easy English as well. I do not think that the decision was unethical.

She assumed the M language school was established for Christian mission, so Christian activities should be carried out, and the decision was not wrong.

**When asked grammar questions, I am embarrassed**

Because some critics have argued that many CETs are not qualified for ELT, I was interested in whether she had any pedagogical dilemma in teaching the English language to Korean adult students at the M language school (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). She had never taught English or any other languages to students before coming to South Korea. She had never studied education or language education at the university. The training period provided by D education for new teachers was only two weeks. Moreover, the first three days of the first week were not devoted to training for language teaching but to Korean culture, how to open a bank account, how to survive in Korea, etc. It seemed that the training period was too short for new teachers to be familiar with both the junior and adult programs. That meant that

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27 A scholar addressed a similar experience that she received a Christian book from her American friend when she had to stay at the friend’s house. She considered that behavior unethical (Kubota, 2009).
new teachers should learn the programs at their local schools through experiencing ELT in the classroom. She said,

We should learn something concerning classes from the coordinator at the local school. However, our coordinators are more focused on policy than on teaching new teachers. Students expect something fresh from new teachers, but instead they make a lot of mistakes in the classroom. What we learned during the orientation is different from what we experience in class.

She pointed out the importance of teachers’ qualifications and of more training courses. Because of the need to train teachers, D education provided financial support to take the TESOL course of an American university that belonged to the S Christian denomination. Some TESOL professors came to South Korea and taught teachers during the term breaks. That reminded me of the power of the worldwide network of the S denomination. However, because of the current economic crisis in the world and some other reasons, D education stopped giving the financial support. It seemed that the qualifications of some native speaking teachers of English presented an obstacle, and some teachers felt the need to strengthen their qualifications. Kim said,

When I am asked about grammar, I am embarrassed because I do not know much about it. I think Jenifer (one of Korean English teachers) knows more than me. I just teach English conversation.

She seemed to experience a pedagogical dilemma because of students’ grammar questions. English education in South Korea has considered grammar important. Korean students are usually proficient in English grammar while they are poor in spoken English.
That kind of dilemma was found among other CETs’ as well. Some native teachers of English assumed that English conversation class could be taught without knowledge of education or English education. That attitude however was incorrect (Edge, 1996, 2003).

**I am a disappointed CET**

Among the participants, Kim was the most disappointed regarding the alteration of policy to allow hiring non-CETs at the M language school. That was related to her motivation when she applied for her job before coming to South Korea. She had wanted to do mission work. She said,

> I firmly believed that ELT was the vehicle that could push our mission work forward before D education introduced the policy of hiring non-CETs to the schools.

She was also discouraged with the current situation in which she and non-CETs had to teach at the same school. When I had initiated this study, the M language school had only CETs. Kim had looked satisfied and been doing her utmost in the classroom and weekend programs without any conflict prior to the new policy. Her dilemma had nothing to do with pedagogical and ethical dilemmas. Rather the matter stemmed from the identity crisis of the school and of her CET. In her eyes, the M language school was losing its mission spirit. She had no didactic and principled concerns about teaching the English language or sharing her Christian beliefs and ideals with students at the M language school. The quandary she suffered from was disorientation in the integrity of the school.

She believed that D education and the M language school were exchanging their mission spirit for the sake of making money. She postulated that the M language school as well as all the schools had swapped their spiritual venture for a business goal. For her, hiring
non-CETs (strictly speaking, non-S denomination English teachers) was evidence that D education was losing its character or mission spirit. She returned to South Africa as a disappointed CET. It was clear that the alteration associated with the integrity of D education transformed her CET identity from a dedicated missionary English teacher to a disappointed missionary English teacher.

Discussion

In this chapter, I have reviewed how Kim’s CET identity operated in her ELT pedagogy in/outside the ELT classroom in terms of English and power, Christianity and ELT, and Pedagogical and moral dilemmas. In this section I examined how Kim’s identity formation was expressed in her ELT pedagogy and activities at a Christian language school.

*English and power.* Globalization and the need for native English speaking teachers in Christian language schools provided Kim this teaching opportunity. Although she had never taught English or majored in Education or language education, she had come to South Korea because she was a Christian who shared the beliefs and values of the S Christian denomination. Her Christian identity was considered more important than Korean English learners’ and the Korean English education market preference for American English over other styles of English. It seemed that there was a misunderstanding in the recruiting process regarding the need for native speaking teachers of English and Koreans’ desire to learn the English language. She did not know she would teach English in class when she was recruited.

*Christianity and ELT.* Her Christian beliefs and values strongly influenced her ELT pedagogy in/outside the ELT classroom. ELT was one of the most effective vehicles for carrying Christian messages to students. For her, ELT was a commendable method of creating
the friendship and trust that made evangelism possible for the Christian mission. Because she thought that Christianity was beneficial for students, she considered using friendship and trust for evangelism through ELT justified. The English educational system of the M language school was therefore perfectly aligned with her Christian identity. Her pedagogy was based on the principles of the Bible, so her pedagogical practices and behaviors were Christianomical. That sometimes opened the way for conflicts between her and students who wanted only English instruction from the teachers at the school. However, the fact that the M language school was a Christian language school made her maintain her one-sided Christian approach to the students.

**Pedagogical and moral dilemmas.** She did not experience any serious pedagogical and ethical dilemmas. That was because she was working at a Christian language school established for the Christian mission. Because her pedagogy was based on the teachings of the Bible, she did not have any ethical dilemma concerning the use of ELT as a means of the Christian mission. Rather her dilemma came from the change in D education’s policy that allowed the hiring non-CETs. It is interesting to see that the global economic crisis, which influenced the identity of both a Christian language school and a Christian English teacher, also affected the pedagogy of the M language school and CETs. She was practicing Christian education pedagogy while non-CETs were not, so she felt a serious confusion of identity.

**Reflection**

Kim’s ELT experience also reminds TESOL educators of the need to pay more attention to CETs working in ESL/EFL contexts. She challenges TESOL educators to deepen their understanding about the definition of identity. Norton (1997) emphasizes the importance
of relationship with the world in the formation of a person’s identity. If the world is restricted as was the research site at which Kim was working, the relationship empowers and reproduces the identity of the teachers without considering the danger of imposing a teacher’s values and beliefs. Kim’s Christian identity and habitus were strengthened in an ELT circumstance in which the institute supports and systematically operates with the community institutions such as church (Bourdieu, 1991; Wenger, 1999). Conversely, the identity of a teacher is easily damaged when the policies of the institute do not align with its professed identity. Here the question of harmonization between the philosophy of TESOL and that of Christianity arises because TESOL pursues multiculturalism while Christianity has a singular focus.
CHAPTER EIGHT

GOMEZ: FROM ENGLISH LITERATURE READER TO PROUD AMERICAN CHRISTIAN ENGLISH TEACHER

In this chapter, Gomez’s stories and experiences in both his home country and in/outside of the ELT classroom at the M language school are analyzed with a focus on topics of English and power, Christianity and ELT, and Pedagogical and moral dilemmas. These three matters are closely interconnected. This chapter is divided into three sections that correspond to the main themes of this research. Each section provides stories and experiences to show how Gomez’s CET identities related to his ELT in terms of the critical problems.

English and Power

In this section, I review how English was related to Gomez’s power concerns such as English as linguistic capital and Christianity as cultural capital. In addition, I describe his perceptions and understandings of linguistic and cultural imperialism.

English is the channel of multilingualism and multiculturalism

Gomez understood that English was a very influential language because it could be a bridge that could connect people with one another. He said,

Some teachers came from South Africa; others did from America or other countries.

You are a Korean. We need a language for communication.

His remark raised the question of why the English language should be the language of communication among people. He did not know why the English language should be the language for communication. That never crossed his mind. He had just been enjoying being a
native speaker. He said he recently began realizing power of the English language in South Korea. He recounted an experience. He was walking along the street. Someone came to him and asked where he came from. He answered that he came from Texas. The passer-by said immediately, “Wow! Cowboy.” That was a shocking experience for him because he came to understand the power of English and American culture. The person wanted to talk with him in English. He began realizing that English had brought him to South Korea and developed him into an English teacher. He experienced the power of English even in the street. He realized that the English language was moving English speakers to many parts of the world. He had unconsciously been advancing the English language and American culture.

English teaching in South Korea was very appealing for him. Before coming to South Korea, he had never anticipated becoming an English teacher. However, he was becoming more interested in teaching the English language to Korean students. He regarded his purpose as teaching students to speak the language fluently. Because he spoke American English, he was attractive to D education.28 The nationalities of teachers showed that D education considered teachers’ nationality paramount. All the teachers had been given the opportunity to teach the English language to Korean students because they were native English speakers like Gomez. Interestingly enough the various nationalities of the teachers gave them the opportunity to experience multiculturalism and multilingualism among themselves. The English language had brought CETs whose nationalities were different together at the M language school and experience different languages and cultures.

28 According to the distribution of teachers working for the schools of D education in 2014, nationalities of the teachers were the following: USA (81), South Africa (32), England (10), Canada (4), Ireland (7), New Zealand (1), Guyana (1), Australia (3), Mexico (1).
American English is a powerful form of linguistic capital

Gomez was surprised to see Koreans’ desire to learn the English language. When he arrived in South Korea, he could not understand why English was so popular with Koreans. However, as time went by, he began to understand the reasons. He said,

   English is important for business. When Koreans meet native speakers of English, they want to speak English fluently. I have a lot of students who want to speak the English language for travel. It seems that it is source of stress to them. That is probably my biggest perception of English here. Learning another language is difficult, but Koreans are pushing through it.

   He speculated that there were numerous motives for Koreans to learn the English language. He sensed that they were being propelled acquire English as a form of linguistic capital in the Korean community as well as in the international market. In fact, the English language was a powerful linguistic capital for Gomez as well. Originally, he had been searching for a missionary position; however, he became interested in teaching the English language more and more. He affirmed that his goal was to teach the English language to students well to help them speak the language fluently. Among the participants of this research, Gomez was most strongly motivated to help his students speak the English language well and like Americans. He had been always in interested in languages. Although he had not known the power of the English language, he began realizing its status and influence today.

   He also commented on Koreans’ preference for American English. He did not think of himself as special, but he found that being an American English speaker seemed to draw more attention in South Korea. That put more pressure on him. He judged all the patterns of
English served the same purpose simply as a means of communication. He did not understand why American English was preferred by Koreans. He said,

> English is a mother language in America. Just like the Korean language in Korea. British English is O.K. Southern English is O.K. Northern English is O.K. Standard English is nonsense.

He in essence believed that all the styles of English should have equal status. He began contemplating why American English was preferred in South Korea. He said that that might be the influence of the media. He seemed not to have reflected on the matter previously even though he had been teaching the English language in South Korea. Meditating on the issue and experiencing Korean society appeared to affect his attitude toward the English language and his American identity. He once spoke about the change in his behaviors because of realizing his American identity. He thought he should behave more carefully as a representative of American society, whether or not he was conscious of it. He did not want Americans to be misunderstood because of his behaviors. His experience of teaching the English language in South Korea was advancing him to a new level of understanding of the power of the English language and of contemplating what being an American in foreign countries might mean. He began reforming his American identity through his experiences in South Korea.

**Christianity and ELT**

In this section, I examine how Christianity and ELT functioned cooperatively in Gomez’s ELT teaching experiences at the M language school and through his activities with
students outside the classroom. I focus on the topics of English as a missionary language, and of spreading English and Christianity through ELT.

**Christianity has formed my identity**

As I interviewed Gomez, I realized that the CETs including Gomez were not aware of linguistic and cultural imperialism. Although the very presence of the CETs in Korea might be related to linguistic and cultural imperialism, they were unaware of these points of contention. Gomez and other CETs participating in this research were so convinced of their Christian beliefs and values that they justified executing the mission of Christianity through ELT. They had never reasoned that the diffusion of English and Christianity could be attributed to linguistic and cultural imperialism. Rather, for them, English language learning (ELL) was a blessing to students. That view was also related to their personal religious journeys, which had formed their current Christian identity. I realized that their personal Christian faith experiences and journeys were crucial to understand to deeply address the issues of ELT and Christianity.

Gomez was born into an S Christian denomination home in Brazil and moved to the USA when he was an adolescent. His mother was a Brazilian. His parents were divorced when he was very young. His father was not consistent in religion, but his mother was a sincere Christian who accelerated the growth of his Christian faith greatly. She had experienced different Christian denominations. She took him to church from an early age. He thought he was blessed to become a member of the S Christian denomination. He considered the S Christian denomination to be the only Christian denomination that was keeping the whole teachings of the Bible. He was a conservative Christian. The Christian beliefs and
values he learned from his mother had formed his Christian identity from his early age. Throughout his entire life he had viewed the world through the lens of his Christian values and beliefs. Without Christian beliefs and values, he claimed, his life would have already collapsed. He said,

I try to make Jesus the center of my life as much as I can. If I am not able to read the Bible as much as I want, I do during the lunch time. I start every day with a prayer. I read a daily devotional book. I read the Psalms every day.

Along with being an English teacher, he was a sincere Christian. He was a passionate teacher in the classroom and an ardent supporter of the S Christian denomination. Besides being handsome, he was kind and always nice to students. He was one of the most popular teachers in the school. I observed that his influence was great among the students of the M language school. One student said, “Gomez was an excellent teacher as well as a gentleman.” The imbalance of power between him as a teacher and students as learners in the classroom strengthened his influence on them. He liked talking with students about life and Christian beliefs. His Christian beliefs and values were being instilled into the students’ minds through ELT in class and activities outside the classroom. A teacher’s beliefs and the atmosphere created in the classroom might influence students more than any size crusade because the teacher and his/her students meet, talk, and exchange cultures in a close relationship every day. His popularity in/outside the ELT classroom was an efficient means of educating others on the values and beliefs of the S Christian denomination.

**English being used as a missionary language is no problem**
English was not only his heritage language, but the language through which Gomez formed his Christian identity at home. For him, English as a Christian missionary language was just an extension of English as a heritage language. That was clear according to his story about how he grew up and his Christian convictions and beliefs. Moreover, he strongly believed that only the S denomination was following the whole teachings of the Bible. His mother tongue, the English language, was an effective instrument through which his Christian beliefs and cultures could permeate students’ lives. His strong linguistic background helped him effectively use English as a missionary language in/outside the ELT classroom.29

I was drawn to his sentiments on CETs’ taking advantage of English and employing it for their mission work. He asked me, “Should not a Christian think of what could he/she use for Christian mission?” He continued,

If I am an English teacher, I am going to use English as the tool provided by God. That is why I have to use the English language. I have realized that English is very important to students. My focus is teaching them English as best as I know how. If I can spread Christianity as much as I can, I think it good. … Using English is O.K. for spreading Christianity.

It was clear that he considered CETs’ adopting English as a missionary language was effective and favorable for Christian mission. Because he gave credit to God for his language and considered it as a tool, he was encouraged to use the English language as a missionary language, even in the classroom. For him there was no dispute. Since 1969, all the teachers

29 Gee (1989) contends that mastering a language does not mean only acquiring a language. Acquiring a language includes learning the speakers’ language culture, thoughts, behaviors, customs so forth. Only learning a language is impossible without considering other factors.
working for D education, including the M language school, were supposed to use the first five minutes of class for reading a Bible verse and saying a short prayer. D education has kept the rule over the past forty years. The five minutes had never been a point of contention among students at the M language school before non-CETs were employed in 2013. That might be because most students knew that the M language school was a Christian language school. Gomez was applying the five-minute worship time as a prime chance to share his Christian beliefs with students. He said,

We have five minutes. The time is good for learning English as well. It is good. I repeat some [religious] words for students to follow.

It was true that some English learning was happening during the five minute worship time. However, whether the students would think of the time as well spent might be a different matter. As the number of non-CETs grew, some complications were arising regarding the five minute worship time. I heard that a student raised an issue about the five minute worship time at a language school of D education. I observed that D education was making efforts to increase the number of CETs again instead of employing non-CETs more. After all, D education seemed to be going back to the past when all the teachers of English were Christians of the S denomination because it could not give up its institutional identity. However, I also observed going back was difficult.

**My Christian identity as a CET is a means to advance the moral codes of Christianity**

In spreading Christianity, all the participants of this research agreed that behaviors based on their Christian identity were more crucial than ELT. ELT was just a means. Gomez said an instance,
I went to a restaurant with students. They ordered alcohol. I ordered water. Why do (you) not drink? A student asked. I explained to them that my body is God’s temple. So I did not drink alcohol. They were curious about me.

Their conversation continued and students heard from him about health messages recorded in the Bible. Because students usually invited him to have lunch, some conversations were Christian topics very often. He had opportunities for teaching the Bible principles to students and of sharing his beliefs and values with them. In the conversations, he explained drinking alcohol in American culture as well. He found that in the Korean culture, employees would go with their boss for drinking together sometimes even though they did not want to. He introduced American individualism to his students. Gomez realized that in America, individualism was an important value while in Korea collectivism was stronger than individualism. His case confirmed the observations of critics that CETs were spreading English and Christianity (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). Because of high interest in the English language, students were not concerned about their exposure to Gomez’s western and Christian cultural values. ELT was at the heart of spreading both.

**Student-centered teaching is effective in ELT**

Gomez extracted religion class materials from Christian websites. Other CETs in this research preferred the Bible to other Christian materials. Gomez’s teaching method differed from those of other CETs in the sense that his method was student-centered. His goal was to communicate with students to encourage them formulate their own ideas on the topics. The difference between Gomez and other teachers reflected their learning backgrounds at home. According to Kim and Luria, South African teaching methods were teacher-centered while
Gomez’s was student-centered. It is difficult for me to judge which is positive or negative for it is simply a matter of cultural difference and perhaps preference. However, Gomez’s religion class was more active than other CETs’ classes because there were more interactions between the teacher and students.

One of his religion class materials was about honesty. Honesty was a topic in which many students were interested because they could easily participate in the discussion. The material was composed of five parts: key thought, vocabulary, grammar exercise, Bible verse, and questions for discussion. He used a general-specific approach, which went from general principles to specific applications. In the key thought section, he introduced the definition of honesty and dishonesty. For vocabulary, he addressed words related to honesty such as *quality, sincere, consistently, deliberately, withhold, and accomplish*. Gomez asked questions about the students’ definitions for the words. In the grammar exercise part, he provided some blanks to be filled in with proper words. In the Bible verse part, he suggested a Bible verse on the matter of honesty: “Do not steal. Do not lie. Do not deceive one another (Leviticus 19:11).” In the discussion questions part were eleven questions, including the following:

- Is it easy to be honest all the time? Yes or No. Has anyone ever been dishonest with you? Yes or No. God says that lying and stealing are sometimes okay. True or False?
- Why do you think the Bible verse tells us not to steal, lie, or deceive one another?

Gomez used easy English for the students to understand his materials well. As a result of the interactions between him and the students, his students reported that they were satisfied with his religion class. His student-centered teaching approach seemed to make them
feel comfortable expressing their opinions. The low stress level seemed to encourage them to participate actively in discussions. His religion classes were popular among students who wanted to participate in active discussion in a comfortable atmosphere, which reflected such Christian values as warmth and kindness. These qualities of his teaching support his efforts to spread Christianity.

I am a compassionate CET teacher

His pedagogy was based on Christian beliefs and values. I asked him about whether there was a difference between CETs and non-CETs in teaching students. He said that there was a vast difference, for instance, he had Christian compassion for the students. He said,

I am trying to correct students’ English mistakes as much as I can. … At first I thought I probably was intervening too much into their conversation. I know they want help from me to learn English. I try to fix every error and hear the sentences spoken by them as much as I can. … When I was in school, it was difficult for me to receive compassion from teachers. … I work with students as much as I can.

His pedagogy and teaching practices were based on his Christian beliefs and values, which had greatly impacted his CET identity formation and reformation. Many non-CETs had compassion for students as well; however, his was based on the teachings of the Bible. The foundation was different between the two. That caused a considerable difference because the different foundations created different pedagogical practices. Non-CETs had their foundations of pedagogy such as progressive education as well (Dewey, 1998). Gomez had a clear

30 Low stress in the ELT classroom is very important for improving the learners’ English.
foundation of his pedagogy, which was Christianity. A student said, “He is a very caring English teacher.” Gomez said.

Some students said the CETs of the M language school are nicer and kinder than those whom they met in the previous language schools. I do not know why they think like that.

His modest response seemed due to the formation of his Christian character through the consistent interaction and practices among and in religious communities. As a CET, he said that he had been attempting to focus on students themselves as well as to improve their English. In other words, he was interested in his students’ lives as well as their learning. His interest in students’ lives was a strong force driving him to work more closely with students. Like other CETs in this research, he clearly showed that Christian beliefs and values had been affecting his pedagogical practices.

**Pedagogical and Ethical Dilemmas**

In this section I survey whether Gomez experienced any pedagogical dilemmas in ELT or ethical issues as a CET practicing ELT as a means of Christian mission. Gomez had never taught the English language or any language before coming to South Korea. In addition, explore whether he had dilemmas besides pedagogical and ethical dilemmas, and how he coped with any dilemmas he experienced.

**I did not want to be an ELT teacher**

In order to look at whether Gomez encountered any pedagogical dilemmas, I considered how he had become involved in ELT at the M language school. He said he was
searching for mission-orientated work. He asked some of his friends about relevant websites and began surfing for information regarding mission fields abroad. He found a website linked to D education. When he visited the D education website, he found a posting for a missionary English teacher who would teach the English language at a Christian language school. He enjoyed the English language, especially English literature, which he read as much as he could. The idea of teaching English in South Korea appealed to him as he had never considered that ELT could be a means of doing Christian mission work. He was proud of the English language, and his interest in English prose had always made him want to be a better English writer. However, he had never considered becoming an English teacher. He said, “Honestly, I did not think about that direction.” He never imagined that he would teach the English language to Korean English learners.

I was interested in what made him decide to become an ELT teacher in South Korea when he had never taught before. I was interested in how the D education website recruited native teachers of English. However, the website was changed after Gomez applied for a position with D education, at which time there was only a missionary English teacher contract. After D education’s new policy of recruiting native teachers of English regardless of religious affiliation, there are two different contracts for missionary teacher and English

31 According to the current D education website, there were two different kinds of contract: missionary teacher and English teacher. Missionary teacher must be a baptized S Christian denomination member; a completed Bachelor’s degree; 21 to 60 years of age; a citizen of one of the following countries: USA, Australia, Canada, England, New Zealand, and South Africa. English teacher must be a baptized S Christian denomination member; education major or English major preferred; have previously taught at D education for at least a year; 21 to 60 years of age; a citizen of one of the following countries: USA, Australia, Canada, England, New Zealand, and South Africa. D education developed a new policy of differentiating missionary teacher from English teacher. A change of the identity of D education appeared.
teacher. According to the policy book issued in 2005, the qualifications of missionary English teachers were the following:

Be dedicated to Jesus Christ and to the advancement of the kingdom; be a baptized member of the S Christian denomination in good and regular standing, willing to live a lifestyle consistent with the standards of the S Christian denomination church; be a native English speaker or have native English speaker ability; hold a bachelor’s degree or the equivalent, as allowed by the Korean government.

That policy had endured years before the current requirements were updated in 2013. Gomez was a qualified missionary English teacher based on the criteria in the policy manual. After an interview, he came to the M language school to teach the English language to Korean English learners. He believed that being a qualified S Christian denomination member would be more important than anything else. He reasoned that his qualifications for teaching the English language to Korean English learners were satisfactory. He said,

You know, if you want to be a teacher of D education, you should be baptized. That is the most important thing. I think the qualifications of all the current teachers are O.K. For many teachers at first, teaching can be difficult. But going through training courses and the experience of the first semester will make teachers be qualified for teaching English in the classroom. Being thrown in the classroom is the best method of learning how to teach students well. Even from the best college, you cannot learn how to teach English to Korean English learners in Korea. Being a good teacher requires a day by day process in the host country. Qualifications? The teachers working here are O.K.
He did not have any serious pedagogical dilemmas at the M language school. He believed his qualifications were adequate, and his teaching skills were improving through the teaching experience. I was interested in why almost none of the teachers experienced any pedagogical dilemmas even though many of them had never taught English or majored in English, education or language education at a university. They theorized that as native English speakers, they were equipped to teach those who could not speak English. In fact I heard that from other teachers as well. Principally the adult program of the M language school was conversational in nature, so they hoped that they could teach English conversational classes after some training without formal knowledge of language education, English education or education. They rationalized that Christian beliefs and teachings of the Bible were better educational foundations than any other educational philosophies for teaching students well. In fact, their pedagogy was based on the teachings and principles of the Bible.

**Ethically speaking, CETs’ using ELT as a means of mission is no problem**

I asked him about how he interpreted of CETs’ using ELT as a means of Christian mission. I also explained to him that numerous language educators have criticized CETs’ utilizing ELT for Christian mission. He responded like this:

In one of my college classes, the professor lectured on evolution. A professor revealed his political bias in class. Why should only we Christians be criticized?

His response demonstrated that the classroom could not be neutral. He deduced that he would employ English as a tool for Christian mission because God provided humans with languages. He said that he discovered that English was a life-line to Korean students. If he
could advance Christianity through ELT, he would utilize ELT as much as he could. English was a truly favorable way for transmission of Christianity. He did not think of using ELT as a means of Christian mission as unethical. He perceived that his job was to plant seeds in his students’ mind to grow into maturity. His answer was similar to the findings of previous research indicating that CETs considered their job as planting seed (Snow, 2001). He as a CET did not think of his goal as winning souls. He said the concept of soul-winning did not make sense to him. His focus was to teach Korean students English as best as he could. He was convinced that CETs’ using ELT as a means of Christian mission was no concern; however, hiring non-CETs would create difficulties because they would not do the mission work of a Christian language school established to spread the gospel.

He experienced a dilemma concerning the identity of the school because of its employing non-CETs to strengthen the quality of teaching. He believed that the school should be a mission field. He emphasized the fact that since 1969 all the schools including the M language school had been mission oriented. However, D education had begun focusing on business interests. The M language school had non-CETs who were more qualified English teachers but had no Christian mission spirit. He said,

I do not have any problem working with non-CETs. In the USA, I worked with people having various religious faiths…. I am in the middle about the issue of hiring non-CETs at the school. I understand the Korean market. However, I think we should be very careful not to lose our Christian identity.

Ethically speaking, he did not have any quandary; however, concerning the identity of the school he felt a spiritual dilemma. One of the supervisors of D education said,
It is true that non-CETs are ready for teaching English better than CETs. However, the dilemma we have is that the former do not have Christian faith. And even though they have a Christian faith, their faith is different from ours. Their beliefs and values are different than ours in some aspects.

The spiritual dilemma caused by hiring non-CETs was foremost in the minds of all the CETs of the M language school.

**I am confused about the identity of the M language school**

Interestingly, Gomez met many students who were interested in the Bible at the M language school. He believed that his pedagogy was greatly affected by his Christian beliefs. He felt compassionate toward the many Korean adult students striving to learn the English language. He said that he had never felt a deep compassion from his teachers throughout his school years. However, he as a CET felt a deep compassion and love for Korean English learners. He sought to correct their errors and listen to their sentences as much as he could. He tried to make students understand the importance of English.

He believed that there was a clear distinction between CETs and non-CETs. He said non-CETs were focusing solely on teaching the English language. Of course, they were also interested in students’ lives however; CETs were more interested in students’ lives. For instance, one day one of his students said to him that CETs were caring teachers. He said that CETs were kinder and nicer compared to other teachers he had met before at other language schools. Some students said that he was different because of his behaviors. For instance, he went to a restaurant with students. They ordered alcohol drinks, but he ordered water. They were curious and asked him the reason. He answered his body was God’s temple. They were
surprised.

He believed that he had to be careful about how he presented himself as an American. He endeavored to constantly keep Christian principles before him. He felt disappointed at what was developing at the M language school. He was concerned that the M language school and all the D education schools were losing their mission spirit. He said that that was something they should not lose. He experienced a change of his identity from an English teacher to a dedicated CET through teaching the English language to Korean students at the M language school.

**Discussion**

In this chapter, I have determined how Gomez’s CET identity functioned in his ELT pedagogy in/outside ELT classroom in terms of English and power, Christianity and ELT, and pedagogical and moral dilemmas. In this segment I review how Gomez’s identity formation related to his ELT pedagogy at a Christian language school.

*English and power.* Gomez is an American English speaker. He did not realize the power of his American English and culture before coming to South Korea to teach the English language. His ELT experience and life in South Korea strengthened his American identity as he found himself privileged in a foreign country where English is a desired language. He judged that all the other forms of English should have the same status and power, but he admitted that Koreans preferred standard American English to other forms of English. He considered the reason was the global influence of American culture. He did his utmost to improve Korean students’ English skills. Among the study participants, he placed higher emphasis on the improvement of English.
Christianity and ELT. His Christian identity was closely related to his ELT pedagogy. He did not have formal knowledge of pedagogy because he had not majored in education, language education, or English education. However, he did not experience any pedagogical dilemmas in teaching English to Korean students. That the teaching site was a Christian language school seemed to justify his Christian pedagogy. His teaching was totally based on the teachings and foundations of the Bible. This pedagogy was effective because his Christian attitude and behavior made students think of English and Christianity as attractive. His students worked diligently. He had established a positive relationship with students, which increased their motivation to study English diligently and be inspired by Christianity.

Pedagogical and moral dilemmas. He did not encounter any pedagogical and moral dilemmas. His using ELT as a means of Christian mission caused no concern because for him languages were a God-given gift to mankind. Using languages for Christian mission should be encouraged for Christians. He had come simply to be an English teacher, but he evolved into a dedicated Christian English teacher through his ELT at the M language school, showing that the M language school changed teachers into missionaries. Luria also said that she had come to Korea as an English teacher, but she would return to her country as a missionary and work for her people. Like other participants, Gomez worried about the new policy of hiring non-CETs. Because of that, he felt some confusion regarding his missionary identity.

Reflection

Through his ELT in Korea, Gomez experienced the power and prestige of American English (Phillipson, 1992). In his ELT classroom and through everyday conversations with
students, he felt the power and status of his mother tongue. That raises the issue of the ownership (Norton, 2009). Who really owns the English language? The findings on Gomez and other participants confirm that a person’s identities are multiple and changing as they are socio-culturally situated (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978). The findings also confirm that a person’s habitus will not change easily (Bourdieu, 1991). Rather at the M language school, which is a Christian language school, the Christian habitus of the CETs was strengthening. That made Gomez a dedicated Christian English teacher.
CHAPTER NINE
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discuss the findings of this research in relation to the critical issues of *English and power, Christianity and ELT, and pedagogical and ethical dilemmas* in *language teacher education* and draw conclusions about the overarching research questions: (1) How do CETs' identities relate to their ELT pedagogy in and outside the ELT classroom at a Christian language school in South Korea? (2) How do CETs’ identities relate to the institutional identity? and (3) How does CETs’ ELT relate to expansion of Christianity? After general discussion, I will theorize the teacher identity of Christian English teachers working at a Christian language school in South Korea. I will also examine contributions and implications of this research in the TESOL field. I will offer suggestions for further study as well.

**General Discussion**

In Chapters Four through Eight, I explored how four CETs’ identities related to their ELT pedagogy at a Christian language school in South Korea in terms of English and power, Christianity and ELT, pedagogical and ethical dilemma. Because this focus in empirical research is a virgin area in the TESOL field, it is helpful to interpret the results relating to these three points in terms of identity theory frameworks. The three critical arguments have been addressed separately, but they were closely intertwined in the experiences of my study participants and cannot be explored in isolation of each other. In the following I discuss these three critical motifs in relation to the research questions.

*English and power:* English is a desired, powerful, global and international language
especially in this globalization era. The law of supply and demand connects English teachers with English learners. The study participants, having the linguistic capital of the English language, came to an expanding circle country, South Korea, where English learners sought linguistic, economic, and cultural capital through acquiring the English language. The study participants brought their home identities to Korean English learners. All the participants found themselves privileged because of their being native speakers of English. Gomez revealed the reformation of his national identity as an American and American English speaker. Before coming to South Korea, he had no awareness of the privilege of being an American English speaker. His growing realization of the power and status of English in South Korea affected his pedagogy in his ELT classes. He wanted to help Korean English learners to improve their English skills to have access to linguistic capital. Even though there was power imbalance in his ELT classroom, his student-centered teaching method lowered students' stress levels. His student-centered teaching method was different from those of Kim and Luria, who came from South Africa where teaching methods are teacher-centered.

John was proud of his British English. His pride impacted his ELT pedagogy. He exposed his preference for British English over other Englishes. Interestingly, his dislike of American English was due to his personal experience of being denied entry to the USA by the immigration officials. By exposing his perceptions of America and American English in his ELT class, he demonstrated that a language teacher cannot teach only the target language and an ELT classroom cannot be neutral. His British English speaker identity was strengthened by his personal experience and impacted Korean English learners. His proud British English speaker identity was socio-culturally situated, showing the tension between British English and American English.
Luria and Kim were speakers of South African English. They did not know that there are many Engli

hess. They also felt the power and status of English. Even though their country is thousands of kilometers away from South Korea, their being native speakers of English made it possible for them to have English teaching jobs in South Korea. They were proud of Africa and Africans. They were privileged even in South Africa because they could travel to English schools in other countries. In other words, they belonged to an elite group which enjoys access to social, cultural, and economic capital through the English language. Their native speaking identity was bolstered through ELT.

All the study participants reconstructed their English speaker's identities as privileged native English speaking teachers. All of them were spreading their cultures; however, they did not consider that their activities could be related to linguistic and cultural imperialism. Globalization does not allow people to be isolated. Even though Koreans prefer American English to other Englishes, I have seen that South Korea is becoming a multicultural and multilingual country day by day. English, globalization, and English teachers are intertwined. And among these factors, the study participants' English teacher identities changed in time and space.

Christianity and ELT. It is critical to realize that the study participants were not just English teachers but they were Christian English teachers (CETs). Exploring CETs’ identity and ELT pedagogy revealed that the study participants' Christian identity was at the center of their critical viewpoints. English, power, globalization and Christianity were interconnected in all the study participants' ELT experiences. But I found the differences in how these phenomena impacted the participants' pedagogy and reformed their identity. Christianity was the strongest factor in the participants' identities. None of the participants had any plans to
become an English teacher in South Korea. However, their Christian mission brought them to South Korea to teach English at a Christian language school. The highest authorities, God and the Bible, were regulating their ideas and behaviors. These authorities were the foundation of their English teaching pedagogy.

The world mission identity of the S Christian denomination, to which the study participants belonged, provides fundamental doctrines that regulate the identity of D education, which is one of the institutions of the S Christian denomination. The research site, which is one of the language schools of D education, is a systematically working Christian language school in which the CETs were teaching English to Korean English learners with Christian pedagogy based on the principles and teachings of the Bible. The M language school has a church in the school, and it uses ELT as an effective means of dispersing the values and beliefs of the S Christian denomination. The system has been successful for the last 46 years.

Kim came as a regular English teacher, but returned to her country as a missionary to her people. The M language school is not just sponsoring ELT but (re)producing missionaries through the system. The Christian M language school, CETs, students’ desire to learn English, and the world mission of the S Christian denomination work dynamically together. At the center are ELT and CETs. Students are naturally cycle through system. They learn Christianity as well as the English language. In this system, the study participants’ Christian English teacher identity evolved into that of a dedicated CET. The continual question in the system is whether the CETs understand the importance of multiculturalism and multilingualism. It seems that there has been lack of these ideologies. For example, I observed a conflict between Kim and a student who did not want to read a Christian book for
TESOL educators have ignored the importance of religious identities. Rather there is atmosphere of reluctance to deal with language educators' religious identity questions. However, today's world is a world in which cultures are conflicting seriously in many areas of the world. Christian denominations send CETs to the third world continuously. ELT classrooms in ESL/EFL contexts are and will be a site of struggle as long as Christian denominations send CETs and use ELT as a means to advance their doctrines. Because religious identity is one of the strongest identities, CETs' pedagogy is naturally Christian pedagogy. The findings of this research show that it works well.

Pedagogical and ethical dilemma. It is interesting that none of the CETs except John experienced a serious ethical dilemma about using ELT as a means of the Christian mission. And even John believed ELT was one of the most effective methods for Christian mission despite his disapproval of the make-up rule of the M language school. The study participants argued that teachers should not impose their Christian values and beliefs on students. However, they also believed ELT could be used as a means of friendship and trust evangelism. Friendship and trust evangelism has been criticism (Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). For the CETs, friendship and trust are Christian principles. Also none of the participants experienced pedagogical dilemmas even though they had not majored in an ELT related field. That is because their Christian values and principles overrode other values and principles. As a language educator, I feel that D education should strengthen the training course for CETs to support their pedagogy and deepen their understandings about concerns related to CETs in ESL/EFL contexts.
The Bible provides many educational principles. The CETs gave first priority to the principles of the Bible. However, all the participants felt a serious identity dilemma when D education began hiring non-CETs or CETs who had different Christian faiths, which undoubtedly altered the characteristics of the institution and understandably caused confusion. Kim became a disappointed CET. The other participants worried about the change. I observed that many CETs left the schools instead of accepting the change. Religious identity in its purest form does not shift easily and is not flexible. Above all, religious identity is not simple. I have recently observed that D education is trying to return to a policy of hiring only CETs because it has been found that any change in the Christian identity of the institution damages all the members.

**Toward a Theory of Teacher Identity**

In Chapters Four through Eight, I have revealed how the identities of Christian English teachers as situated in time and space changed in relation to the critical issues of this research. I have learned that the CETs’ situated identities were socioculturally constructed through language and discourse in their ELT activities (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978). The CETs’ identity construction confirmed my definition of identity as based on multiple perspectives. In addition, the CETs’ identity formation showed the importance of a teacher’s religious identity. First, CETs’ ELT experiences showed that teacher identity is formed by personal engagement in the teaching community and the Christian community of a Christian language school (Wenger, 1998; Anderson, 1983). Second, CETs’ ELT experiences and narratives revealed that teacher identity is not fixed, but fluid, multiple, contradictory, dynamic, complicated, religiously sensitive and changeable over time and space (Norton, 1995, 1997, 2000). Thirdly, CETs’ ELT teaching experiences and stories demonstrated that a teacher’s
identity is affected by having linguistic and cultural capital such as English and Christianity in a foreign country (Bourdieu, 1996, 1998). Fourthly, CETs’ narratives revealed that teacher identity is formed by social, cultural, political, and religious contexts (Duff & Uchida, 1997). Lastly, CETs’ ELT experiences at a Christian language school showed that a teacher’s religious identity is formed, affected and regulated by the Christian identity of the institute he/she is working for (Wong & Canagarajah, 2003; Wong, Kristjansson, & Dornyei, 2013).

To sum up, the (re)formation of the identity of CETs working at a Christian language school in South Korea revealed that their CET identity is closely related to their home social and cultural norms and conventions, and their Christian experiences in their home countries as well as in the host country. Their CET identity is changeable, dynamic, complicated, and contradictory as a consequence of participating in the teaching community and Christian Community of a Christian language school.

Contributions and Implications

This research can contribute both to TESOL educators who seriously consider the growing population of CETs in ELT contexts and to theories of language teacher identity formation. This research can also contribute to raising CETs’ critical awareness of English, power, religion and ideology in ELT contexts. I will also deal with implications for CETs teaching worldwide in ELT contexts and native teachers of English with a religious orientation teaching English in ELT contexts.

For TESOL educators

TESOL educators have ignored or neglected matters related to religion and the identity of English teachers with a religious orientation in ELT contexts. CETs have been
proliferating in the TESOL field, chiefly in the third world (Snow, 2001; Edge, 2003, Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). The findings of this research inform TESOL educators of the need for more empirical research on this population and accommodate the influence of religious orientation on teaching and student learning without imposing their own personal attitudes (Johnston, 2009). This research clearly shows that TESOL educators should take interest in this growing area of their field, including the proliferation of CETs in light of globalization, the growth of Christianity, and the USA’s foreign policies (Phillipson, 1992; Snow, 2009; Wong & Canagarajah, 2009). It is in the interest of the field not to judge the population but to understand them and what is going on in ELT contexts. This research can contribute to helping TESOL educators understand what is occurring in CETs’ ELT classrooms and the influence of CETs’ identities on English learners.

For teacher identity theories

This research can contribute to the development of theories of identity formation. Various identity theories have rightly considered the construction of teacher’s socially, culturally, and politically situated identities in time and space (Norton, 1997; 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). However, the formation and change of CETs’ Christian identities in this research indicates that a Christian institute operating under a higher spiritual authority can systematically impact the formation of a teacher’s identity within specific teaching contexts. Religious identity may be one of the strongest and most stubborn identities (Johnston & Varghese, 2006, 2007; Johnston, 2009). In this research, I have found that the CETs’ Christian identity changes cursorily but does not change the essence of their values and faiths. This research also shows that in dealing with teacher’s religious identity, researchers should deeply understand the different identity formation of teachers according to different Christian
values and beliefs. Some critical language educators showed their ignorance of this aspect (Wong & Canagarajah, 2009).

For CETs

This study can contribute to helping Christian denominations understand the need for training the CETs they are recruiting to send to many parts of the world. This research clearly shows that the Christian institutions should educate their CETs to understand linguistic and cultural imperialism, multilingualism and multiculturalism, and World Englishes (WE) (Kachru, 1986, 1992). The ELT classroom is not neutral, and power imbalance exists between teacher and students (Johnston, 2003). CETs can spread English and Christianity without being aware of the results. CETs need to practice the principle of respect for other values and beliefs. That would be one way for them to harmonize with others who have different beliefs and values. One of the Christian principles is servanthood. Therefore, CETs need to have critical awareness for deeper understanding of the ELT contexts in which they teach the English language. They should be educated on the points of English and power, Christianity and ELT, and pedagogical and ethical dilemmas. The Christian institutions should train CETs to be better prepared as English teachers. This research confirms some criticism that many CETs are unqualified for teaching a language. They need more ELT pedagogy training courses.

English teachers with a religious orientation

We are living a world where cultures and religions are conflicting with each other. The Islamic State and Al-Qaeda have been confronting Christianity and the West during the past years. The population of Islam is flourishing in the world. The Syrian civil war has been
producing refugees for years. They are driving their Islamic influence into all of Europe. We have already seen conflicts between them and Christians in Europe. Cultural conflicts will be increasing (Huntington, 1997). We should consider that Christianity and the West have the world mission spirit (Johnston, & Varghese, 2006). There are innumerable possibilities for conflict between Christianity, the West, and Islam. In addition, Christian denominations and the West, especially the USA, consider ELT as an effective means of propagating their values and ideologies (Phillipson, 1992; Johnston, & Varghese, 2006; Pennycook & Coutand-Marin, 2003). Therefore, understanding multilingualism and multiculturalism is of great importance today. There will be a copious supply of English teachers who consider themselves religious. Considering that power in ELTs’ classrooms is not at equilibrium, and teacher’s ideologies influence the students, this research can stimulate thinking concerning teacher identity in ELT contexts, notably in the third world where English is a desired and privileged language.

Suggestions for Further Research

This research is about the CETs teaching the English language to Korean English learners at a Christian language school in South Korea, where English language is a desired language that is advantageous in accessing linguistic, cultural and economic capital. Its purpose is not to generalize but to contextualize. However, the findings of this research may be applied to similar situations where English is being taught by English teachers with a religious orientation. Because I focused on CETs of the S Christian denomination, I did not include native speaking teachers of English with no religion or dissimilar Christian faiths even though they were working with the study participants at the same Christian language school. Further research would be more informative if it includes their voices and experiences.
In addition, there are many CETs working at language schools that are not Christian language schools. The M language school was a Christian mission field that has an integral system such as its having a church on site, Korean English Christian teachers, and a Christian community. CETs’ experiences and stories might be different if they are working in language schools that do not support their Christian mission and prohibit the exposure of a teacher’s religious identity in any teaching activities with students. The identity formation of CETs working under that situation may be going through a different process. Especially, research on the dilemmas the teachers as CETs experience would complement the findings of this research. The study participants of this research were all CETs who belong to the S Christian denomination. This denomination has no connection with Christian conservatism or fundamentalism that has close connection with American right wing politics. There must be many CETs with conservative and fundamentalist Christian orientations in ESL/EFL contexts. Little research has been done on that population. Their stories and ELT experiences must be different from the findings of this research. Future studies should be done on the population.

Lastly, I included but did not deeply explore students’ voices in this research. I was told that almost 4,000,000 Koreans have learned the English language from CETs at the Christian language schools of D education. In other words, D education has greatly contributed to English education in Korea. However, no research has focused on Korean English learners in Christian language schools. I have met many people working as leaders in various fields who have learned English from CETs in the language schools of D education. I have also known many professors, teachers and pastors who became Christians through ELL from CETs in the language schools of D education. No research has been done on this population as well.
Conclusion

Through this research, I have realized that the world is becoming familiar. Globalization requires people to become cosmopolitan citizens today. English teachers should have a critical awareness of power issues related to English. If not, they could increase conflicts, not harmonization. CETs require critical attitudes toward linguistic and cultural imperialism. CETs working in Christian language schools supported by their denomination should clearly recognize the effects of multiculturalism and multilingualism. They should be cautious of imposing their values and beliefs on students. Christian language schools have their purpose, but to make a better world they should value and support multiculturalism (Snow, 2001, 2013). I believe that is a Christianomical attitude. Their strengthened Christian identities at Christian language schools, if allowed to become dominating, could go against the principles of the Bible, such as servanthood and loving one’s neighbor. I have realized that teacher education for CETs should into critical pedagogy to guide them into creating a more harmonious and multicultural classroom (Pennycook, 2001; Freire, 1971, 1973, 1985, 1987).
References


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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview protocol

Initial Interview

*Personal religious (Christian) Background and beliefs*

1) When / how did you become a Christian?

2) Is there any difference between becoming a Christian and becoming a member of the S Christian denomination?

3) Could you describe the relationship between your life and Christian beliefs? What does Jesus mean to you?

4) Please give examples of your religious behaviors in your daily life?

*Teaching English*

5) Could you give your thoughts about the status of English today?

6) Could you describe your understandings and perceptions of teaching English to Koreans?

7) Please describe your professional status at present?

8) What was your English teaching experience before coming to Korea, if any?

9) How did you get involved in teaching English?

10) How did you choose or become involved in the field of ESL/EFL?

11) What do you believe is the purpose of teaching English in Korea?
**Christian beliefs and Teacher of English**

12) How would you describe a Christian English teacher?

13) Could you describe the relationship between your Christian beliefs and your being a English teacher, if any?

14) If any, could you describe moments in which your religious beliefs influenced your decisions, choices, and actions in the classroom and/or with your students? In the case of dilemmas, how do you deal with them?

15) What is your perception on a person's letting others know of his or her religious beliefs? Is that a matter of a right or a responsibility?

16) Is there any relationship between your Christian beliefs and ELT?

17) What do you think about Christian English teachers’ using English as a platform for their missionary work?

18) Could you describe your current understandings and perceptions of Christian beliefs and ELT? Compare your experience before and after coming to Korea.

**Christian English teacher and students’ perceptions**

19) If any, could you describe any instances of opposition or even hostility to your religious beliefs from students?

20) Could you describe one or two cases related to the perceived shift of students’ perceptions toward you as a Christian English teacher?

21) Could you elaborate on any religious meetings with students, where only English is allowed as the medium?
22) If any, could you describe the shift of your perceptions of or attitudes toward students because of your Christian English teacher identity?

*Power of the USA*

23) What does it mean that you are American/non-American in teaching English in Koreans?

24) In your view, what is Standard English? What do you think of World Englishes?

25) What is the meaning of your being a native English speaker in the 21st Century?

26) Have you ever learned Korean? If yes, how? If no, why not?

27) Could you describe Korean culture that is familiar to you?

*Follow-Up Interview*

*Question 1*
Could you describe your childhood and your Christian life experience in your country?

*Question 2*
What do you think of D education’s employing non-Christian English teachers?

*Question 3*
Could you describe your English language teaching (ELT) at the M language school in South Korea? How have your perceptions and understanding about CETs’ use of ELT for the Christian mission developed if you have any?

*Question 4*
Could you describe the power of English in introducing your faith to students?

*Question 5*
To what degree has ELT affected the spread of the S Christian denomination culture?

*Question 6*
As to CETs’ qualifications, what do you think they need to be better prepared for?
Question 7
What would you like to tell or suggest to the leadership of D schools?
What will you tell your friends of your ELT experience at a Christian language school in South Korea?
Appendix B: S Christian denomination World Church Statistics 2014

1. Churches, Companies, Membership
   Churches 78,810
   Companies 69,213
   Church Membership: 18,479,257

2. Total Accessions: 1,091,222

3. Baptisms: 1,057,645

4. Professions of Faith: 33,577

5. Ordained Ministers, Active: 18,846

6. Total Active Employees: 260,181

7. Mission to the World
   Countries and Areas of the World as Recognized by the United Nations 237
   Countries and Areas of the World in S denomination Church Work is Established 216
   Languages Used in Seventh-day Adventist Publications and Oral Work 947

8. Divisions 13

9. Union Conferences 60

10. Union Missions 59

11. Union of Churches Conferences 9

12. Union of Churches Missions 4

13. Local Conferences 348

14. Local Missions 278

15. Educational Program
   Total Schools 7,579
   Tertiary Institutions 114
   Worker Training Institutions 44
Secondary Schools 2,050
Primary Schools* 5,371
Total Enrollment 1,807,693
Tertiary Institutions 134,091
Worker Training Institutions 5,545
Secondary Schools 581,173
Primary Schools 1,086,884

16. Food Industries 21

17. Healthcare Ministry
   Hospitals and Sanitariums 173
   Nursing Homes and Retirement Centers 126
   Clinics and Dispensaries 294
   Orphanages and Children’s Homes 34
   Airplanes and Medical Launches 7
   Outpatient Visits 18,052,715

18. Media Centers 15

19. Publishing Work
   Publishing Houses and Branches 63
   Literature Evangelists, Credentialed and Licensed 5,864
   Languages Used in Publications 366
Appendix C: Salient characteristics of the S denomination beliefs

(1) Adherence to the authority of the Bible, (2) a strong mission orientation with worldwide scope, (3) a strong service mission to provide basic institutions including schools, hospitals and churches as well as enterprises that provide employment opportunities, (4) promotion of a physically healthy lifestyle, including adherence to dietary rules that prohibit consuming stimulants and meat, (5) a strong belief in Jesus’s second coming, and (6) a historical interpretation about the prophecies in the book of Daniel and Revelation.

Appendix D: Tables

Table 1.1 Distribution of religious population in Korea p. 36

Table 1.2 Four views of identity formation p. 51

Table 2.1 Participants’ demographic information p. 61

Table 2.2 Design of the M language school building p. 69

Table 2.3 Data collection procedure p. 70

Table 2.4 Observation continuum based on term 4 of 2013 p. 73

Table 2.5 The 2013 Summer English Bible camp schedule p. 101

Table 2.6 A photo taken by a school participants p. 104

Table 2.7 Diagram: Factors of interconnecting CETs with the world p. 111
Vita

1995-2001 Pastor of SDA churches and schools
   Shintaein SDA church
   SDA elementary and middle/high school
   Hwasoon SDA church

2002-2009 Director of SDA Language schools
   Sooncheon SDA language school
   Bukkwangju SDA language school
   Wangsimni SDA language school

2012 - Academic dean of SDA language school