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**IMAGINED LIVES: THE KOREAN COMMUNITY
AND POLICY AND PRACTICES AT A NEW
ZEALAND HIGH SCHOOL**

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ABSTRACT

The New Zealand Curriculum stipulates the inclusion of community voices in local school decision making, planning and review (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9). Moreover, in this national document participation is a key value and a key competency for all students. Between this inclusive, participative agenda and the real life positioning of migrants in New Zealand school communities there appears to be an abyss (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Ward et al., 2005). This qualitative, ethnographic, participative study, informed by critical theory, explores the hopes and dreams of three groups attached to one urban high school: members of the Korean parent community; senior, successful Korean students; and the three most senior members of the school management team. In collecting data this study aimed to give voice to those on the margins.

In focus group interviews the participants (the Korean parents, and the Korean students) took extended turns, spontaneously telling micro stories to each other, using the narrative form to illustrate, and give credence to, their general thoughts. Themes emerging from interviews and field data were coded and analysed using modified grounded theory. The narratives told suggested that the Korean parents arrived with visions of New Zealand as a land of opportunity where they hoped that they and their children would find their own, non-traditional future selves. Disappointingly, they found themselves and their children positioned on the periphery of the mainstream. The parents asked the school for help for their teenaged children to participate in mainstream classrooms, and in particular for stories to build motivating visions of their future selves in the host context. The interviewed successful students, except for one outlier, engaged Korean networks outside school, rather than the mainstream school resources the parents requested, to plan their futures which were decidedly traditional. International research suggests such ethnic networks, while enabling academic success, narrow career choice, and limit employment opportunities (Mak, 2010; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Data analysis shows that members of school management's reliance on the school structures including the pastoral whānau structure and its associated activities, such as school camps, to enact socially inclusive national and local policy appear to be insufficient to realise cross-culturally participative education.

My hope is that this study will continue to provide encounters among the school's multiple communities. Dialogue, and increasing negotiation and networking, will assist Korean

community members to adapt, to reinvent, and to sustain themselves individually and communally in ways that fit their particular local context in New Zealand. Hearing the stories may enable emotional connections for teachers alerting them to their role in provision of increased cross-cultural, participative opportunities for all students, in this way ensuring that the national vision of students as confident, connected, actively involved lifelong learners is more than rhetoric.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Asia: NZ	Asia: New Zealand
BES	Best Evidence Synthesis
BoT	Board of Trustees
CHC	Confucian Heritage Culture
ERO	Education Review Office
L1	First language, Korean in this case
L2	Second language, English in this case.
L2L	Learning to Learn
MoE	Ministry of Education, New Zealand
NEGs	National Education Guidelines
SLA	Second Language Acquisition

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

This chapter begins with a brief contextual background to the study, thus foregrounding the rationale which follows. An overview of the research approaches is then presented. The research aims and the major research questions are outlined. Finally an outline of the thesis is provided.

BACKGROUND

East High School opened in 2004. One phase in the establishment of a new school in New Zealand involves consultation with local communities. There was a significant Korean migrant population living close to the proposed secondary school, although in this case they were not directly consulted. The establishing board consulted, instead, a Korean employee of the regional school support services, possibly because this employee was visible, accessible and knowledgeable; but he was not from the proposed school's local community. Korean parents favour new schools so when the new school opened, Korean was one of the largest ethnic groups, 10%. In 2008 when the school rolled out Year 13, Korean students made up 14% of the school roll (3% being Korean international students).

Developing a relationship with its Korean community was one issue that hadn't been attended to when the school experienced some upheaval, its founding principal resigning after two years. However, the employment of Korean-born teaching staff prepared the way for establishing links with the local Korean community. On the staff when this project began were a New Zealand-trained maths teacher who is a native speaker of Korean (John) and a Korean-trained health teacher who worked as a member of the ancillary staff with responsibility for Korean international students and Korean family liaison (Grace).

I found myself naturally part of the story of the relationship between East High School and its Korean community. In 2003, before the school opened, I was a member of a team invited by the foundation principal to run staff professional development that focused on the language and learning needs of students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Although living on the outskirts of the school zone, I was surprised to be told that Korean

was such a significant ethnic group in the school's catchment area. I was particularly interested because in the mid 1990s I had been involved in a Ministry of Education (MoE) initiative to introduce Korean language to selected Auckland primary and secondary schools. Under this initiative I studied Korean language, visited South Korea twice, taught elementary Korean at secondary school level, and was a writer of "Korean in the New Zealand Curriculum" (Ministry of Education, 1998). At the end of 2007 I rang the principal (Tony) knowing that there had not been significant efforts made to establish relationships with the Korean community. I offered to run English language classes for the parent community. The principal and the two Korean teachers were quick to support my offer. A first meeting for Korean parents was called at the beginning of 2008. These school-parent meetings are now regular fixtures and so are the English classes. The stories the Korean women and men in the English language classes told, and the warmth with which the school approached contact with the Korean community, prompted this research. In contacting the school, I didn't plan to start research, but I am accustomed to advocacy in my local community and consequently I soon saw a participatory research project as a way to supplement ongoing dialogue between the school and the Korean community. I concur with Corbin's thinking that "we don't want to separate who we are as persons from the research and analysis we do" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.11).

RATIONALE

In explaining the reasons for the research, and its significance, this section surveys three areas: key sections of the 2007 New Zealand curriculum document, Auckland's changing demographics, and the call for more research into Asian communities. It then offers an explanation for the paucity of research on students from Asian countries who study in New Zealand.

"The New Zealand Curriculum" in context

"The New Zealand Curriculum" (2007) stipulates the inclusion of minority voices in local school policy and planning. Four of its eight principles essentialise minority voices within a school. The four principles are: *Treaty of Waitangi*; *cultural diversity*; *inclusion*; and *community engagement*. While acknowledging the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's bicultural and bilingual foundations are not the subject of this study. These four inclusive principles, and the other four principles, "embody beliefs about what is important and desirable in school curriculum – nationally and locally. They should underpin

all school decision making” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9). All of the principles “are particularly relevant to the processes of planning, prioritising, and review” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9). Inclusivity, community engagement and valuing of cultural diversity should be central to local school planning and operation.

Planning for community engagement requires schools to gather community data. Secondary schools may not have had established, successful processes of data gathering and community consultation to draw on so that implementation of these three underpinning principles tends to be at the exploratory stage nationally. In her review of international and local literature on school based curriculum development, Bolstad (2005) comments that it is uncommon to find examples of ways in which schools have engaged with their communities and identified communities’ needs, or to find evidence of meaningful student or parent involvement in the process. Recently, however, online *Ministry of Education Curriculum Updates* have provided exemplary case studies of community engagement, especially from the primary sector (Update 10, June 2011, for example). Moves to decentralise schooling in New Zealand and to give communities more input, resulting in the 1989 initiative *Tomorrow’s Schools* appear, surprisingly, to have disempowered parents (Wylie, 1999). Exploring ways for secondary schools and their minority communities to engage in dialogue would seem critical in light of the paucity of successful existing processes and the requirements of the 2007 national curriculum.

Ensuring student participation at school and outside school is central to the overarching aims of the 2007 curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 7). Participation is a key beam in the national curriculum’s overarching vision (we want our young people to be “connected, actively involved”), a key beam in its values (“community and participation for the common good”), and a key beam in its key competencies (“relating to others” and “participating and contributing”). The inclusive rhetoric lacks teeth, however, when schools’ reporting requirements to the Ministry of Education centre on “planning for better student outcomes” (Ministry of Education, 2011). Schools focus on achievement data in formal assessments, especially national standards in literacy and numeracy. There is a general silence on the role of a socially inclusive agenda in improving learning or on its contribution towards the lifelong wellbeing of society.

Adult migrants have typically not demanded participation in school policy and planning in New Zealand. The Korean community, for example, has not tended to air their views in

public discussion with their local schools. The following email from Grace following a school–Korean parent meeting at East High School exemplifies this: “I think you know some Korean proverbs. For example, ‘Silence is golden’. ‘An empty cart makes a bigger noise’. For a long time we have discouraged talk and [educational] discussions were not common in the public” (personal communication, May 13, 2009). Grace points out the tendency towards reticence unless there is something compelling to say, and the Korean community’s traditional dislike of public critique of schools and of national educational policy.

There are many reasons why Korean parents tend to maintain a low profile in New Zealand, according legitimacy to the school and the teacher. One reason concerns their perceived lack of adequate communicative English skills, especially oral skills (Spoonley & Trlin, 2004). Another concerns the esteem in which teachers are held in Confucian heritage cultures (CHCs). In Korean, the word for *teacher* (*sonsaengnim*) is used as an honorific title for adults other than teachers, illustrating the respect and trust awarded teachers. Yet another reason is the parents’ negative memories of phone calls from school in Korea. The parents in this study explained that phone calls from school in Korea often meant reports of misbehaviour or requests for financial donations. Moreover, the Korean education system is highly centralised, and so parents are not accustomed to devolved decision-making in schools.

Both curriculum requirements and the Korean parent community’s quiet residence on the school’s margins indicated that it would be worthwhile investing time to explore their perceptions of school in their adopted country. Research (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, for example) suggests that such a process would have benefits for society generally, as interaction assists migrants to restructure themselves as they settle in and contribute to a new time and place.

Furthermore, those who see New Zealand’s economic future being tied to Asia call for more Asian content in school curricula. The government, and business groups, for example, argue that schools need to prepare mainstream students for the globalised marketplace. Burdon, a former member of parliament, sees a healthy future for New Zealand being dependent on school curricula having a regular orientation towards Asia.

It is about injecting Asian content into the learning that takes place in our schools so that learning about this complex region is a routine and normalised part of getting an

education, one that prepares young New Zealanders for a future that for them begins today. (Burdon, 2007, p. A4)

Similar views are noticeable in non-governmental sectors too. In a paper presented at the inaugural *Asian Health* Conference the then Asia-New Zealand Foundation Director of Research said that much remains to be done to strengthen New Zealand's Asian communities. Foley (2004, p. 14) particularly mentioned responsive educational policy development and the inclusion of Asian content in the curriculum.

Responsive policies and strategies in the migrant settlement, education, media and health areas, along with greater opportunities to learn intercultural skills are vital to promote the development of strong and healthy communities in New Zealand. Greater attention must be paid to these and other areas in conjunction with an increase in Asian content in the education system.

The inference in this statement is that strong communities contribute to a healthy society; that migrants from Asia, and other regions, need to be offered participation opportunities in their adopted land; and that a healthy society requires that young New Zealanders are educated about Asia.

Changing demographics and the Korean community in Auckland

The burgeoning of populations of Asian origin in Auckland over the last two decades is noteworthy. Noteworthy because about two-thirds of all Asian migrants settle in Auckland and populations of Asian origin are the most notable aspect of "one of the most dramatic transitions in ethnic composition that Aotearoa New Zealand has ever experienced" (Friesan, 2008, p. 2). Predictions are that a quarter of Auckland's population will be Asian by 2016 (Spoonley, 2011). This steep growth has been faster for people from South Korea than any other Asia-born residents (Ho & Bedford, 2008). There were fewer than 100 Koreans in Auckland in 1990. Since then the rate of demographic shift has accelerated. The latest census (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) identifies 30,792 people as Korean, 21,351 residing in Auckland. Twenty five percent are aged under 15. (More recent figures are unavailable due to the postponement of the 2011 census following the Christchurch earthquakes.) As a proportion of the population, New Zealand has the highest expatriate Korean community in the world (Park, 2010).

These recent and projected continuing changes have important implications for policy makers in education. Students from Asian countries are visible, and migrants from Asia as a whole have had more media attention, often negative, than other migrant groups (Spoonley

& Trlin, 2004). It is debatable, however, whether this level of attention has carried through to educational arenas such as policy, planning and curriculum implementation, other than at the national document level. Such issues have been, explicitly, the drivers of the recent 2007 New Zealand curriculum document: “Our population has become increasingly diverse Our education system must respond to these and other challenges of our times” the then Secretary for Education, Sewell wrote in the introduction to the curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 4). The reality is, however, that a low frequency of Asian content is being taught at any time throughout the year in New Zealand secondary schools (Asia: NZ, 2005). Students from Asian countries are an under-utilised resource in secondary schools.

The Korean parents were motivated by dreams in their decisions to migrate. Traditionally writers point out the deep roots in Korean consciousness of the legacy of Confucian thought that social mobility can be attained through education (Leung, 2001; Shin, 2005; Zhou & Kim, 2006). English language acquisition is seen as vital in a globalizing marketplace. Shin (2005) argues that many also seek a western education system that prioritises critical thinking and problem solving. Through migration, parents hope to convert their economic capital into international, transportable capital for their children, in other words, a degree from an English-speaking country (Song, 2010). Some also seek to escape the pressures that children are put under to excel at school (Kim & Greene, 2003). The parents in the East High School community had dreams at the point of migration. Whether these dreams conform to traditional stereotypes, and how these dreams are working out in the unfamiliar New Zealand school context, are natural areas of research interest.

The call for more research into Asian communities

Within the media, crude all-inclusive labels such as *Asian* are regularly used for individuals and groups although there are significant cultural, and linguistic, differences between groups (Spoonley & Trlin, 2004). Ip (1996, p. 138) reports Gilbert Wong’s disturbance at the lack of understanding of Asia by some very senior journalists: “One feature writer asked, ‘Aren’t Koreans Chinese?’ I couldn’t believe it!” Within academia, the need for research into specific groups of migrants from Asian countries is one of the major recommendations from Gustafson and Tarling’s (2005) stocktake and bibliography of both published and unpublished research on New Zealand’s engagement with Asia.

Because much of the cited research embodies generic notions of Asia/Asian and broad challenges to New Zealand, there would appear to be a need for more research into engagement with specific Asian countries and ethnic groups (p. 4)

Gustafson and Tarling call for more in-depth educational studies based on interviews, rather than statistical data. Everts' (2005, p. 12) paper in the same collection is also critical of the broad brush approach:

disappointing because, in taking a broad sweep in their focus, educational researchers are often overlooking the vast differences that exist between people from different Asian countries and ethnic groups.

Data on the educational experiences of the New Zealand Korean community are very limited (Kim, 2006) and, especially in earlier research, as in media reports, tend to be aggregated into pan-ethnic labels (Berno & Ward, 2003; Ho & Bedford, 2008; McGrath, Stock & Butcher, 2007, for example) and are largely statistical. Research into the experiences of all groups of students of Asian descent in secondary schools is particularly meagre and focuses largely on international students' relationships with their host communities. The themes there are clear and repetitive: Asian students require more planned help, in particular, with relating to local students (Berno & Ward, 2003; Li, Baker & Marshall, 2002; Liew, 2004; Mills, 1997; Ward, 2001); and native English speakers are reluctant to interact with Asian students in the classroom (Ward & Masgoret, 2004; Pang, 2006). Despite research recommendations, Ward and Masgoret contend that interventions to increase the frequency and improve the quality of contact between Asian students and native speakers of English in schools have not been put in place. Such secondary school interventions are likely to facilitate networks that would improve employment opportunities. Zhou and Kims' (2006) large American study found that high achieving Korean students did not have mainstream students' opportunities for variety in career choices or entry into the employment market.

An international explanation for the paucity of research on students from Asian countries

One of the likely reasons for the lack of research focus is that internationally, as well as locally, students from Asian countries are seen as achieving well within the school system; they are seen as a model minority (Hu, 1989; Lee, 1996; Lew, 2004; McKay & Wong, 1996; Min, 2004; Shin, 2005). Such a perception downplays the huge cognitive and socio-affective barriers to overcome when studying in a second language and in a culture that seems alien (He, Phillion, Chan & Xu, 2008). Shin (2005, p. 3) argues that the model

minority stereotype masks “a deeper underlying problem of isolation, cultural discontinuity and identity conflict” that many Korean students experience when navigating the worlds of home and school. The model minority thesis is seen as unhelpful by most students from Asian countries. In one American research study, all Asian groups responded negatively to the model minority concept (Lee, 1996). Moreover, it is recognised now that students from Asian backgrounds include proportionately more overachievers, but, significantly, also more underachievers (Lew, 2004; Min, 2004). In a critique of the model minority thesis, Hu (1989) suggests rather a “dual minority”, with relatively fewer students in the middle range.

As in the New Zealand classroom context, the more comprehensive American studies show tellingly that the linguistic and cultural knowledge and experience Asian students bring to schools are often overlooked in terms of educational policymaking, funding programs, services, and educational resources (He et al., 2008). Park, Goodwin, and Lee (2003, p. vii) found that Asian immigrants are often assumed to have “common experiences, backgrounds, aspirations and stories”. They call for close examination of their experiences of curriculum to inform school policy and classroom practice:

The complex nature of experience that immigrant students and their families bring to schools calls for approaches, such as ethnography and narrative inquiry, that not only recognize diverse perspectives, but also draw on differences as a resource for interpreting immigrant students’ experience to inform education policy and practice. (He et al., 2008, p. 226)

This research responds to He et al.’s call for ethnographic and narrative approaches to studying migrant students’ experiences, in this case the context being a secondary school in New Zealand. The focus on the Korean community is also a response to Gustafson and Tarling’s (2005) call for research on smaller communities who have migrated to New Zealand from Asian countries.

Greene (2007, p. xvi) writes of being hopeful of untapped possibilities through the exercise of the imagination, of a vision arising from the “community in the making”. This study adopts a participatory approach, participation aiming to edge the Korean community in from the margins, the study playing its part in Greene’s communities in the making. The study focuses on the hopes and dreams of the Korean community for their children’s education at one secondary school and investigates preliminary steps towards re-imagining policy and curriculum.

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH APPROACHES

In this section I provide an overview of the initial guiding notions, the research approaches and the research field.

Initial guiding notions

Greene's (2007) use of phrases such as *exercise of the imagination*, *untapped possibilities* and *community in the making* are echoed in other writers on curriculum. Kanu (2006, p. 8) for example, writes of the "curriculum as imagination" offering imagination as a viewing lens for curriculum studies. Rethinking curriculum through the lens of imagination primarily means thinking about how hopes might become reality. These were the notions that initially inspired me to consider broadening the work I was engaged in with the Korean parents. I was philosophically committed to working in the community with those on the margins, but it took an encouraging talk with my potential supervisor to approach the school and to propose undertaking a formalised, participatory project with them. I was heartened to read of Denzin and Lincoln's (2003) belief that the current locus of qualitative research is the researcher's ethical role in working towards a more just society. Later, in 2010, I heard Norman Denzin speak at an ethnographic conference in Waikato, New Zealand, and came to realise the strength of his zeal for researchers' roles in working for just and democratic societies.

At a school-Korean parent meeting the principal had spoken to me of his data gathering efforts through online parent questionnaires and his interest in gathering fuller data from the school's communities. Denzin and Lincoln (2003, p. 4) write of "the narrative turn" being taken. I thought that having a channel to hear the Korean community's voice, their narratives, might enable the realisation of this fuller data picture that the principal was interested in. Moreover, I hoped narratives might enable emotional connections for teachers. Such connections are usually absent in online questionnaires. Phillion and He (2004, p. 4) contend that to respond empathetically, cognitive understandings are insufficient. Teachers need to approach a "break point" connecting, through narratives, at an emotional level.

Research approaches

Rethinking education through the lens of imagination primarily means thinking about how hopes might become reality. In this sense, critical theory validates imagination, working towards the claiming and retention of these future visions (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005).

Critical theory aims to bring minority voices in from the margins, being inclusive of issues of justice and agency for minority groups such as the Korean community at East High School. My thinking was informed by critical theory, but being a participatory project, I did not want to have my thinking in a straitjacket that might not be fully shared by the school. Apple (2006, p. 306) for example, sees schools as proxies for larger societal struggles about who is involved in policy and planning decisions: “Education is a site of struggle and compromise. It serves as a proxy as well for larger battles over what our institutions should do, whom they should serve, and who should make these decisions”. I did not envisage war metaphors serving me well. Rather, I supported Madison’s (2005, p. 9) contention that “critical ethnography is a meeting of multiple sides in an encounter with and among the Other(s), one in which there is negotiation and dialogue toward substantial and viable meanings that make a difference in the Other’s world”. Madison’s view fits within the sociocultural field that sees knowledge as co-constructed through the interdependence of social and individual processes (Lantolf, 2000; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Toohey, 2000).

He et al. (2008, p. 231) advance the notion of curriculum for diversity as a “curriculum of shared interests”. In this scenario all the educational stakeholders are in meaningful communication with each other, respecting and supporting cultural distinctiveness as being generative of a multicultural environment. I took this notion of a curriculum of shared interests where “all members of the school community and policymaking milieu have shared common interests” (2008, p. 231) in adopting a participatory approach to research design. In this sense the research has a social constructivist approach.

I describe the study as ethnographic because I have been engaged with the Korean community and East High School for a number of years. The research study was planned to be open-ended and descriptive in nature with an absence of preformulated hypotheses. Hymes (1982) sees the interdependence between general and particular inquiry as the contribution ethnography can make to education, a real breadth of focus. The insights gained from the data, for example, have the possibility of contributing to, and informing, policy making.

The research field

This investigation is a practical and contextual investigation of inclusive policy at East High School. As the researcher I imagined the participants taking some steps towards developing the social capital that enables them to work together effectively to pursue shared objectives

(Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1995). Such research sits within the field of applied linguistics in its broadest sense in that it focuses on a real world issue where language is a barrier. Chen and Cruickshank (2009, p, 1) contend that “applied linguistics has been struggling to define its identity. Applied linguists themselves are often not sure how to determine the scope and domains of the field”. They discuss the broadening of the field which has “now broadened to include language-related problems people encounter in the world” (Chen & Cruickshank, 2009, p, 6). Rampton’s (1995) research in the field, for example, has a practical emphasis on documenting (and improving) real-life cross-cultural communication particularly interactions involving those in authority. This research seeks to play a part in improving cross-cultural communicative relationships by investigating the questions outlined in the following section.

RESEARCH AIMS

The New Zealand curriculum document stipulates the inclusion of minority group voices in school policy and planning. I believe curriculum should represent the views of community and change comes from the community being involved in policy and planning. Participation is central to all the directions for student learning in the curriculum. This research uses the aforementioned theoretical lenses of critical theory, imagination and a curriculum of shared interests to frame qualitative, ethnographic, participatory research around how one secondary school and its minority Korean community imagine possibilities and visualise what could be in policy and planning.

Research purpose and participants

The study has three groups of participants who have a stake in East High School: the Korean parents, the Korean students, and school management with responsibility for policy and curriculum development. Because of its participatory methodology, I, as the researcher, could also be added. In terms of the parents and students the research purpose is to investigate the hopes and dreams of the Korean community regarding students’ learning trajectories. In terms of management, it is to investigate the schools’ perceptions of provision for the Korean students in the context of East High School’s policy documents. Lastly, the purpose is to use the analysed descriptive data to supplement existing collaborative work around inclusive policy among the parents, students and the school.

Research questions

What are the Korean parents' hopes and dreams for their children's education in New Zealand? How might these be realised?

1. What concerns the school management most about the education of the Korean permanent resident students? What are their hopes and dreams for how things might be different, in light of the inclusive principles in the 2007 curriculum?
2. In what ways is the school encouraging community engagement at the school?
3. In what ways do the Korean students at the school feel valued? What is the evidence?
4. What would the Korean students like to change at East High School?

THESIS OUTLINE

The thesis has eight chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the study, containing the background to the study, the rationale, an overview of the theoretical lenses, and the research questions. Chapter 2 is the literature review. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology, methods, and the participants who are so central to the inquiry. It explains the philosophical basis for the study and gives a detailed description of the guiding qualitative approach. This chapter also describes the methods employed to collect data and the criteria used to measure the soundness of the research. Chapters 4 and 5 present the primary data as case studies. Chapter 4 describes and analyses, at the micro-level, the publicly available school policy documents, the school management members' interviews, and the Korean student data. Chapter 5 describes the parents' data, and begins analysis. Chapters 6 and 7 analyse the findings at a deeper level. Chapter 8 proposes tentative theory and develops implications and practical recommendations for policy and practice. In concluding, limitations are outlined and areas for further research are recommended.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, this chapter has provided an introduction to the study. The chapter began by contextualising the study and explaining my involvement. It then provided the rationale: the inclusive and participatory principles of "The New Zealand Curriculum" that need to underpin all policy decisions; the relative burgeoning of the Korean population in New Zealand; and the paucity of research on groups from Asia. The introductory chapter also briefly referred to literature from the socio-cultural field that suggests interaction assists

migrants to restructure themselves as they settle in and contribute in a new context. Lastly an overview of the theoretical lens was given, and the main research questions were stated.

In the following chapter I review the literature in the following fields: engagement with Korea in New Zealand secondary schools; sociocultural approaches to learning for migrant students; and curriculum in the New Zealand context. The significant role of imagination in conceptualising and planning realistic change suffuses the review.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets the research project within its field of literature, which is curriculum. The chapter opens with a lens on the broad field of curriculum theory, briefly exploring current thinking while being conscious of history. The focus then narrows to curriculum theory relevant to the migrant context: multicultural curriculum theory and the social turn in curriculum, both of which could be placed within a category of *political curriculum theory* (Pinar, 2008). Lastly, the literature review focuses on policy and curriculum in the New Zealand context. This chapter is supplemented by embedment of literature in the Findings and Discussion chapters.

Context

Learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity. It is not just an accumulation of skills and information, but a process of becoming (Wenger, 1998, p. 215).

The Korean participants in this study migrated to New Zealand with learning and change in mind. Migrants' participatory expectations are heightened by the current trends of globalisation and democratisation (Liu, Creanor, McIntosh & Teaiwa, 2005, p. 11):

Globalisation . . . brings people together from different parts of the world in both harmony and conflict, and democratisation, wherein these people and the groups they belong to, whether they stand at the centre or on the margins of society, are expected to have a say in determining the future of society.

Liu et al.'s use of the passive verb fudging ownership of the participatory expectations mirrors reality. While inclusion of multicultural perspectives are reshaping expectations of educational institutions internationally at the policy level (Papastergiadis, 2000; Piller & Takahashi, 2011, for example), empirical studies show inaction at school policy and curriculum implementation levels. Florio-Ruane (2001, p. 23) comments:

The concept of culture . . . peppers most educational discourse concerning equity in practices and curricula. Yet it all but disappears in the major policies and practices of public education in our time.

The negotiation of inclusive educational practices is generally not prioritised in multicultural school settings (McCarthy, Rezai-Rashti, & Teasley, 2009; Miller, 2004;

Smyth, McBride, Paton & Sheridan, 2010; Zhou and Kim, 2006, for example). In the New Zealand context, the national curriculum was revised in 2007 one reason being to ensure minority groups a voice in policy and planning in their local schools. Writing in the introduction to *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 4) the then Secretary for Education, Karen Sewell, refers to the increasing diversity of the school population as the driver of curricular change: “Our population has become increasingly diverse. . . . Our education system must respond to these and other challenges of our times”. Cowie et al.’s (2009) study of New Zealand secondary schools found that most schools were at the stage of informing their communities of policies. They found scant evidence of schools engaging consultatively or collaboratively with their communities.

CURRICULUM THEORY

The literature review begins by examining changing perspectives and notions of curriculum before surveying multicultural curriculum theory and the notion of a curriculum of shared interests. The section on the social turn in curriculum is divided into four sections: overview; sociocultural approaches to learning; the role of native-speaking teachers and students in situated learning (communities of practice); and investment in learning and its role in imagining possible future selves. Imagination is a thread through these five sections and it concludes this section of the literature review with a particular focus on Damasio’s psychological explanation of the evolution of the brain.

Changing curricular perspectives and notions

Curriculum theory has evolved over time, reflecting or heralding societal change (Connelly, He, Phillion & Schlein, 2008). Definitions of curriculum have changed too, and all display something of the definer’s general ontological stance and perspectives, as well as their links to earlier theorists. For example, Pinar (2008) champions the current move towards democratisation (discussed in the introductory section) and internationalisation (which he differentiates from globalisation, internationalisation being characterised by a rejection of nationalism in favour of international metanarratives for curriculum). Pinar’s perspective focuses on the student’s experience of the educational journey and links back to Dewey who is often seen as the spokesperson for democratic education (Hansen, Anderson, Frank & Nieuwejaar, 2008). Curriculum is, Pinar (2004, p. 2) contends, “the interdisciplinary study of educational experience”. The focus in this age of democratisation is on the autobiographical, the experiential, the students themselves.

In the postmodern and poststructural age, approaches are eclectic branching into a wide variety of discourses. Pinar views curriculum theory as “a complex, multidiscursive academic discipline” (2008, p. 502). The eclectic discourses include critical theory and multicultural curriculum theory, both relevant to this project, and, most recently, complexity and chaos theory. What is timeless is the call for wide-ranging curricular debate (Doll 2002; Schubert, 2008; Slattery, 2006, for example). Aristotle, in the fourth century, finding answers elusive, made the same call.

What should be the character of this public education, and how young persons should be educated, are questions which remain to be considered. . . . The existing practice is perplexing: no one knows on what principle we should proceed - should the useful in life, or should virtue, or should the higher knowledge, be the aim of our training; all three opinions have been entertained. (Aristotle, trans. 1941, quoted in Westbury, 2008, p. 45)

Dewey, as mentioned above, is still used as a referent in debate around curriculum. Dewey, like Pinar, believed in the active role of the student in learning partnerships. Aristotle agonised over the content of curriculum, whereas for Dewey (1920, p. 11) process was important. He viewed the relationship and conversations between teacher and student as central to a definition of curriculum: “Education consists primarily in transmission through communication. Communication is a process of sharing experience until it becomes a common possession. It modifies the disposition of both parties who partake in it.”

Doll (2002), who writes from a postmodern perspective, also sees students’ experiences, and teacher-learner relationships as central to a definition of curriculum. Doll argues that over history we have talked about curriculum (*currere*) as a course to be run, whereas we should have been focusing more on the personal experience of running. Doll defines curriculum by five “c” s: complexity, *currere*, cosmology, conversation, and community. *Curriculum as conversation* and *curriculum as community* are particularly relevant to this study. Doll points out that *conversation* comes from the same Proto-Indo-European root (*vers*) as the word *converge*: to approach the same point from different directions. In conversation our hopes for both convergence and transformation lie. Doll contends that in true conversation people open themselves to each other, accepting and understanding both the other and the other’s point of view. Curriculum as community emphasises both care and critique. This emphasis requires a high degree of trust, and this is what helps elevate us above ourselves Doll claims. He contends that our classrooms and our society can be places where no one owns the truth and everyone has a right to be understood.

Aristotle raised questions over what should comprise curriculum – the practical, the critical or the moral. Theorists still question what is worth knowing and how curriculum can benefit or harm individuals and communities (Schubert, 2008). Slattery (2006) prioritises ethical visions and issues of social justice rather than a curricular focus on creating an innovative workforce that can respond to a rapidly changing world. In a multicultural society, the concepts of curriculum as conversation and curriculum as community embed the knowledge and experiences of local communities centre stage, working towards a just society. They are essential planks in curriculum theory that favour democratisation and internationalisation which places trust in others' knowledge traditions. Posner and Rudnitsky, (2006) champion an associated useful notion: *curriculum conscience*. They contend that a curriculum developer with curriculum conscience would be cognisant of the make-up of their local community and would invite and enable participation. As discussed in Chapter 1, empirical studies of such conversations between school policy makers and their communities are few and far between (Bolstad, 2005).

Parent and student involvement in curriculum suffers from a paucity of information in the international literature. Researching *language crossing* of adolescents in school and peer group culture in the English context, Rampton (1995, p. 308) contends:

In general, the views of adolescents have been overlooked in discussions about language education, even though young people's well-being is often invoked as the central consideration. In educational debate, pupils generally figure as objects of concern rather than as potential partners in dialogue.

This study draws on curriculum theory's interest in democratisation and internationalisation in putting the Korean parents and Korean students centre stage, enabling their varied narratives to be heard, asking them to research and critique their experiences in a multicultural school. The following section explores political curriculum theory, in particular, multicultural curriculum theory.

Multicultural curriculum theory

Theory in this field is strongly influenced by writing on the educational experiences of Native Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos and Cicano Americans (Pinar, 2008). Pinar contends that Black radical demands for restructuring of school knowledge have been downsized into discourse around issues of minority failure, culture, and language proficiency. Ladson-Billings and Brown (2008) draw on critical race theory in arguing against this narrowing of focus, contending that the current approach in American schools is

a taken-for-granted, Eurocentric core embellished by add-ons, such as the cultural knowledge associated with minority, immigrant groups. McCarthy, Rezai-Rashti, and Teasley (2009, p. 78), too, call for a new, broad framework “for rethinking diversity and educational reform”. In their review of articles in the *Diversifying Curriculum* section of the 2008 *Sage Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, McCarthy et al. (2009, p. 77) refer to the societal consequences if the needs of students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds are not addressed as the “specter haunting contemporary society”. The reviewers call for a re-examination of earlier transformative theories such as those of McLaren (1989), Giroux (2005) and the social reconstructionism of Nieto and Bode (2008). McLaren (1989, p. 238) similarly cites Giroux in calling for change at both the macro and the micro level. He urges teachers to engage critical analysis with utopian thinking “combining the language of critique with the language of possibility”.

In calling for the rethink, McCarthy et al. (2009, p. 77) emphasise the socio-political context of language learning and identity construction, and the present framework of multiplicity, hybridity and fragmentation that others such as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) have described:

Today’s dominant form of globalization is throwing new systems-based identity crises onto schools, as educators are confronted with the proliferation of difference and multiplicity. . . . The authors do not go into what globalization means for rethinking race, ethnicity, and identity – key variables that flesh out the notion of diversity. (McCarthy et al., 2009, p. 77)

McCarthy et al. argue that the notion of moral leadership (how to set principles and goals to mobilise the plurality of those in the educational field) requires further exploration. They claim that the important question of how to prepare prospective teachers for implementing a multicultural curriculum have not been sufficiently addressed. Similar calls have been made in New Zealand (Asia: NZ, 2005). The New Zealand research discourse around school leadership centres on raising student outcomes through whole school initiatives that focus on a close examination of student assessment data in English (Timperley 2003; Timperley & Parr 2004; Timperley, Parr & Bertanees, 2009) rather than a focus on plurality and the whole multilingual and multicultural knowledge of the student. Slattery (2006) cautions schools against putting their energies into accountability reforms.

He et al. (2008) maintain that a deep moral investment in the minority and immigrant educational experience is a crucial aspect of their successful negotiation of schooling. The

authors advance the notion of curriculum for diversity as a “curriculum of shared interests” (2008, p. 231). This notion is explored further in the following section.

A curriculum of shared interests

A curriculum of shared interests is one in which all the educational stakeholders are in meaningful communication with each other, respecting and supporting cultural distinctiveness as part of a productive or generative multicultural environment. Cultural distinctiveness is important in this notion where “all members of the school community and policymaking milieu have shared common interests” (He et al., 2008, p. 231). It is not an homogenising notion: “In a curriculum of shared interest, teachers cultivate cultural competence to recognize contributions of ethnically and linguistically diverse students” (He et al., 2008, p. 231). This concept aligns with Doll’s (2002) concepts of curriculum as community and curriculum as conversation, and Posner and Rudnitsky’s (2006) notion of curriculum conscience. In these scenarios mainstream school members are active learners developing other cultural competencies; school leaders accept responsibility for internationalising curriculum, guarding against what Burbules (1997) warns are common, homogenising influences.

There is considerable disquiet over statements that give the illusion of multicultural harmony. Critical theorists caution that difference is not included in, but is in opposition to, majority discourse. Mohanty (1989-1990, p. 181), for example, raises issue with the word *recognition*: “Difference seen as benign variation (diversity), for instance, rather than as conflict, struggle, or the threat of disruption, bypasses power as well as history to suggest a harmonious, empty pluralism.”. Closer to home, and couched in conciliatory language, Spoonley and Macpherson (2004, p. 189) agree: “Assumptions about a homogenous nation state are problematic in culturally diverse societies with many of those societies having extensive linkages to the homelands”. Departure from home does not mean forgetting or rejection (Papastergiadis, 2000). New forms of connection and extension between home and the new society are needed if a curriculum of shared interests is to work for migrants.

At the local level, the social turn in curriculum perhaps offers possibilities for developing new forms of connection and extension between home and the new society. Banks et al. (2007) have drawn on research to design principles for what they see as effective schools in a multicultural society. They include: the enabling of salient crosscutting group memberships in order to improve inter-group relationships; and structuring of classroom

learning so that mainstream and minority students acquire the social skills needed to interact effectively with students from other racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. It is this social turn affecting mainstream teachers and mainstream and minority students that is addressed in the following section.

The social turn in curriculum

Overview

The social turn in SLA has spawned a multiplicity of socially and contextually grounded theoretical frameworks, shifting the focus from the individual to the setting and its associated activities. I read broadly when planning the study, but in interpreting the findings I drew heavily on sociocultural theory (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Toohey, 2000, for example) and two complementary frameworks: the participatory communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991); and critical perspectives that focus on the role of imagination in visualising possibilities (Norton, 2010; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). I also drew on Damasio's (2010) psychological explanation of the evolution of the brain and the nervous system, viewing his explication of the role of what he calls "as-if loops" in activating the socially situated imagination as neuroscientific support for the chosen socially and contextually grounded theories. Thorne (2000, p. 219) called for a pluralistic approach, a "symphony with yet-to-be-explained biological material", connecting neurobiology to SLA, following on from Schumann's (1997) investigations into language uptake, affect, and neurobiology. Damasio (2010) has provided a neurological explanation for the role of engagement with others, in particular for the role of illustrative stories that motivate and enable.

In the following sections I provide an overview of sociocultural approaches and the complementary frameworks of participatory communities of practice and the notion of investment in imagining possible future selves. I then provide a justification for the relevance of Damasio's (2010) theory of the brain and the nervous system to this project.

Sociocultural approaches to learning

Sociocultural approaches to learning view knowledge as co-constructed through the interdependence of social and individual processes (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Lantolf, 2000; Toohey, 2000, for example). Current understandings of sociocultural approaches to learning originate from the work of Vygotsky and his Russian colleagues in the 1920s and

1930s. They argued that human activities take place in cultural contexts, and that social interaction is mediated both by symbolic sign systems, the most important of which is language, and by social tools. Students learn and grow through participating in cultural and linguistic settings such as structured and unstructured school contexts. Higher order cognitive functions are learned through social interaction with more competent others in classroom contexts. Oral and written language develop in a network of social relationships. These social relationships are located within a socio-political context. If the school context is characterised by a low level of interest in diversity, there are likely to be consequences for the positioning of those students and the range of participation opportunities available to them. The following section explores specific sociocultural approaches to learning: Lave and Wenger's (1991) communities of practice including the role of native-speaking teachers and students in situated learning; Norton's notion of investment in learning and Markus and Ruvolo's (1989) concept of possible future selves; and finally, Damasio's (2010) theory of the evolution of the brain .

Communities of practice

Learning is fundamentally a matter of social practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger 1998, pp. 55-56):

Participation refers to a process of taking part and also to the relations with others that reflect this process. It suggests both action and connection. . . . What I take to characterize participation is the possibility of mutual recognition. . . . when we engage in a conversation we somehow recognize in each other something of ourselves which we address. . . . participants shape each other's experiences of meaning.

Newcomers learn through more experienced others. They start out by taking on easier tasks and then gradually increase their involvement, participation thereby constructing their sense of self. Lave and Wenger (1991) call this "legitimate peripheral participation". There are two necessary conditions: newcomers must want to participate; and there must be effective mechanisms to initiate new members into the practices. Participation and engagement form communities of practice (Wenger, 1998, p. 184):

The work of engagement is basically the work of forming communities of practice. As such, it requires the ability to take part in meaningful activities and interactions, in the production of sharable artefacts, in community-building conversations, and in the negotiation of new situations. It implies a sustained intensity and relations of mutuality.

SLA researchers working in this field (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; and Toohey, 2000, for example) recommend that schools focus on examining how to bring about Lave and Wenger's participative mutuality. In doing so, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) point to the rise of the metaphor of *participation* in SLA to complement the metaphor of *acquisition*. Various positionings are potentially valuable for learners to occupy, and conditions in different school communities vary with regard to ease of access to the English language expertise of native speakers, to opportunities for practice (Kanu, 2006). Newcomers, of course, may be actively excluded. Miller (2004) in her three year study of 10 Australian high school students found that "sounding right" determined the extent to which a student could participate in social interactions and community practices.

Currently, interventions to build students' social capital (social networks that enable participants to work together effectively to pursue shared objectives) are seen as central to mainstream network building and gaining the right to participation for migrant students (Campbell, Catts, Gallagher, Livingston, & Smyth, 2005; Putnam, 1995; Smyth, Macbride, Paton & Sheridan, 2010). A focus on inclusive education has resulted from the *social inclusion* agenda of European countries concerned with strengthening employment, economies and social cohesion (Piller & Takahashi, 2011). Smyth et al.'s (2010) study in Scottish schools found that active intervention is required to develop students' social capital if mainstream and minority students are to engage in mutual learning. Erickson et al. (2008, p. 199) suggest that three powerful student themes are emerging from qualitative research: "Students want more human and humane interactions in school, they want to be their whole selves, and they want school to be engaging". Native-speaking teachers and students have a crucial role to play in situated learning.

Within the classroom, interaction and (non) participation is socially constructed (Morita, 2004). Teachers can have a powerful role in shaping the culture so that native speakers are sensitised to their helping roles with migrant students (Ushioda, 2006). The teacher can intervene to set up patterns of learning relationships that build social capital, alerting migrant students to the significant role they play in developing social capital, and developing mainstream students' awareness of their roles as co-participants in the learning process of newcomers. A given classroom culture awards certain roles to minority students and these roles are shaping or being shaped by classroom interactions (Morita, 2004, p. 598): "The classroom community should treat L2 learners . . . as valuable intellectual and cultural resources and give their unique contributions adequate legitimacy". Leki (2001, p.

63) argues that the teacher's role is to legitimise the participation of bilingual students and to expand the "narrow thinking system" of domestic students". Leki (p. 63) continues, suggesting that there are wider, long term implications: "creating better group experiences for bilingual students creates better experiences for all students and may move them toward behaving better in a culturally diverse society". Ushioda (2006, p. 159) suggests that reflection on issues of classroom talk about factors that enable and constrain learning usually leads teachers to become more critically aware of factors of justice and equity:

An important feature of all classroom settings, however, is the unique capacity invested in the teacher (as an influential member of the classroom social microcosm) to develop her students' critical awareness of the very barriers, constraints and ideologies in the surrounding social context that limit their autonomy and motivation. For the classroom practitioner, taking account of the political dimension of motivation thus leads naturally to adopting a more critical pedagogy.

In a negative context, native speaking students and teachers can label, stereotype and ignore the needs of minority students (Lin, 2008). Lin contends that teachers occupy powerful positions and can use their power to privilege students with attributes similar to their own. Norton (2001) calls on schools to research the social, historical and cultural contexts in which language learning takes place, and to explore ways of learners and teachers negotiating, and sometimes resisting, current positioning so that learners are offered the greatest opportunity for social engagement, interaction and choices around identity. Morita (2004) suggests that in increasingly heterogeneous communities native speaking students, too, may be peripheral participants who need to be socialised into participation.

Crichton and Scarino (2009) and others (McLaren, 1989; Smith, 2010, for example) contend that one way of building social capital is by including an intercultural dimension in teaching:

People need to be interculturally capable, that is, to be able to negotiate meanings across languages and cultures. . . . This need has implications . . . for education across all levels. . . . "What is needed. . . is an approach to educational change within and across disciplines, among lecturers and students, that emphasises change through 'dialogue', understood as a process through which to negotiate the interpretation and construction of meaning by participants in and across their particular disciplinary contexts. (Crichton & Scarino, 2009, pp. 65–66)

For example, the study of Eastern as well as Western art may encourage real mutuality in cross-cultural engagement and provide a haven for contemplation of identity that makes change possible (Smith, 2010). Smith sees Art education as an ideal vehicle for teachers to provide opportunities for all students to find their voice, and to gain understanding of the voices

of others. McCarthy, Giardina, Harewood, and Park (2003, pp. 463-464) argue that we are all in the process of developing our understanding and we should not be afraid of putting in centre place the tensions and contradictions that are inherent in curricular knowledge:

It means recognising the vital porosity that exists between and among human beings in the modern world. . .it means foregrounding the intellectual autonomy of students by incorporating the open-mindedness and inquiry that comes from letting traditions debate with each other.

Ideally, issues of power and access in a school context are addressed from the top, building students' future visions of societal roles. School leadership can work towards setting such a culture (Kanno, 2003; McCarthy et al., 2009).

Educational institutions have the power and expertise to navigate students' learning toward such visions in a systematic manner beyond the capacity of individual learners and parents. Thus, a school can communicate to its students an image of a society in which they have useful and fulfilling roles to play, and the school can make that image tangible and accessible. Conversely, if a school tacitly assumes limited social participation in the future for certain groups of children, it would be extremely difficult for the children to fight that influence. (Kanno 2003, p. 287)

Kostogriz (2009) draws on Derrida's, Levinas's and Bakhtin's ideas of hospitality, responsibility and dialogism in suggesting that schools become more hospitable to difference. He proposes *transculturation*, the contact zone where cultures meet and debate, as a possible, ideal outcome. Kostogriz suggests that a new vision of teachers who work in multicultural classrooms is needed, one where teachers create tasks that enable transculturation, or events of hospitality where dialogues between differences in schools take place. Exploration of their own location in language(s) and culture(s) by exploring cross-cultural multi-modal texts is a safe place for all to begin to explore identity (Smith, 2010). Kanno (2003) does caution, however, that there are limits to the power and influence of a school. Kanno suggests that effective schools research puts too much faith in schools as an instrument of social policy, and that schools tend to reflect beliefs commonly held in society.

Investment in learning and imagined future selves

As learners participate more actively in communities, they construct identities in relation to these communities. Norton Peirce (1995) and others (Skeggs, 2007; Kincheloe, & McLaren, 2005, for example) contend that, for minority students, social identity's defining characteristics are: multiplicity; struggle; and change over time. Struggle because, as

discussed in the previous section, students have more or less agency in creating their identity at school:

For many identity is a position that is forced, that has to be occupied, for which there is no alternative and which is attributed with no value and hence cannot be mobilised as a resource for enhancing privilege, or a resource to the nation, to belonging. (Skeggs, 2007, p. 26)

Change because every time students speak they negotiate their sense of self in relation to their community: “Identity is a production which is never complete, always in process” (Hall, 1990, p. 222). Kanno (2003, p. 137) reports that when the Japanese students in her study talked about English, they talked about becoming visible through interaction in English:

It was above all about making friends, getting respect and recognition, and establishing themselves as fully fledged members of the school community. In short, they associated English primarily with social participation.

Kanno (2003, p. 129) contends that as students grow older they become more adept at dealing with life’s contradictions, but as teenagers, “choosing one culture over the other offers a simple solution . . . to resolve conflicting cultural allegiances”. Bhabha (1994, p. 2) offers suggestions to counter acceptance of easy options. He suggests that it is important to focus on those *in-between spaces* that “provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself”. Within critical theory imagination is seen as the means for “proposing reform where curriculum could be reconceptualized/reimagined in ways that are more responsive to the multiplicity, difference, and identity affirmation that condition the postcolonial” (Kanu, 2006, p. 7). Imagined futures are not placeless. It is in the provision of concrete local settings that schools have an important role in what migrant students can imagine. Norton (2001) draws on Lave and Wenger’s theory in linking students’ future affiliations to their current learning. In drawing this connection, Norton proposes the notion of *investment* in learning. Students envisage themselves belonging to desired communities. Imagined communities expand students’ range of possible selves, and investment in these desired futures can affect the trajectories of students’ learning.

The topic of possible future selves is an issue of current interest in SLA literature (Dörnyei 2005; Kubanyiova, 2009; Pavlenko, 2002; Ushioda, 2006, for example). The notion of possible selves derives from work in social psychology on self-schemas:

Possible selves can be viewed as the future oriented components of the self-system. They represent individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and especially of what they are afraid of becoming. (Markus & Ruvolo, 1989, p. 212)

These possible selves are task and context related. They give direction. They help with the setting of goals and plans, with on-task behaviour, and energy levels:

At the cognitive level, possible selves provide focus and organization to one's intended activity. They guide the recruitment of appropriate self-knowledge, the development of plans, and the search for appropriate behavioural strategies (Markus & Ruvolo, 1989, p. 236).

Within a school setting, motivating visions of possible selves and time spent on tasks go hand-in-hand. Imagination raises realisable possibilities. In this sense it is transformative in a critical theory sense. Imagination can be a powerful tool at all levels of power relationships once stakeholders are alerted to and sensitised to needs. In the interviews for this study, the students discussed their positioning and the consequences for the range and frequency of opportunities for use of Korean and English language, within their school world. They also imagined how it could be different: "Thus language is not conceived of as a neutral medium of communication, but is understood with reference to its social meaning, in a frequently inequitable world" (Norton, 2010, p. 350). Meanings become available gradually as learners act and interact within and with their environments. The social world is constitutive of humans as well as constituted by humans.

Imagination in curriculum

The juxtaposition of critique with imagination is currently a transformative call. The alternative is a depressing, single set of imaginaries (Kanu, 2006). Recognising and addressing the serious needs of students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds requires imagination:

If the purpose of education is . . .to give [students] a sense of the possible trajectories available in various communities, then education must involve imagination in a central way. Students must be enabled to explore who they are, who they are not, who they could be. (Wenger, 1998, p. 272)

Socially inclusive policies that build social capital are critical. Zhou and Kim's (2007, p. 20) study of Korean and Chinese students in Los Angeles shows the role of ethnic institutions, notably supplementary education and churches, "as the locus of social support and control, network building and social capital formation" in facilitating Korean students' academic success at school. The findings are clear, however, about the consequences of the Korean

students' failure to tap into mainstream school communities. The consequences were limited career choices for the Korean students and constrained work opportunities on graduating from university. Accessing the mainstream imagination concerning career trajectories is clearly challenging. The successful Korean students in Zhou and Kim's study couldn't manage it. The students in Mak's (2010) Australian study had similar difficulties accessing employment. Wenger's (1998, p. 277) phrase, "a frail bridge across the abyss", describing participatory overtures to newcomers, encapsulates the challenge for minority students.

It is imagination that can visualise and bring about change, however: "Imagination challenges the banal and quotidian to open up spaces for re-envisioning alternative social reality" (Kanu, 2006, p. 6). And this re-envisioning can lead to action. Sartre (1957, p. 435) declared that "it is on the day that we conceive of a different state of affairs that a new light falls on our troubles and our suffering and that we *decide* that these are unbearable". McCarthy et al. (2003) contend that emotional connections amongst students enables change. Phillion and He (2004) saw this as a need in teacher training programmes too. They recommend using literary texts to develop trainee teachers' imaginative capacity to relate to those whose cultural and linguistic experiences are different to their own. They found that the key to enable ongoing, facilitating empathy for the other was to work at a very emotional level. Imagination develops empathy: "We are called upon to use our imagination to enter into that [other] world, to discover how it looks and feels from the vantage point of the person whose world it is" (Greene, 1995, p.4).

Greene (1995, p. 5) and other writers, use metaphorical language around journeys to describe this breaking with the familiar, which is often unsatisfactory, to move towards a new, transforming order. Curriculum planners can look "down roads not yet taken to arrive at a more fulfilling social order, to more vibrant ways of being in the world." Writing about curriculum change, Gough (2002, pp. 10-11) also employs journeying metaphors. In retelling the Ursula Le Guin story of a young girl of the Kesh, from *Always Coming Home* (1986), Gough (2002, p. 18) suggests that we can make the present and the choices we perceive within it look altogether different: "But unlike a journey beyond a town, futures in curriculum are not 'out there' waiting for us to arrive. We must visualize them here, now". Gough suggests that these future curricular imaginings are located in our present consciousness. Gough's suggestions are reminiscent of Bhabha's (1994, pp. 5-6) discussion of "interstitial" sites that are beyond and unknowable. In describing these sites, Bhabha deploys stairwell imagery, the traveller going back and forth and never settling on any fixity.

The metaphor of the journey is relevant to this study. This study takes a few steps in the journey towards imagining, and possibly implementing, ways for the school to collaborate around policy and planning with the Korean parents and the Korean students. It uses the lens of imagination “to make connections between the life before and after migration” following in Barkhuizen and de Klerk’s footsteps (2006, p. 277). Greene’s (1995, p. 4) notion of imagination as empathy is also relevant to the study: “We are called upon to use our imagination to enter into that [other] world, to discover how it looks and feels from the vantage point of the person whose world it is”. Damasio’s psychological explanation of the evolution of the brain provides the biological explanation, and an urgent reason to imaginatively listen to others’ stories.

Damasio’s psychological explanation of the evolution of the brain

The neuroscientist Damasio writes about the evolutionary development of the brain. He contends that initially the brain’s sole role was to regulate the well-being of the body, the well-being of the individual. Over time the brain evolved a second role, that of regulating the well-being of society as a whole. Damasio (2010, p. 296) calls this “sociocultural homeostasis”, a new functional layer of life management, the “as-if system”:

Memory, tempered by personal feeling, is what allows humans to imagine both individual well-being and the compounded well-being of a whole society, and to invent the ways and means of achieving and magnifying that well-being.

Damasio’s thesis is that the ways and means are stories. Individuals and groups whose brains enabled them to invent or use such narratives to improve themselves, and the societies they lived in, became successful. Consequently the architectural traits of those brains were selected and their frequency rose over generations. Damasio contends that listening to stories causes simulation, in the brain’s body maps, of a body state that is not actually taking place in the organism. Mirror neurons develop making the listener ready for action. The “as-if body loop system” allows listeners to adopt the body states of others. Damasio asserts that we are created through storytelling and storytelling pervades the entire fabric of human societies and cultures. Immordino-Yang, McColl, Damasio, and Damasio (2009) ran experiments showing that storytelling produces brain responses that are discernible in functional imaging. Such evidence support work in educational contexts, such as using the power of sensitising narratives to sensitise trainee teachers to their likely students (Phillion & He, 2004).

Conclusion

The move in discourse towards internationalisation and democratisation in curriculum theory favouring metanarratives that reject the national augur well for migrant students. At the school level, current international research in the sociocultural field points to the significant role schools have in deliberately creating participation and interaction opportunities for all learners, and schools' roles in explicitly discussing the concomitant benefits. L2 learners' stories offer a potential tool for beginning the emotional connections that enable teachers to learn about other worldviews, to plan more hospitable classrooms, and enable L2 learners the space to be their whole selves. The call for a rethink at the level of framework is compelling, however. The New Zealand education system has a relevant precedent. The New Zealand education system has a special responsibility towards Māori students as tangata whenua (people of the land) under the Treaty of Waitangi. The nature of partnership with Māori communities in Aotearoa New Zealand, in theory, is an empowering model. Partnership with Māori has been spelt out clearly by the Ministry of Education for BoTs. Such partnership policies can have implications for other community groups. This partnership itself can occur at all levels of policy-making by the sharing of power and decision making, satisfactory methods of consultation, and the inclusion of cultural perspectives in policies. It is a model that schools could aspire to for all their minority groups.

NEW ZEALAND POLICY AND CURRICULUM

In this section I provide a brief outline of the recent history of New Zealand educational policy. I then narrow the lens and survey the literature on engagement with Korea in New Zealand secondary schools.

A brief outline of the recent history of New Zealand educational policy

Clark (2005) argues that education in New Zealand has been shaped by two highly influential yet opposing social ideologies: *social equity* with its origins in the 1877 Education Act; and, more recently, *individual choice*. He contends that one outworking of social equity has been a move towards more local decision making from the 1960s onwards. Strengthening this direction has been an increasing awareness of the diversifying social environment and the knowledge that curricula need to be reshaped in local contexts to meet local needs. He views these egalitarian ideals of local teacher agency and social equity as being threatened in the 1980s by concepts of individualism, competition, and globalisation,

manifested in such beliefs as parental choice being the market force keeping schools accountable.

During the late 1980s major administrative reforms gave schools significant decision-making powers in a move towards decentralisation (the 1989 initiative was known as *Tomorrow's Schools* and stemmed from the report of the *Picot Taskforce to Review Education Administration*, 1988). Smelt (1998, p. ix) outlines the “four pillars” of these structural reforms: “parental choice, delegation of powers to school level, parental voice at school level, and contractual relations between the school level and the centre”. The running of the school was to be a partnership between teachers and the particular community in which it was located, and the mechanism for this partnership was a Board of Trustees (BoTs). Schools were to be accountable to a national education review and audit agency, the Education Review Office (ERO) to ensure the meeting of national charter objectives and national educational regulations.

Local teachers, parents and students were all to have more of a voice. For parents, the reforms aimed to:

alter the balance of power between the providers and the clients of education by providing communities with the means for a greater say in the running of their schools and for expressing their expectations about children's education. (ERO, 1994, p. 4)

Teachers, too, were to be put “at the forefront of curriculum decision-making . . . allowing them to develop a stronger sense of ownership of their own decisions rather than imposed ones from outside” (McGee, 1997, p. 266). Despite the driving rhetoric about local empowerment, research findings suggest that parents, students and teachers were, in reality, disempowered following the reforms (Bolstad, 2004; Olssen & Morris Mathews, 1997; Wylie, 1999). Bolstad (2004, p. 26) contends that students and their communities have been neither actively involved nor at the forefront of the thinking of those making decisions: “Real student and community needs are often a lacuna in educational thinking and decision making about curriculum”. Smelt (1998, p. x) contends that even school leaders are disempowered under *Tomorrow's Schools*, that the Crown has had difficulty affording schools real independence: “Voice has proved a limited tool, in tension with choice and with the teaching professionals and the state”.

Close on the heels of the structural changes came a stock-take of the national curriculum. The outcome was *The 2007 New Zealand Curriculum* document. The legal status of the curriculum statements for the essential learning areas changed to that of support materials.

Thus, instead of seeing the curriculum statements as something that demands 'coverage' in the school curriculum, they could be seen as tools for schools to craft curricula in ways that best meet the students' needs and the educational aspirations of the school and its community. (Bolstad, 2005, p. 197)

In practice, however, both local and international literature around school-based curriculum development offer a paucity of examples on ways of including the experiences of students, parents, or communities (Bolstad, 2004). Ramsay, Hawk, Marriott and Poskitt (1993) headed the 28 school two-year *Curriculum Review Exploratory Study* that trialled strategies and materials for enhancing collaborative decision making on curriculum matters between teachers and parents. They found that in general parents from ethnic minority groups were least likely to be involved. Cowie et al. (2009, p. 35) authors of the *Curriculum Implementation Exploratory Studies* categorically state that schools are not collaborating with communities over curriculum development: "Parent and community input into the big picture of the school curriculum is not a strong focus/practice". Cowie et al. (2009, p. 35) refer to an Australian model of levels of community engagement: inform, consult, involve, collaborate, empower. Schools in New Zealand, the report suggests, are generally at the first stage of *inform*:

The evidence in this project is that most schools are operating predominantly at the inform level, with some schools operating at the consult level and two schools appear to be operating at involve and collaborate levels.

The report found that sometimes schools assume that the BoT is representative of the community, and claim the BoT enact community engagement requirements. Other schools hold meetings to report to parents about new curricular directions, or use newsletters, or the school website or open days, while in a still smaller number of schools there is meaningful consultation. In the report, the shining examples tend to be from primary schools. However, there are examples of secondary school initiatives such as the establishment of representative student groups to provide a barometer of student opinion, or even the use of student researchers to identify and document student opinion. Bull (2009) points out that critical terms such as *community engagement* are not clearly defined. Epstein and Sheldon (2006) contend, however, that international research provides useful pointers for schools in engaging their communities. First, relationship building takes time. Second, schools can benefit from community-based organisations that have roots in the lives of families. Thirdly,

when educators collaborate with community partners and help develop parent leadership, they can form initiatives that meet the interest and values of their school communities.

Parents are not always keen to contribute. A recent exploratory New Zealand Council of Educational Research (NZCER) study in two schools found that the schools were disappointed by the low levels of parental interest in engaging with their children's school (Roberts & Bolstad, 2010). However, the writers of the NZCER study align themselves with literature that argues for more democratic debate at all levels of society about how education contributes to the well-being of society (Parker & O'Leary, 2006, for example). The climate may not be conducive, however, to a focus on these broad, democratic issues. Current debates centre on the government's determination to implement its national literacy and numeracy standards in the face of determined school opposition. In its efforts to bolster support, literacy and numeracy modules that are informative, rather than collaborative, occupy central stage on the Ministry of Education's Home-School Partnerships website (for example: <http://home-schoolpartnerships.tki.org.nz/Initiatives-that-have-been-effective>).

Engagement with Korea in New Zealand secondary schools

The literature discussed in this section prioritises New Zealand or Australian research because it is likely to be more in tune with the context of the study. This section of the literature review opens with some relevant generalisations about Confucian heritage cultures (CHCs). It then discusses what it means to be Korean at home and school, and, in particular, the disjuncts facing Korean school students. The section following surveys literature on adapting to the learning needs of students from Asian backgrounds, and the ways in which mainstream curricula are, or are not, oriented toward Asia.

Relevant generalisations about Confucian heritage cultures: Being Korean at home and at school

Education is a central preoccupation in Korean family life (Bae, 1991, pp. 56-57):

A great majority of Koreans are marked by an outstanding enthusiasm for education. . . . The long tradition of Confucian teaching firmly implanted in their minds the belief that education is of paramount importance in a man's life.

History and geography shape cultures, and Korean culture historically adopted the Chinese culture of Confucianism (Choi, 2002; Lee, 1996) which is noted for the high value it awards education. Chang (2000) uses the term *vernacular Confucianism* to describe the way the ordinary person applies Confucianism in ways that are individually meaningful for their

needs within their particular contexts. CHCs situate the individual in a web of social relationships prioritising hierarchical values and relationships among members of the community, the primary emphases being on “family ties, interdependence and conformity” (Choi, 2002, p. 469). Ho, Holmes and Cooper (2004) identify commonly discussed, key Confucian values influencing behaviour in educational settings: sense of self; the quest for education that can bring social mobility; respect for authority; and motivation for achievement involving hard work and perseverance. Wang (2001) reports, however, that the situation is dynamic, that school reform in Korea is changing the environment with more of an emphasis on independence, internal motivation and achievement.

Change notwithstanding, the heritage of Confucianism has consequences for Korean students in New Zealand high schools. Ho et al. (2004) discuss the concepts of *inside* and *outside*, reporting that these concepts are relevant to the classroom which students see as outside, and therefore they are hesitant to speak out, except perhaps in small group work. There are a number of reasons for this. One is the general differences in the conceptualisation of knowledge. Caiger, Davies, Leigh, Orton and Rice (1996, p. 80) point out that independent thinking is regarded as the domain of older, not younger, students: “Creativity is by definition the expression of a master. Mastery takes time and can never be an attribute of the young”. Moreover, speaking out to disagree is tantamount to hostility. Consequently, in CHCs “intellectual debate . . . tends to consist of the discursive presentation of a series of alternative perspectives rather than an attempt at the ‘if . . . then’ chain of a logical argument” (Milner & Quilty, 1996, p. 85). CHC students may not want to question a teacher because they worry a teacher may interpret a question as criticism, the implication being that the teacher has not been clear, or lacks knowledge. Students may have feelings of discomfort when teachers are questioned. Maintenance of face, and consequently harmony, is very important (Ho et al., 2004). Asking questions after class is the accepted norm. During class, questions may suggest a lack of student preparation in pre-viewing the topic or a lack of ability.

Others disagree with these stereotypical notions of passivity from CHC students. Cheng (2000) suggests that more likely reasons include the lack of familiarity with different teaching methods, especially pair-work and group-work; and lack of oral English language fluency. Morita (2004) in her study of Japanese students studying at a Canadian university found that students who appeared quiet, in fact did try to shape their own learning and

participation by exercising personal agency. Morita found that the characteristics of the classroom context affected the students' willingness to participate.

Disjuncts facing Korean students

This section explores in more depth studies of Korean students in Australasian classrooms, setting these within the context of international studies. There are few New Zealand secondary school studies of domestic Korean students (as mentioned in Chapter 1) but Choi's (1997) research into achievement for Korean university students in Australia, that identified considerable learning barriers, is relevant here. This study of 47 participants found students experienced particular difficulties with discussion in class, relationships with Australian peers, and relationships with teachers. Choi found that Korean students preferred a very structured learning environment with the teacher in control maintaining harmony in the classroom by making sure all students were treated equally. The students perceived harmony to be not only the teacher's responsibility, but theirs too. Choi (1997, p. 272) reports:

They believed that teachers and students should co-operate to keep an harmonious class. For example, they expected that teachers should be able to distribute opportunities to the students equally, controlling the frequency and duration of students' participation in class activities effectively. On the other hand, students should also respect other students, not disturbing class progress.

Initiating participation in discussion and demonstrating knowledge critically without losing face, were huge challenges for the Korean students in his study. They expressed their frustration and isolation when the teacher did not organise manageable participation opportunities for them in class discussion. More than 36% of the participants in Choi's study said they had difficulties in relationships with their teachers. They attributed this to (in ranked order): lack of teacher understanding of Korean students' English language problems and different styles of teaching and learning; student difficulties in contacting busy teachers; lack of mutual and continuous relationships; lack of teacher knowledge about Korea and Korea's methods of education; and discrimination. Choi's study concludes with recommendations for both the students and their teachers. The recommendations for teachers include: consideration of the pace of speech; avoidance of idiomatic language; consciousness of the language demands of the topic; and use of visuals to provide a concrete context for abstract concepts. There are also recommendations around classroom participation opportunities and support from local students. More recent international studies (Morita, 2004, for example) contain stronger recommendations for the teacher's role

in managing participation opportunities, for example by stopping and summarising discussion, and intervening in turn-taking opportunities. On a more general note, and significant given the findings of this research study, Choi also recommends that real effort is put into orientation to the new culture and, in particular, stories from other students with similar experiences or who have successfully adapted to the new culture.

Migrant students and their families also have to adjust to differing conceptions of teachers' roles. Choi (1997, p. 274) explains that Korean students are accustomed to closeness in the teacher-student relationship that intensifies during teenage years:

In Korea, the teacher-student relationship begins with the instructor-learner [*kyosa-haksaeng*] relationship which is based on academic relations at the early stage, but develops to a deeper, sustained teacher-student [*sûsûng-cheja*] relationship which goes beyond a purely academic relationship. In the process of the development of this *sûsûng-cheja* relationship, teachers gain much more respect and are regarded ultimately as consultants, even parents.

Shin and Koh (2007) draw similar conclusions from their study of Korean and American teachers' behaviour management strategies. They found that Korean teachers were more concerned about high school students' self concepts, such as motivation, self-discipline, moral values and learning attitudes, whereas American teachers were concerned with behavioural aspects such as punctuality for class, readiness for learning, and classroom climates as positive and interactive learning environments.

Other disjuncts include migration's shaking of traditional family values and ways of behaving. Korean families are migrants targeted by the New Zealand government's immigration policy. The parents have high-level technical and professional qualifications, professional experience, and business investment capital (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). However, in migrating to New Zealand, Korean adults experience a significant drop in their social status. Their qualifications are often unrecognised, they cannot find work matching their skills as they lack New Zealand experience and they struggle with oral English language skills. Consequently their traditional family roles go topsy turvy as their children become more socialised than they are into English language and New Zealand society (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). Armed with new knowledge and skills children often assume different roles in terms of relating to school. These roles have consequences for traditionally hierarchical family relationships.

Migrants have change foisted on them. Dynamic factors for Korean teenage migrants include the disjuncts between Korean and western school practices; and the changed positioning of migrant children in relation to their parents. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998) suggest that students take on the role of researchers to help them to understand these disjuncts and so help them change their relationships with the school discourse communities that operate around them.

Adapting to the learning needs of students from Asian backgrounds

Education systems internationally are coming to understand that students' ethnicity and culture exert a major influence over what they learn or do not learn at school. Characteristics of mainstream classrooms effective for learners from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds include: incorporation of different learning methods and traditions; explicitness of local pedagogic assumptions; valuing and incorporation of first language and prior knowledge; and integration of language and content learning in classroom tasks (Cummins, 2004; Delpit, 1995; Gonzáles, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000, for example). However, in New Zealand there has been a reluctance so far to make changes to teaching pedagogy to accommodate other ways of teaching and learning (Asia NZ, 2003; Hamilton, Anderson, Frater-Mathieson, Loewen & Moore, 2006; Ward, 2001). The findings are consistent, although the number of studies in the field is small, and the studies tend to be of international students, rather than domestic students, and to focus on tertiary students, rather than secondary school students.

In a large study of the international tertiary and secondary sectors, Ward et al. (2005) suggest a reason for the reluctance of New Zealand teachers to make changes to either the content or structure of the classroom learning tasks to accommodate learners from Asian countries: teachers reported feeling ill prepared. Only 42% of teachers believed they could relate classroom content to the students' experiences. Blame for teachers' unfamiliarity with Other educational worldviews is attributed to the paucity of professional development opportunities offered to teachers (Asia: NZ Foundation, 2003, p.13):

To date relatively little has been done to help teachers deal with the changing dynamics of classrooms that now include students...with different skills and prior knowledge, who are accustomed to different learning methods and traditions.

In Ward et al.'s study, few teachers said they would provide alternative materials for students from Asian countries, although they might speak more slowly or use visual support. Ward and Masgoret (2004) note that secondary school classrooms are even less inclusive

than tertiary. The findings from Hamilton et al.'s (2006) study are similar. In classroom life in New Zealand, they found that students from migrant cultures frequently encounter learning difficulties arising from the mismatch between the pedagogical assumptions of the New Zealand classroom and student expectations of how teaching and learning should be delivered.

Other reasons have been advanced for the unpreparedness of secondary schools to tackle Asia in the classroom. Current pedagogical discussions at both national and local level focus on assessment, and literacy and numeracy. A focus on literacy should be advantageous to students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. However, as Australian researchers point out, school improvement projects focusing on literacy are not fundamentally driven by second language acquisition theories (Hammond, 2001; McKay, 2000) and the particular English language learning needs of students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds are often overlooked. Moreover, while contextualised local imperatives have been very important since Tomorrow's Schools, the local imperative is unlikely to be Asia or students from Asian countries, perhaps because students from Asian backgrounds, except those from refugee backgrounds or who are international fee-paying students, do not appear in large numbers in the underachieving statistics (Wang & Harkess, 2007). However, international studies show that while statistics show students from Asian backgrounds do achieve well, they are also likely to be significantly represented in the tail of underachievement (Hu 1989; Min, 2004) and also to fare relatively poorly in accessing employment opportunities (Mak, 2010; Zhou & Kim, 2006).

There are calls nationally for schools to educate mainstream students about Asia. An example is *The Asia New Zealand Foundation's* 2009 strategic alliance with business organisations. The *Business Education Partnership* is one outcome. This is a declaration by 43 leading New Zealand companies and employee organisations calling for greater attention to educating young New Zealanders about Asia.

Understanding what is happening in Asia is the key to our future. . . . We, the signatories of this declaration, have therefore formed the Business Education Partnership for New Zealand's Future with Asia to call for greater attention to be given to making New Zealanders, in our schools and in our educational institutions, in our boardrooms and in our workplaces, more informed about Asia. (The Business Education Partnership Declaration, 16/11/09)

All the business signatories commit themselves to working with school communities in helping schools incorporate an orientation towards Asia. Clearly there is room for a study

such as this one, exploratory as it is, in probing Korean views of school life in New Zealand, and investigating ways of incorporating Korean voices in school policy and planning.

Orientation towards Asia in mainstream curricula

There may be national calls for an orientation towards Asia, but, in general, this has resulted in little policy implementation at the local level. The 2006 report *Preparing for a Future with Asia*, and other Asia-watch commentators and academics, reiterate this lack of interest in Asia when it comes to implementation of national policy guidelines in local contexts: “policy development has not trickled down into either policy or practice in schools” (Zhang, 2007, Sunday Morning with Chris Laidlaw: Discussion on the globalising influence of Asia and its implications for New Zealand). Although Asian students have been coming for a long time now, “New Zealand’s ‘Asian’ literacy remains poor” at all levels (McGrath, Stock & Butcher, 2007, p. 2). The evidence of this illiteracy is clear.

There have been some initiatives to increase secondary teachers’ and students’ knowledge of Asian countries. The Asia: NZ Foundation has offered secondary school teachers short-term scholarships to visit Korea and experience the culture, for example. However, the visiting teacher schemes have neither translated into noticeable classroom orientations towards Asia, nor school-wide policy initiatives. New Zealand teachers reported that pre-service teacher education does not prepare teachers for using Asia-related material, even in the social studies curriculum (Asia: NZ, 2005). The Asia: NZ report makes four points in summary: few schools are committed to studying Asia; there is little commitment to Asia in teacher education; few New Zealanders speak Asian languages; and there are few teachers of Asian descent. The last two points will be discussed in the following two paragraphs.

While it is compulsory for schools to offer students international language learning opportunities in years 7-10, widely spoken community languages are overlooked in the school curriculum. In 2008, 7.7 per cent of students were learning French and 5.4 per cent were learning Japanese (Tan, 2008, February 26). In comparison, only 0.6 per cent of students were learning Mandarin. None were learning Korean, although there was an initiative to introduce Korean language in the 1990s. The New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, supported by Asia: New Zealand, offered incentives to a small group of teachers, including this writer, to learn Korean language and learn about Korean culture and then to teach Korean language in selected primary and secondary schools. This initiative resulted in the writing of a first Korean curriculum in 1998. However, the Korean teaching

initiative has not been sustained and there is no updated curriculum document for Korean language.

Lo Bianco (2009, pp. 114-115) however, seriously questions the value of language teaching for intercultural understanding and, instead, advocates an integrated approach to developing intercultural skills.

Given the privileging of prestige languages in national education systems, which are taught mostly to advantaged learners and for the admiration of foreign others, can we expect any flow on effects in multicultural awareness, intercultural competence or positive attitudes towards difference in general?

Lo Bianco (2009, p. 129) advocates the integration of “critical worldmindedness” within mainstream teaching tasks so that curiosity about difference and interdependence is developed. Byon’s (2007, p. 13) study involved one such intervention. In their culture portfolio project the American students reported modifying their own stereotypical impressions of L2 culture and people: “Students improved cross-cultural awareness and their understanding of the dynamic nature of culture”.

Immigrant teachers provide important role models for an ethnically diverse population, but there are too few (Cruickshank, 2004). Recruitment, retention and performance of teachers of Asian backgrounds are significant concerns across the wider Australasian area (Han & Singh, 2007). Once recruited, the professional capital immigrant teachers bring (their skills, expertise and diverse perspectives) may not be valued in New Zealand schools, and little is provided to support migrant teachers as they adjust to the culture of New Zealand schools and classrooms (Stewart, 2010). Some struggle to integrate knowledge from the past into new frameworks, with negative consequences for classroom teaching and learning and their career trajectories within school systems (Han & Singh, 2007).

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to set the research project within its field of literature, which is curriculum. Pinar’s (2008) endorsement of internationalisation and democratisation of curriculum was viewed as a promising way forward. Critical theorists are concerned about the number and quality of interactions afforded minority students who are typically not positioned powerfully in mainstream school settings. While there is a paucity of empirical studies on ways of including the experiences of students, parents, or communities in local school policy and planning, the social turn in curriculum calls for schools to be

hospitable and to deliberately build students' bridging and linking social capital. If minority students are enabled to tap into the mainstream, more diversified future trajectories are imaginable, and investment into local and national communities is likely to strengthen. L2 learners' stories offer a potential tool for beginning the emotional connections that enable teachers to plan more hospitable classrooms, enabling L2 learners the space to imagine a broader palette of future selves. It is timely to develop narratives of collaborative practices that will stimulate mirror neurons in the listener/reader. The lens of imagination, informed by a critical approach, can make the connections between life now and how it could be.

In the New Zealand context, literature shows that calls at the national policy level for more engagement with Asia in schools have not translated into practice. The New Zealand literature is clear that students from Asian countries desire more interaction with native English speakers. New Zealand teachers report that they are neither knowledgeable about how to diversify their teaching practices to suit students from Asian countries, nor are they well prepared for inclusion of Asian content in the mainstream. L2 learners themselves are a valuable, intellectual and cultural resource, but are largely untapped. When students are welcomed into communities of practice they are more likely to invest in learning, and in the country, as they imagine their future societal roles.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

“With all research traditions, there is no one way of doing research” (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005, p. 254).

Introduction

The primary aim of this research is to explore the school-related experiences of members of the Korean community at East High School in the context of the school’s implementation of the inclusive principles of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (2007). There seemed to be an abyss between the national curriculum document’s inclusive principles and the positioning of the Korean adults in their school community. The parents told me that in their day-to-day life they were offered/ took up very few opportunities for using English. While their children’s education was central to their lives in New Zealand, they were too scared to talk to their children’s teachers. It seemed clear to me that to explore school-community engagement required ethnographic commitment to the field and an initial role for me as a go-between. Research with an advocacy/participatory/constructivist approach, informed by critical theory, seemed the best fit within this context, with my philosophical beliefs, and with research findings on using community resources as relational bridges between schools and families (Epstein, 2001; Epstein & Salinas, 2004).

All researchers draw on their existing interpretive perspectives. As a PhD student I had an obligation to make sense of what I observed, and to code this in appropriate, measured, written academic discourse. My heart is with those on the margins, in this case the parents with whom I have met twice weekly over the past four years, and with whom I continue to meet. I tend to represent their views with a passion perhaps not accorded the other participants. The principal of East High School and the senior management members have been enthusiastic in their support of this project and I hope that their hearing the Korean voices in more depth will intensify the emotional connections that can inspire change.

This chapter is divided into the following main sections: qualitative research, research approaches, ethnography, data collection, a data analysis section that begins with a description of grounded theory as used in this project, and, finally, the criteria for judging this research. I begin the first major section of this chapter with an overview of qualitative

research. I then explore in detail the core features of Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) definition, concluding with a focus on the narrative and ethical turns in qualitative research.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Introduction

Qualitative research traditions have their roots in work by cultural anthropologists and sociologists in the late 1800s and 1900s. The traditions became established with the work of the "Chicago school" in the field of sociology, and in anthropology with the work of pioneers such as Boas, Mead, Benedict, Bateson, Evans-Pritchard Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski whose use of fieldwork mapped its methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Within the wide field of qualitative research in education, Creswell (2008) charts the rise of critical perspectives during the 1990s driven by feminist perspectives and the need to better understand racial and cultural identity, and inequity. Reviewing qualitative research's history from a critical perspective, Smith (2005) perceives it as having a problematic legacy, ethnographic observation and participation continuing to be contaminated with colonial associations. Arising from such concerns are collaborative, participatory research methodologies (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2003).

Qualitative research is a contested term. Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 2) claim that the words *qualitative research* and *simple definition* do not collate. Tailoring metaphors depicting the patching together of fabric are commonly employed to describe its use of varied but appropriate tools at hand (Creswell, 2007). Despite these reservations, Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 3) do propose a generic definition, one that suits this research project:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. . . They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

This definition follows critical theory's push towards an ethical and moral turn in research, exhibiting a strong orientation toward the impact of the researcher's interpretation in transforming the world (Creswell, 2007). At the core of this push are questions of voice. Lincoln (2010, p. 5) contends that researchers need to work towards: "new, richer, more complex, more authentic representations of those with whom we work". The following

section explores in more detail the core characteristics in Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) definition, and briefly explains the outworkings of the definition in this research project.

Core features of qualitative research

A situated activity that locates the observer in the world

This section explores positionality firstly, and then voice. A significant aspect of the observer's location in the world is *positionality*. Rhoads (1997, pp. 10-11) defines positionality as:

the social position of the knower. . . . Questions of positionality are epistemological in nature in that they relate to how knowledge is produced and how the knower comes to an understanding of knowledge. . . . The knower is not removed from knowledge but instead is fundamentally a part of knowledge and its construction.

Questions of how the knowledge is produced include what the researcher has in common with the research participants, the relationship often envisioned through religious descriptors: "a deep and abiding dialogue with the Other" (Madison, 2005, p. 8). Here Madison draws on Bakhtin's (1981) metaphor of communion with the other, opening up the researcher to know the other more fully. Harré and Langenhoven (1999, p. 1) are more terrestrial, declaring that a whole field of study has grown around the "ever-shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting". The common ground I share with the Korean parents includes the ongoing twice weekly English classes, my social involvement with the class members, and my involvement in the local school context. The Korean parents, members of management, and I all meet at the Korean parent and school meetings. With the school I share an interest in implementation of the curriculum, and concern for the inclusion of minority worldviews. I have ongoing, sporadic email contact with the principal, sharing research findings. He sees the research as a building block helping to mould the newish school. If informants and researcher share common purposes, as I think in this case, then the confidence with which the research is carried out and reported on is bolstered (Charmaz & Mitchell, 1997).

Writing about the researcher's voice in the text, Charmaz and Mitchell (1997, p. 194) claim modest expectations for truth:

We speak of the writer's voice from the standpoint of ethnographers committed to the vocation of using all we can of our imperfect human capacities to experience and communicate something of others' lives. We go and see and sometimes join; we ask and listen, wonder and write, and tell our stories, not necessarily in that order. We believe that these simple acts of outward inquiry and inward reflection together with

effort and creativity will give us something to say worthy of sharing. We do not pretend that our stories report autonomous truths, but neither do we share the cynic's nihilism that ethnography is biased irrelevancy. We hold a modest faith in middle ground.

Charmaz and Mitchell explain that voice varies along three main dimensions: the freshness of the study; the relationships that researchers build with their informants; and the place of the studied phenomenon in larger systems of meaning and practice. I will briefly address these three dimensions. Within the category of freshness and clarity lie the issue of my reliance on translation, and the awareness that bilingual speakers have been shown to endorse more L1 values when speaking in L1 than when speaking in English (Bond, 1983). I considered various data collection possibilities such as whether I should use both myself and a Korean speaker as interviewers to elicit a fuller picture. In practice I did what the participants said suited them most. I was mindful that language affects how things are seen (Sapir, 1929, cited in Everett, 2008), but could do little about this.

My relationship with the participants involved a mediating role. In this field of study, the mediator's role is to assist the flow of information from the Korean community to the school, and to a small extent, from the school to the participants. For the Korean parents, I offer the English language classes where the focus is determined each week by the pressing needs of the participants on the day. Often they have questions about school. For the school, I offer more in-depth data on members of the Korean community. The principal keeps his door open to me and is very keen to receive research findings from the study and discusses with me ways of incorporating key points into staff professional development. He sees this research informing the school's evolving culture:

We are still only a new school and we're still only finding our feet in many of the things that we can do. So that's why I'm really interested in what you come up with because I think it will be a good building block for us as well. (Tony, personal communication, June, 11, 2010)

Regarding the place of the studied phenomenon in larger systems of meaning and practice, Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005, pp. 258-259) cite Edge and Richards pointing out that "generalization (or transferability) is achieved in the sense that qualitative studies seek to 'produce understandings of one situation which someone with knowledge of another situation may well be able to make use of'". Madison, (2007, p. 20) contends that the very emotional landscape at the centre of small stories contains important truths for informing the bigger picture:

These micro moments within the everyday. . . the small stories circling within other small stories – ancient and new, written and told – bring not only flesh, blood and bone to the discourses of democracy and empire, but they bring extended dimensions of accuracy and specificity, and passion to the macro-economies of global networks.

Certainly, the small stories the participants told were emotional and their implications were national. *Small stories* are discussed more fully in the section which follows shortly on *Practices transforming the world*.

Having a naturalistic approach to the world

In order to gather worthwhile data, Merriam (1998) recommends that the researcher spends considerable time in the natural setting of the study, often in intense contact with participants. This I have done, meeting with some of the Korean adult participants twice weekly over almost four years, for example. Merriam delineates the qualities a qualitative researcher with a naturalistic approach needs: an enormous tolerance for ambiguity because there are no set procedures to follow; adaptability when unforeseen events occur; sensitivity, or being highly intuitive; and good communication skills. Dörnyei (2007), too, prioritises research design as critical in the researcher's naturalistic approach to the world. He prioritises in-built flexibility and emergent research design, practices that allow the researcher to respond to the needs of the research context.

A set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible

An inductive strategy is one way that the researcher can make the world visible (Merriam, 1998). This study used grounded theory (Bryant & Charmaz, 2008; Charmaz, 2006) to store and interpret the data. In analysing the data, Charmaz's (2006) examples for categorising, developing codes, memoing, theoretical sampling and constructing theory were followed. Creswell (2007) contends that this sort of analysis with its multiple levels of abstraction is critical to qualitative research.

Making sense of, or interpreting, phenomena

At issue here, firstly, are the participants' stances on representation. Representation, Tan and Moghaddam (1999, p.178) contend, "does not solely involve the discursive production of 'selves' as individuals, but also 'selves' as members, representatives and mediators of groups". My Korean participants raised this issue, making clear to me that I was to understand that they were speaking for themselves, or perhaps for the focus group as a whole. That was all:

I feel we are a very small number and what we want might not be representative of all Korean parents' opinions. We have come here because we are interested, but there might be some parents who wanted to come but couldn't because of English, and others with good English might not come because they came [to New Zealand] early and they know everything about the school programmes. (Yeon Ok, E379)

Insider meaning (subjective opinions and experiences) where the meanings that people attribute to situations is what counts (Dörnyei, 2007) results in the findings being relevant to these participants in this context. Other readers may or may not recognise themselves in the data.

Practices transforming the world

Denzin and Lincoln (2003, p. xi) would want to emphasise the move beyond reportage to the “pressing need to show how the practices of qualitative research can help change the world in positive ways”. Linked to the ethical turn in qualitative research has been the rise of narratives (Denzin & Lincoln 2003, p.4). Narrators “use the act of narration to impose meaning on experience” (Pavlenko, 2007, p. 168), constructing the truth of an event in a form that is different to how it was lived at the time. These personal reworking of events, no matter how unique and individual, are inevitably social in character (Chase, 2003). The narrators in focus group interviews tell their stories to the other members of the group. There is an important interactional component. The others encourage, empathise with, interrupt or challenge the narratives.

Small stories emerged in the focus group interviews in this study. These were not rehearsed or polished stories but short accounts, what Watson (2007) calls *small stories*. They were told by the Korean participants who were sharing their experiences, working out their ways forward. As Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. xxvi) observed, stories have a dual role: “Stories lived and told educate the self and others”. Narratives can provide a vantage point to rethink experience, and also provide interconnecting details from where others' experiences can be imagined (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Damasio, 2010; Pavlenko, 2002). For Manguel (2007) and Damasio (2010), others' stories can offer to their listeners and readers other imaginary cities whose ideals contradict or subvert current realities. They are embedded with possibilities.

The stories told by management served a different role. These were rehearsed stories, explaining to me their role in school practices.

This section has looked at what Denzin and Lincoln (2005) perceive to be the core characteristics of qualitative research and the role of these characteristics in this study. It has concluded with the characteristic of transformation. In the following section I describe the study's philosophical research approaches which are advocacy/participatory, and constructivist. I also outline the ways in which the research is shaped by critical theory's traditions.

RESEARCH APPROACHES

An advocacy/participatory and constructivist approach informed by critical theory

Researchers benefit from evolving, tentative alliances because blended approaches can give a richer understanding of the subject matter (Bhattacharya, 2008; Creswell, 2007; Lincoln, 2010; Merriam, 2009). Critical theory's explicit focus on noticing the positioning of minority groups, and on (in)accessibility of participation opportunities is compatible with an advocacy/participatory and constructivist approach. The next section sets the advocacy and participatory approach within the constructivist setting before examining in more detail advocacy and participatory approaches and critical theory.

An advocacy/participatory approach involves collaborating with the research participants. Creswell (2007) and Schwandt (1994) contend that such approaches complement constructivist's focus on individuals seeking to understand and so construct the world in which they live. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005, p. 255) explain that constructivism is "the type of research that gives central consideration to the understanding of situation-specific meanings of actions, from the point of view of the actors". Such research focuses on the participants' perceptions of what happens to them and how they adapt their behaviour in the face of this. Views are multiple and are dynamic, being informed through interaction with others (social constructivism).

Two of the three participant groups are migrants, telling each other, and the researcher, their stories of being confronted by, and coming to their own terms with, realities different from those of their homeland. The other sites of interaction were: the regular Korean parent-school evening meetings, the English language classes, and associated informal social events with members of the English classes. These were sites of construction: the two-way sharing of information between management (who are learning about Korean perspectives) and parents (who are developing familiarity with their rights and responsibilities in the New Zealand education context). The students, too, collected data themselves, spending one day

noticing more acutely, and reflecting on, school practices, and their practices as Korean students at school. And I, privileged as the researcher, noticed, and consequently my understandings changed.

Advocacy/participatory approach

Guba and Lincoln added *participatory* to their paradigmatic grid in 2005, citing Heron and Reason (1997) as its original proponents. Kemmis and McTaggart (2003) explain that the roots of participatory research are in liberation theology and neo-Marxist approaches to community development. Kemmis and McTaggart contend that in developed countries, those who adopt participatory research are often academics wanting to integrate university responsibilities with community work. This project evolved primarily out of my history of involvement with, and advocacy for, migrants living locally, beginning in the late 1970s with resettlement of people from refugee backgrounds after the war in Vietnam. Kemmis and McTaggart (2003) identify three characteristics that distinguish participatory research from more conventional research: “shared ownership of research projects, community-based analysis of social problems, and an orientation toward community action” (p. 337). As issues are studied and exposed the researchers provide a voice for the participants, the text becoming the centerpiece of evolving, ongoing conversation (Lassiter, 2005, p. 7).

While I engaged in dialogue from the beginning with the school principal and the Korean teachers in particular, hoping for stakeholder input into the research, I struggled in practice to get beyond enthusiastic approval. Whenever I set up conversations, they tended to vest their trust in me and endorse my tentative ideas about the terms, conditions and parameters of the study. The principal was very keen for the research to go ahead, and was happy to give time to talk about the project, but he didn’t come up with asked-for suggestions to contradict or elaborate on my draft ones. For example, I sent him some possible questions to use with school management (all based on the New Zealand curriculum) and asked for his input. The principal replied promptly: “Great questions Margaret. Happy to answer these” (Tony, personal communication, June, 8, 2010). Perhaps his lack of input was because the questions were the logical set to use anyway, being questions about implementation of the New Zealand curriculum. The principal was vitally interested in the research findings, however, emailing me to ask when the findings from the research would be available. The Korean adults, too, were keen to participate, but their aim was to cooperate with my questions rather than amend them. For example, one participant emailed back:

Thank you for your email. I'm so pleased to participate in the meeting on Thursday night. I'm deeply grateful that you're doing great work for Korean community. I'm willing to help you as much as I can. I wish you could get fruitful results through this meeting. (Kyu, personal communication, October, 20, 2009)

The Korean community didn't see collaboration in an open design within their reach. Perhaps cultural factors were at work. They associated me with the university. As well, in my experience, members of the Korean community are reluctant to challenge the status quo for reasons such as their perceived lack of knowledge of the New Zealand education system. Moreover, migrant communities generally have not been well prepared for coping with devolution of educational authority as in *Tomorrow's Schools*. The school's sensitivities are also likely to be a factor in Korean eyes.

Certainly I was open and honest about the aims of the research. Wolcott (1999) suggests that it behoves anyone who carries out research as a participant-observer to be explicit about their role and the roles of the participants, and the relationship between them. I attempted to do this.

In summary, in this section I have described my chosen research approaches and discussed implementation issues in this research context. In the following section I firstly define ethnography as a way of carrying out qualitative research, then provide an overview of ethnography and critical ethnography, before outlining ethnography's place in my research context.

ETHNOGRAPHY

Definition

Ethnography, too, is a contested term. Ethnographic "authority and tradition are constantly undermined" (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland & Lofland, 2001). Whether it is a philosophical approach or a method of carrying out research is one debate. Another contested area is the disciplinary commitment to qualitative fieldwork. Wolcott (1999, p. 188), however, describes ethnography simply as: "literally, a picture of the 'way of life' of some identifiable group of people". Harklau (2005, p. 179) elaborates on Wolcott's descriptive definition, explicitly explaining ethnography's purpose, which is to understand others' worlds: "to come to a deeper understanding of how individuals view and participate in their own social and cultural worlds". Hornberger (1995, p. 245) writing about ethnographic research in schools adds an implicitly critical element to her definition of

purpose. Ethnographic research in schools “allows us to not only understand what is going on, but also to imagine and implement change”. These understandings and imaginings of change are based on participant observation of everyday school life (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2001).

Overview

Hymes (1982) outlines ethnography’s ancient history. He mentions Herodotus in the ancient Mediterranean world as the most famous exemplar of an early ethnographic inquirer. While ethnographic field work has been common since this time, Wolcott (1999, p. 189) argues that analysing and interpreting the data is anything but straightforward: “The ultimate test of ethnography resides in the adequacy of its explanation rather than in the power of its method”. Hymes contends that these interpretations must be seen as valid by those who participated in the research. Hymes adds that the more the inquirer knows before entering the field, the better.

Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) characterise ethnography as: having a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them; having an absence of preformulated hypotheses which allows important findings on matters that the researcher had not foreseen; investigating a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail; and qualitatively analysing human actions using verbal descriptions and explanations, rather than with quantification and statistical analysis. Within the field of education, Hymes (1982) and Toohey (2008) contend that ethnography offers a breadth of focus, and a noticing of the interdependence between general and particular inquiry. Tedlock (2003, p. 165) champions the role of readability and fit for audience in current ethnography: “It is not simply the production of new information or research data, but rather, the way in which such information or data are transformed into a written or visual form”. Well-written ethnographic study has the power to effect change: “The well written ethnography has the capacity of reaching an audience in a way no other scholarly product can possibly aspire to” (Sanday, 1982, p. 253).

Critical ethnography in educational contexts

In the introductory section on qualitative research, the significant rise of critical theory was noted. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) contend that critical theory is constantly evolving and that there is room for many critical theories. However, they agree that critical theory’s traditional concern is with the oppressive aspects of power, theorising the way structures

impact on human agency (Gordon, Holland, & Lahelma, 2001). The phrase *critical ethnography* was coined during the 1980s (Carspecken, 2001). An example of an early study is McLaren's (1986) analysis of Catholic school life in inner city Toronto. McLaren found that for the largely migrant population, classroom protocols and rituals, such as being docile and unquestioning, assumed at least equal importance in outcomes as the subject matter of the lessons. Many (Giroux, 2005; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, for example) argue that transformation is an essential aspect of critical research, claiming that critical research can only be labeled as such if it exhibits *catalytic validity*. Catalytic validity is suggestive of the power of the research process to reorient participants so that they see reality afresh enabling personal growth and transformation: "Critical ethnography is a meeting of multiple sides in an encounter with and among the Other(s), one in which there is negotiation and dialogue toward substantial and viable meanings that make a difference in the Other's world" (Madison, 2005, p. 9).

I am drawn to Peters, Lankshear and Olssen, (2003) who favour a *pragmatic* critical theory. Peters, Lankshear and Olssen cite McCarthy (2001), suggesting that the critical theorists' notions of emancipation are somewhat overblown. Pragmatic critical theory suits my research context where I need to collaborate with management in the school, and adhere to Korean cultural protocols around public criticism. In the following section I outline how my study fits within the ethnographic paradigm while considering the concerns of Peters, Lankshear and Olssen.

Ethnography in this research context

This study fits within the ethnographic principles outlined in the previous sections: the study has taken place over a considerable length of time; it is descriptive; it is open-ended in that it is pragmatic, informed by critical theory, but not driven by it; it explores the particular but connects this to wider political, social, and educational scenes; the researcher's position in the research is deliberately addressed (as discussed at the beginning of this chapter); the research uses the most appropriate research methods available in the context; and the write-up is geared at the research participants. Next I briefly look at each of these principles.

The study has taken place over a considerable length of time, arising organically out of work I had been doing in the field, my preparation starting in a small way almost twenty years ago with the initiative to introduce Korean language into schools. More recently there have been the twice weekly English classes for the Korean community; informal social

meetings with members of the English class; initiating and attending ongoing parent and school meetings; at least weekly contact with one of the school's Korean teachers; and ongoing sporadic contact with the school principal. The data was collected over time in a natural setting, using a flexible process (Creswell, 2007).

The study is descriptive. The first data presentation chapters, Chapters 4 and 5, are structured as partial case studies of the three participant groups. The studies are particularistic (a school's policy on engaging with its minority Korean community and the dreams of the Korean community), grounded in rich description over time, especially in the parents' case.

The study explores the particular but connects this to wider political, social, and educational scene. The study is set within the context of the national curriculum and national educational guidelines (Chapter 4). These in turn are set within the wider social scene (a more diverse society), the political scene (the national government's current educational and economic foci), and within the international research field. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 draw out implications from the data discussing these in relation to international findings and theory.

The research uses the most appropriate research methods available in the context. One participant in my English language class talked of *calm* being highly valued by Koreans and this value being, for her, the marker of difference between Koreans and Kiwis. The Korean liaison teacher likewise wrote of the reluctance to talk critically about school matters in public. My ethical approach is one of "contextualism, or situational ethics" (Flyvbjerg, 2004, p. 291). The context guided me to a pragmatic critical theory. The basic tenet is that as issues are studied and regularly reported on, the research should provide a voice for the participants. I hope to unsettle the perception that some in the Korean community at East High School hold that it is not their role to get involved in East High School's affairs. Giving voice to the participants involves raising their consciousness through a relatively open and collaborative research design. Miller (2004) argues that schools should be more active in recognising, challenging and reversing social inequality, shifting in the process from coercive to collaborative relations of power. This call resonates with the research turn towards ethical praxis.

The school will receive a copy of the research findings and discussions chapters. Goodall (2000, p. 7) contends that "the tensions that guide the ethnographic writer's hand lie between the felt improbability of what you have lived and the known impossibility of

expressing it, which is to say between desire and its unresolvable, often ineffable, end.” My aim is to develop authentic voice through the displaying of the participants’ micro narratives. The stories are memorable and have their own power to effect change. My collaborative role with the school and the Korean community is planned to extend beyond the PhD project.

I began this section of the chapter by explaining how, in my eyes, a pragmatic advocacy/participatory constructivist approach was determined by the context. I have argued that a critical theory stance that is fundamentally practical and at the weaker edge suits my context. Throughout, I have applied my understanding of the research traditions of my chosen research approaches to my own research context, in this I follow Kincheloe and McLaren’s (2005) advice that we need to construct our approach from the tools at hand that suit our particular context.

DATA COLLECTION

“Do less, more thoroughly!” (Wolcott, 2001, p. 128)

This section begins with a brief overview of the sources of data. The brief overview is elaborated on later in this section of the chapter. Details of gaining access and consent, the participants, the focus group interviews, and document analysis follow.

Sources of data

The sources of data were:

1. Korean parents: the school group

The school group had two long, recorded, focus group interviews in Korean, and some email exchanges in English following data confirmation checks. There were five other occasions when I recorded data from the two members of this group who were also in my English language class (Heon Ju and Amy). On these occasions I was asked out for a meal by some of the participants and, so with their permission, I would make notes afterwards. Initially there were eight participants, however, one participant (June) returned to Korea permanently after the first interview. She contacted me to inform me of her departure and asked if we could meet and talk some more. So there was one individual interview.

2. Korean parents: the English class group

The English class group had two focus group interviews in English, and many

informal talks that continued even during the thesis write-up. My habit was to keep a journal and write up these informal talks as soon as I could. Later in the process I used these informal opportunities to test my developing hypotheses and would write my resultant thinking straight into the thesis.

3. The senior Korean students

The students had three rounds of focus group interviews, followed by a fourth round with the group split into two. There were also email exchanges. For example, I would email possible questions for the following week's interview and some would respond with comments. As well, there were email exchanges following data confirmation checks.

4. The three members of management

Each had one face-to-face interview. The associate and deputy principals were sent, and responded to, follow-up email questions. There were email exchanges following data confirmation checks. I had sporadic, but ongoing, email exchanges with the principal.

5. The evening parent-school meetings that occurred two or three times a term and are open to all Korean parents and care-givers. I attended a section of all of these during 2009 and 2010 and wrote up field notes.

6. The two Korean teachers at East High School

For two years, Grace (one of the Korean teachers) attended the Friday evening English class. I met both teachers at the regular parent-school meetings, and kept in email contact with both.

7. The translator

The translator, who had left Korea in her teens and attended a New Zealand high school, was also a source of information. I encouraged her to annotate her translations commenting on how the texts resonated with her own experiences. Goldstein (1995) contends that such a translator can provide sociocultural and sociolinguistic background knowledge that can strengthen analysis.

8. Publicly available school policy documents such as East High School's Mission, Vision and Values statements, Strategic Plan and Philosophy.

Gaining access and consent

Gaining access and consent was straightforward given my well-established relationship with the school and the Korean community at the time when the research project was conceptualised. At a Korean parent-school meeting the principal told me he had tried to gather parent feedback through online parent questionnaires previously, and was very interested in more in-depth data gathering from the schools' communities. In this supportive context I sought and gained ethics approval from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (Ref. 2009/396, Appendix, B). I met briefly with the principal outside the context of the parent meetings and formally sought approval from him and the school's Board of Trustees. I briefly reiterated the purpose of the study, its collaborative approach and relevance to the school. I emphasised that I did not expect the Korean liaison teacher to use her own, or school, time to assist me, other than in providing names of possible participants, and responding to questions about the proposed research in L1 in order to gain fully informed consent. Following the meeting with the principal I met with the Korean liaison teacher and discussed the research project with her. Grace was enthusiastic in her support, offering to assist in any way she could with the research. She, in turn, said she would talk to the second Korean teacher, John.

Participants

The selection was purposive, which is common in qualitative research (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). There were three groups of participants chosen by the school.

1. Korean parents with permanent residency: eight parents who were all members of the Korean parent-school group.
2. Korean students with permanent residency: eight senior students who were seen as leaders, or potential leaders, a mixture of females and males.
3. Three members of school management who had some responsibility for planning policy and curriculum implementation.

In addition, in order to be immersed in the field in an ethnographic way, and to create more speaking opportunities, I invited the parents in my English class to participate. Two parents (Amy and Heon Ju) had already been invited to participate by the Korean teacher at the school, so I did not include them in the English class research group. Five English class parents volunteered to participate.

The parents

Grace invited as participants a core group of Korean parents who were regularly attending the school and parent meetings (see Table 1). She explained that the parents who volunteered were community minded, interested in school matters, confident in voicing their opinions, and supportive of the school:

Kyu is dedicated person for school, Amy, June, Heon Ju respect you and also want to help you. Simon is intelligent and religious man. . . . Yeon Ok is always interested in NZ education system. (Grace, personal communication, September, 3, 2009)

In selecting the English class participants I used purposive criteria to invite participants who knew me, and each other, well and who could communicate their thoughts in English (see Table 1).

The length of stay in New Zealand of the school parent group varied from 6 months to 10 years, a wide variation. Their average length of stay was just over four and a half years. The English class parents' length of stay was slightly longer, just over five years.

Table 1: Combined Parent Participants (for more comprehensive parent data, see Appendix C)

Pseudonym	Gender	Age group	Number of years in New Zealand
Amy	F	35-45	8
Andrew	M	45-55	½
Heon Ju	F	45-55	3
June	F	45-55	3
Kyu	M	35-45	9
Sera	F	35-45	1
Simon	M	45-55	10
Yeon Ok	F	35-45	3
*Clara	F	45-55	7
*Daniel	M	35-45	4 ½
*Jane	F	35-45	½
*Rose	F	45-55	8
*Sally	F	35-45	7

Note. * The English class group.

The students

The school's two Korean teachers collaborated to choose the student participants (see Table 2). I stipulated that the students should be over 16 years of age and members of Years 12 or 13 with actual, or potential, leadership roles within the school. Grace said that she had invited as participants very motivated, positive students: "Jade is a leader for her Whanau.

The others are not leaders but excellent students. I have discussed with John to choose them” (personal communication, April, 7, 2010).

Originally she had invited seven students to participate, and all having accepted, another student approached her and asked to join the group. The average time spent living in New Zealand was 10 years, considerably longer than the average of the parent participants.

Table 2: Student Participants

Pseudonym	Years in NZ	Year Level	Gender
Anna	13	13	F
Bin	10	12	M
Cindy	8	13	F
Harry	8	12	M
Jade	8	12	F
Jae	9	13	M
John	14	13	M
Min Gue	8	12	M

Members of school management

The senior leadership team at the school had one principal, one associate principal and two deputy principals (see Table 3). I interviewed the principal, a very hands-on principal, and asked him whom else I should interview on the topic of inclusive school policy and planning. He suggested the associate principal and one of the deputy principals. Both responded positively to my email for an interview.

Table 3: Participants from Management

Pseudonym	Role at East High School
Tony	Principal
Claire	Associate Principal
Rajan	Deputy Principal

The interviews took place during the school’s regular hours of operation, and covered issues that would be part of their regular management discussions. I interviewed the three members of management individually in their offices at times convenient to them.

The interviews

As outlined above, focus group interviews were the major source of data from the Korean participants. The following section provides a brief overview firstly of focus group interviews as a method, and then individual interviews, before raising concerns over the lack

of theorising of the use of interviews in applied linguistics. The section then discusses the use of interviews in this context. This interview section is supplemented by discussion in the data-presentation chapters, particularly Chapter 5 which presents the parents' data while weaving in discussion of the consequences of the use of L1 or L2, and the context and manner in which the story telling developed.

Focus group interviews were notably used by Merton and Lazarsfeld in the 1940s to examine the persuasiveness of wartime propaganda efforts (Morgan, 2008). It was almost 40 years before focus groups were widely used in the social sciences. In bringing together people who share a similar background, focus groups deliberately use interaction to gather data and insights that would otherwise be inaccessible (Hughes & DuMont, 1993; Morgan, 2008). Group dialogue inherently fosters agreement and disagreement among participants, encouraging them to clarify or justify their statements. Morgan (2008, p. 352) contends that they are particularly useful for gathering data from marginalised groups:

This ability to learn about participants' perspectives by listening to their conversations makes focus groups especially useful for hearing from groups whose voices are largely marginalised within the larger society. Focus groups are thus widely used in studies of ethnic and cultural minority groups.

Focus group interviews are also useful for learning about what is important to the participants (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

I chose focus groups for the Korean participants because I thought this would be a comfortable way for the participants to express, or not express, their opinions because they shared similar backgrounds. I thought that bringing the parents together to talk about and reflect on their experiences might be useful in their making sense of their experiences in New Zealand, particularly in relation to their children's trajectories at school. I thought that they might forge stronger bonds as a group. I thought they might politicise themselves.

Focus group and individual interviews share as many similarities as differences and the two work well in combination (Morgan, 2008). Both tend to base the content of the interview on the researcher's interests. The major differences are the number of participants in the project and the amount of data provided by each participant. In this case I was guided by the principal's advice in using individual interviews for management and in the participant selection.

Despite the commonplace use of interviews, Talmy and Richards (2010) contend that insufficient attention has been paid to how interviews in applied linguistics can or should be theorised. In explanation they offer their pervasive status. Talmy (2010) supports a discursive perspective on interviews, one in which themes often arise in interaction and are co-constructed. The interviews in this study with the Korean community were discursive. While I set the questions to be discussed, they were general. The Korean speaking focus group developed a collective story, clearly building their own themes. Interaction was within the group, rather than with the interviewer. The members of management, in contrast, were interviewed singly and they had rehearsed stories with ready-made themes which they shared with me. The responses of the members of school management were not conflictual, but their content was very different.

The school parents: First interview questions

In the first interview I used Morgan's (1997) suggested four interview phases: the introductory phase; the opening development; the central core; and the closing phase:

1. The introductory phase: Think back to Korea. What is one good thing about Korea's education system?
2. The opening development: Tell me what you were thinking about when you decided to leave Korea and put your children in school in New Zealand. What were your hopes and dreams?
3. The central core: In what ways is secondary school education in New Zealand like what you expected? Tell me about what you would like to change.
4. The closing phase: Any other comments about East High School?

The school parents: Second interview questions

My close reading of the data from the first round of interviews informed the second round of questions. By this time I had engaged in email contact with all the participants and seen them regularly at school-parent meetings. Having developed this relationship with them I felt able to open with a general, core, question: *What level of engagement would you like with the school/with your children's education?* I gave the participants a summary, orally and in writing, of two related key points from the first interview.

1. Summary and associated question derived from data:

How can you be involved with your children's education in NZ? You told me that English language is so difficult and the school curriculum is so different from Korea.

2. Summary and associated question derived from data:

When I talked last time, some parents said they were disappointed because they didn't have enough information about subjects and possible careers. For example, if a student wanted to be an architect, parents didn't have enough information about what subjects to choose. You told me that the system in Korea is different and a wide range of subjects is compulsory. What would you like from school? More written information? More parent meetings?

The school parents: How the interviews were managed

Grace set up the first focus group interview with the parents, and stayed, unobtrusive and quiet, outside the focus group circle. I briefed the participants on the general purpose of the interview, and practical details. I explained how the interview would be recorded and transcribed, returned to them for data confirmation, and analysed. I also discussed the very important issue of keeping the content of what was discussed within the focus group. I suggested that they talk in Korean if they preferred. At this point they talked amongst themselves and told me they would use Korean, and would generally go around the group giving each participant the opportunity to respond to each question.

Grace didn't attend the second round of interviews. In her absence Kyu (the chairperson of the school's Korean parent group) assumed an organisational role, summarising in English the key points after each round of discussion. The translator commented that he did a very accurate job. It is possible that he also assumed an organisational role in the first focus group interview, but I didn't pick this up as the talk was solidly in Korean.

In each interview the participants quickly appeared to feel comfortable with each other, and the group decided on the rules for turn-taking, the structure, and duration of the interview. I was dependent on them for this. As described in Chapter 5, the Korean language group's talk displayed emerging and complex narrative linkages. The participants confirmed and elaborated on the previous speaker's narrative. As Holstein and Gubrium (1995, p. 58) reported: "Coherent, meaningful configurations emerge through patterned narrative linkages. We refer to these patterns as *horizons of meaning*."

The English class parents

I used the same questions for the English focus group although they were personalised because the group was small and I knew them well. However, in these interviews I managed the discussion more, and it veered in various directions depending on responses. English was a constricting factor and consequently while they gave illustrative examples, their stories were shorter with less detail. Pavlenko (2007) notes that language proficiency does affect detail and consequently narrative interest. However, because the speakers were searching for words in English and I, as their teacher, was noticing and admiring of this forced output, their words were often few but carried noticeable intensity of meaning being key points without extraneous details.

The students

Grace organised the student participants and the meeting place (the prestigious boardroom). The students nominated the meeting times, lunchtime. I would start each session with a round where the students would report on their week's thoughts about the task set. One boy was more naturally verbal than the other boys but the others would contribute when asked, so I tried to always ask for their opinions. I made it clear they could say "pass" or just listen. There didn't appear to me to be any awkward silences.

I would transcribe the data the day of the interviews while the data was fresh in my mind, and so that I had time to think about what the questions might be for the next interview. I also kept in mind the parents' suggestions for change at the school (for example: informative and inspirational talks by graduated students; more subject information, especially regarding possible career pathways; closer monitoring by teachers of student work; pressure to mix with other Korean students), wanting to get the students' opinions on these issues.

I was keen to involve the students in setting their own small research agendas. At the first interview I discussed the idea, and asked them if they would be interested in choosing a research focus and keeping notes for one day. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998, p. 2) write passionately about the way that students as researchers are enabled to "read the world" helping them to understand and also change it by creating a vision of "what could be". I gave each participant a small spiral-bound pocket note book for the purpose of noticing and collecting data. See Appendix D for examples. I tried to foster a shared research climate. I kept in my mind certain relevant research findings and when it seemed opportune, shared

these with the students, in this way fostering a research disposition. For example, I shared the findings around *the model Asian thesis* (He et al., 2008), and Korean expectations of the teacher's role in creating harmony in the class (Choi, 1997).

The students: First interview

At the first focus group meeting I gave a brief overview of the project and tried to get to know the students a little, and to also to ensure that they knew each other. I organised a *think/pair/share* (Table 4) as a non-threatening tool to elicit ideas on ways in which they saw Korean students as valued.

Table 4: Think/Pair/Share, First Student Focus Group

Ways in which Korean students are valued at East High School
<i>The NZ Curriculum</i> : “The curriculum . . . ensures that students’ identities, languages, abilities, and talents are recognised and affirmed and their learning needs are addressed. . . . students will be encouraged to value diversity as found in our different cultures, languages, and heritages”
What I think
What my partner and I think
And now, on reflection, what I think

The students: Second interview

At the first interview, I had asked the students to do some homework: choose a focus and spend one day noticing, and keeping a written log, of how Korean students are valued. I gave them examples of possible questions: *What opportunities do you have for talking with native speakers of English? Document one day by recording how many times you speak with native English speakers inside or outside the class.*

The students reported back on their findings on what they had chosen to research. Following the reports I asked the students: *If you could make three changes at school what would they be?*

The students: Third interview

The third week's questions arose out of the previous week's data: Most of you said last week that achieving well at school was your primary aim, but as a secondary aim you mentioned building skills for interacting with others. What are some ways Korean students can develop these skills? What processes are in place for you to raise school issues with

teachers or school management, for example, your interest in having more career guidance or Korean food in the tuck shop?

The students: Fourth interview

After the third interview I was particularly keen to read and reread all the data to prepare for the last face-to-face meeting. I searched the data for deeply felt student concerns. I wanted to clarify that I was coding these concerns accurately and also to explore issues more fully. I put these issues into a table and emailed them to the students to consider two days before the meeting. (A section of the attachment is given as an example in Table 5. One of the complete attachments can be seen in Appendix E.) I also included two very open questions that had been covered before to confirm or challenge my coding: *What do you want from school? How can this best be achieved?* Anna emailed her responses the following day: “Hi miss! i thought I would just send you my reply, hope thats fine with you. (If not I will give you a printed cope on Friday:D)” (Anna, personal communication, May 19, 2010). When I thanked her for sending me these responses she responded: “it was no problem at all! I just hope we were able to help in some way :D (Anna, personal communication, May 22).

I met with the students in pairs, or threes, for 20 minutes (half of lunchtime).

Table 5: Section of Attachment Sent to Students Prior to the Last Interview

Idea/Issue of concern	What happens now	Other ways it could be done
School to parent communication		
<i>(Jade said that not many Koreans came to the East High School seminar at which her brother spoke about learning in NZ schools. She suggested parents didn't know about it).</i>		
Question: Are there ways the school could communicate better with your parents?		

School management: The questions

The questions for management were derived from the Vision, Principles, Values and Key Competencies of the New Zealand curriculum, imperatives that all schools needed to implement by February 2010. Because of my ongoing dialogue with the principal I decided to annotate the questions with evidence from the data I had collected at that point, and also with key points from my reading, in this way providing some feedback to the principal. I emailed the questions to the principal before the scheduled meeting. See Table 6 for an example of the annotated questions. See Appendix F for the full questions and notes.

Table 6: Annotated Question for Principal

<p>Main question</p> <p>What concerns you most about the education of Korean permanent resident students at your school? What are your hopes and dreams for how things might be different?</p> <p>Sub questions for school</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) In what ways is the school encouraging community engagement at the school? (2007 NZ curriculum document principles: <i>The curriculum has meaning for students, connects with their wider lives, and engages support of their families</i>). (b) What do you expect in terms of engagement from the Korean community? <p>NOTES</p> <p>(a) Reference to literature. See the Australian model of levels of community engagement that has been used in NZ to analyse where schools are at: Inform; consult; involve; collaborate; empower. Cited in Cowie, Hipkins, Boyd, Bull, Keown, McGee, et al. (2009) (Available: http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/curriculum/57760/1).</p> <p>(b) My findings.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Korean do have a different worldview. For example, Korean parents assign real status to teachers and see their role in a student's life as not only the one who can explain subject matter well so that the students are successful, but also as inspirational mentors, guiding their children. "Teaching is NOT job!" Living in an alien culture, they are even more reliant on the teacher to carry out this role. One or two of the Korean parents are interested in school and community politics. For example, G said she would consider standing for the BOTs, because she has some expertise in this field, but would need a translator. What are ways you could envisage and support Korean representation on the BOTs? (The issue of representation is somewhat like the issue of Maori representation on the AK city council.) The same G attended a community policing talk at the school but could not participate because there was no translator and no other means of enabling understanding of the message.

The principal clearly had thought about the data I gave him because he talked in detail about the schools' current professional development programme that was focusing on group work (amongst other things) and he was going to feed the students' comments regarding Korean students sitting at Korean tables to the teachers. He also talked at length about how explicit modeling of effective group work in these teacher professional development sessions was critical to effecting change. I felt that giving him the questions beforehand led to him thinking through how he would use the data in making changes to the planned professional development, or strengthen existing school initiatives.

I emailed the same questions to the associate and deputy principals before the scheduled meetings, this time without the notes.

Main question

What concerns you most about the education of Korean permanent resident students at your school? What are your hopes and dreams for how things might be different?

Sub questions for school

- In what ways is the school encouraging community engagement at the school? (2007 NZ curriculum document principles: *The curriculum has meaning for students, connects with their wider lives, and engages support of their families*).
- What do you expect in terms of engagement from the Korean community?
- In what ways is the school encouraging cultural diversity in school curricula? (2007 NZ curriculum document principles: *The curriculum reflects New Zealand's cultural diversity and values the histories and traditions of all its people*)
- In what ways is the school encouraging inclusion at the school? (*i.e. the curriculum is non-sexist and non-discriminatory; it ensures that students' identities, languages, abilities, and talents are recognised and affirmed and that their learning, including participatory, needs are addressed*)
- How do you ensure that positive inter-group relationships develop at school? (2007 NZ curriculum document key competencies: *relating to others*).
- What is a possible process for hearing and incorporating Korean community voices in schooling, for engaging in dialogue?

The interview responses covered very different topics, the topics affected by the different responsibilities of the associate and deputy principals. The associate principal spoke about her role in leading a school review of the policy documents in light of the 2007 national curriculum document. The deputy principal, in contrast, talked about his role in socially inclusive practices.

Document analysis

The chief documents were:

- the National Education Goals and National Education Guidelines under the 1989 Education Act;
- the 2007 national curriculum document;
- school policy documents that enact one and two in the school's unique setting. .

The school policy documents were secondary material, not written for the purposes of this study. Merriam (2002) points out that the advantage of document study is that its practice does not intrude upon the context in the way a researcher might. Lincoln and Guba (1985) point out other strengths: they provide a stable and rich source of data that is grounded in the context where they were created. Document study does have limitations however.

Documents may not be complete, or up-to-date, or they may be due for review. Yin (2003)

cautions that the researcher needs to remember that the document was written for a different purpose and for a different audience than that of the researcher.

GROUNDNED THEORY AND DATA ANALYSIS

“Grounded theory methods can provide a route to see beyond the obvious and a path to reach imaginative interpretations” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 181).

Introduction to grounded theory in this context

I begin this section of the chapter by outlining the ways in which I used grounded theory to guide data management and analysis. I wanted to develop theory from the data, being open to imaginative interpretations, while also being cognizant of findings from other studies reported in the literature.

Glaser and Strauss developed their approach to building theory from data as Grounded Theory Method (GTM) in the mid 1960s. They introduced the phrase *constant comparison* to describe their method of iterative analysis of data leading to theory development. While Glaser (1978) conceded that the researcher’s sensitivity benefits by being steeped in the literature, and that methods may be adapted in educational contexts, Bryant and Charmaz (2007) and Charmaz (2006) argue for greater flexibility, for example, in theory construction which is steeped in our interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices. These people, perspectives, and research practices inform research throughout. Bryant and Charmaz also caution that strict adherence to inductive methods can focus on recurring patterns and so overlook the important exception. What they champion in grounded theory are the transparency of the relationship between data and abstract categories and the level of abstraction. These, they contend are grounded theory’s useful contribution to qualitative research. Charmaz (2005) argues that the balance between the researcher being *grounded in data* and *distanced from data* is a fine one.

Grounded theory’s methods are suitable for studying the reciprocal effects between individuals and larger social processes (Charmaz, 2004), in this case individuals in the Korean community and the school. Grounded theory sits comfortably with critical theory: “Social justice researchers openly bring their shoulds and oughts into the discourse of inquiry” (Charmaz 2005, p. 509). Social justice studies involve looking at both realities (description) and possibilities (theory). I have attempted to adhere to Charmaz’s (2008) four criteria for use for grounded theory studies in social justice inquiry: credibility (anchored in the languages, values and politics of the local), originality, resonance (shaped by local needs,

findings should be owned by the local community), and usefulness. The study is anchored in the local, and shaped by its needs. The project arose from the need for dialogue and understanding acknowledged by both East High School management and the Korean community. It is both original and useful in that there are few New Zealand research studies of secondary school migrant student experiences.

In the section on data analysis I will display examples of my use of grounded theory's techniques by listing some of the initial codes and showing how these later were subsumed under wider categories and following that the next step of memoing.

Using grounded theory in this context

Initial coding

Once data confirmation checks were completed (as mentioned in the data analysis section), I numbered the data, roughly into meaning or topic chunks, and displayed these in a word document, in the first of a series of columns. I read the data closely, writing comments in adjoining columns. I named segments of data with a label that categorised and summarised in order to grapple with the meaning. I searched the data and assigned themes or codes. The middle column in Table 7 displays an example of the code, which is in bold, and the data. The coding was both descriptive and analytical. See Table 7, for example, the principal's interview.

Table 7: Initial Coding of Interview with Principal

File DS550022 Data from principal's interview	Possible codes	Relevant literature
Interviewer Eastern High or something, yeah okay. That's sounds pretty good. So what are ways in which a school engages local, minority communities?	Engagement with minority communities	
Response Well we have a cultural week where we ask our kids to bring their local costume, they make a presentation in their whanau assemblies and they build pictures of their community or where they've come from in their whanau and each whanau does that a little bit differently. Some have put up the flags of where everyone is from, some have done national dress, some have done words of greeting from each language. So there's quite a range of things that we do through that cultural week because we really believe that students who are proud of who they are and where they've come from makes a difference to their learning.	<p>The principal is proud of the cultural display and the whanau structures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses the inclusive "we". • Cultural week runs for a whole week. • Each whanau takes responsibility and does it differently– not just one or two students involved • It is student driven • Whole school involvement – presentation to assemblies <p>Learning communities Connects students being proud of where they come from with academic success.</p>	<p>May and Sleeter (2010, p. 7) cite Banks (1984) in pointing out that multicultural education is frequently trivialized taking the form of practices such as holiday celebrations, without change to the current order.</p> <p>Schoorman, D., & Bogotch, I. (2010, p. 80)- calls these "business as usual" or tokenistic approaches, variously described as 'surface culture', 'food and flags' or 'tourist' curriculum emphasizing cultural contributions, 'compensatory' or assimilationist efforts aimed at the 'culturally different' or fragmented 'additives' to the curriculum".</p> <p>see, for example, Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). Critical multiculturalism calls for multicultural education that moves beyond celebrating cultural differences and promoting cultural sensitivity (see students)</p>

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I looked for further, finer categories, later, adding slightly more blended or patterned comments to a fourth column in Table 8.

Table 8: Later Coding of Interview with Principal

File DS550022 Data from principal's interview	Possible codes	Relevant literature
Interviewer Eastern High or something, yeah okay	Engagement with minority communities	<p>May and Sleeter (2010, p. 7)</p> <p>Consequences of operating within to ethnic networks, as opposed to mainstream.</p>

While the members of management spoke on very different topics in response to the same questions (the topics reflected their areas of responsibility), I analysed their data separately. In contrast, I collated the parent, and I collated the student data. See Table 9 below for a section of the collated parent data in the category initially labelled *Hopes for education in NZ*. In this case I experimented with using topics and bolded words to highlight themes. I also wrote comments to myself under the heading “analysis”.

Table 9: Section of Collated Initial Coding of Parent Data

Topic: Hopes for education in NZ	
Data: Clara 11, 81	Feel free and freedom I don't want they too much stress (later says press, stressful, push, study too much, so many people)
June & Amy, D, 9 Kyu, B 104	I want they get so many opportunity – job and countries If they speak English well I think they can do it Students just have to tough it out til they learn English and got used to systems and then could complain for themselves.
Andrew, B 114	I did a lot of thinking. At the time, people in Korea started talking about studying overseas and doing that in early ages. . . . I didn't come here with big expectations in education, or such dreams, but more with the thought that my children would settle down here easily . I came here because the environment here was favourable for me (*perhaps not much for him but more for his children) like that. I've always wanted my children to be able to choose what they want to do and go through the school years comfortably. That was my take on my children's education. I thought, 'if I came here, the education would be similar to what I thought'. What I thought was the biggest difference between here and Korea is that, in Korea, if you don't do well academically, people consider it as a bad thing (*original: people talk in a bad way), like 'Would you be able to earn enough to eat? What are you going to do? Work in a factory?' you do what we call 'physical work', but people here don't think that there is a world of difference between them whereas in Korea people do, right? Actually, I came because I liked here . . . I found a hope here. You know that in Korea they teach a lot and 'broadly'. So there is one drawback; it lacks in developing a child's potential, 'POTENTIAL TALENT' . . . I think that they (children) themselves should think about their living as they grow up, because we (parents) will die off when they all grow up. They should lead their own lives. I think like that and I have led them towards that way. So they have always thought for themselves , rather than parents (us) pushing them to do things.
Simon, B150	So she came, oh, and I think New Zealand is like heaven for my daughter. However, my eldest doesn't know what he likes to do. Maybe he has never thought of what he should do in the future because students in Korea go to universities (and choose degrees) according to their grades (in high school, in exams, etc). His granddad vaguely wanted him to be a public prosecutor. My son has been writing down 'lawyer, government official, public prosecutor' in the blank for 'future dreams' since he was young. Why? Just because granddad wanted it. . . . As for my daughter, she wanted to be an announcer. However her dream disappeared since she came here. She says to me, 'Mum, how can I become an announcer here? My dream's gone'. New Zealand is where you can do what you have liked and wanted to do, but my children came too late, so it seems that they don't know their dreams or what they like.
June, B 185	
Yeon Ok B258	

Analysis	Flight from Korean negatives of stress. Try another place – where there are opportunities and hope. For Kyu these were family members here & nice environment. For Andrew, to live more freely, escaping judgement re career choices. English language = opportunities to have good jobs and work internationally. Han (2010) parents in Korea not satisfied with quality of English language teaching in schools. Importance of resilience
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While collating and coding I also noted relevant literature that came to mind, in this way relying on both inductive and deductive approaches. As Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005, p. 258) note “qualitative researchers . . . use both induction and deduction throughout their analysis, and to classify a study as either only one or the other would be an oversimplification.” Ellis and Barkhuizen explain the distinction between these different orientations in qualitative research, deductive research being theory driven and inductive research being data driven. Researchers adhering to deductive orientations set out to prove or answer specific hypotheses or research questions, ignoring other themes that may arise during the study. Researchers adhering to inductive orientations develop their theory out of their data. Discovery benefits from a systematic approach and familiarity with relevant literature.

I refined the topics as categories and used these categories in presenting the data as case studies in Chapters 4 and 5 (see Table 10).

Table 10: Data Categories

The students	The parents
Having trust in their ability to succeed in the New Zealand education system <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trusting in your own efforts • Getting good marks • Benefiting from service opportunities 	Being equivocal about the benefits of education in New Zealand <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It can be a good thing or a bad thing • Not being able to develop trust in the New Zealand education system
Being positioned as a minority group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sitting at the Korean table • Knowing the students’ names and participation opportunities 	Having an investment in education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having another chance • It’s not just about marks
	Being present in their children’s education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trying to understand education in New Zealand in order to support their children • Needing interpreters and bilingual material
	School engagement with parents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positioning as outsiders

Memoing

I spent considerable time thinking about the data, adding notes, and restructuring the data into slightly different categories. Much later I moved onto memoing. I followed the patterns offered by Charmaz (2006) in her practical guide. A section of the memo that is based on

the above category *Hopes for education in NZ* is given in Table 11 here. See Appendix E for the complete memo.

Table 11: Section of an Initial Memo

<p>Example of an initial memo (24/09/10)</p> <p>Participating and achieving opportunities (employment opportunities)</p> <p><i>Teaching is not a job!</i> This heartfelt quote from Clara sums up (implicitly) the role Korean parents expect of teachers and schools. Teachers are called to intervene in children's lives, in Clara's view. Expectations of teachers are perhaps different from the expectations of teachers in New Zealand classrooms. It also perhaps implies a different weighting to the role of school in a child's life. Most parents left because they sought alternative career pathways for themselves and their children. They came prepared to engage and be changed as a result. For some parents such as Clara, Rose and Yeon Ok these are worries because they can't now envisage the way forward for their children. Symbolic resources would be useful to help think through such issues. Bhabu's space? But where are the helping tools? New Zealand based Korean alumna associations are not useful. Migrants need to be able to visualise needs potential pathways.</p>

Other sections in this memo were: How the category emerged; Beliefs and assumptions that support it; Practical significance – mutual sharing of information; and Contrary evidence.

Theoretical sampling and sorting

Throughout these stages of analysis I had always planned to work alone. However, I found that my ongoing presence in the Korean parent community provided a way of having input from the parents into my analysis. I found it very reassuring to mediate my initial analyses through the use of (anonymised) scenarios drawn from the data. I could raise these in the English class, or at informal social occasions, and discuss them. As I developed codes or emergent theory I would employ sampling to test my emergent ideas. For example, I had always thought that Korean families migrated for educational reasons. This is what the literature says. However, I was told, at a very emotional time for a Korean friend, her son's wedding, that Korean migrants didn't come to New Zealand primarily for the sake of their children. They also came because of their mid-life crises. She said the talk of education was to mollify family left behind in Korea. This backed up Rose's comments that she and her husband had come to New Zealand for adventure. For Rose, the children's education ranked only third as a push factor. I had thought that Rose was possibly an outlier, but following the confidence at the wedding, I had the opportunity to clarify migration reasons with the wider group. The English class assured me that their children's education remains a critical reason for migration. In this way I was able to offer additional interpretations of the collected data or to strengthen my emerging analyses.

Constructing theory

Following this I integrated and combined memos. I moved away from a very close connection to the data in writing the more analytic Chapters 6 and 7, weaving in findings from relevant local and international studies. I diagrammed my emerging concepts, and built emerging theory in Chapter 8. This was the most challenging section, loosening the ropes tying the study to its context in order to develop theory that has relevance to other readers in other places. I found that taking a similar study and thinking about how my study was different progressed my thinking.

CRITERIA FOR JUDGING THIS QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Literature suggests evaluation is necessary in qualitative research, however there is little consensus on the criteria for judging worth (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Hammersley, 1987). While Silverman (2000, p. 175) contends that validity “is another word for truth”, truth is a problematic word in the postmodern, post-structural world. I follow those who focus on *understanding* and *authenticity*, viewing these as the fundamental concepts for evaluating qualitative, ethnographic research (Maxwell, 2002; Polkinghorne, 2007, for example). I also align the research with Charmaz’s (2006, pp. 182-183) four categories of criteria for evaluating constructionist grounded theory: credibility, originality, resonance and usefulness.

Understanding and authenticity can be judged firstly by the appropriacy of the research methods to the nature of the questions being asked. This project aimed to explore the dreams of the Korean parents for their children’s education in New Zealand. It required an ethnographic approach, spending time in the field getting to know the participants well. It also required testing my developing hypotheses with the participants, which I did frequently. This hypothesis testing resonates with Charmaz’s criteria of resonance. Silverman (2000) raises such respondent validation as a strategy, but cautions that it is fundamentally another sort of data, not truth itself. In viewing the participants’ recognition of the researcher’s interpretations of their voices as an authenticity claim, Lincoln (1995) elaborates on this evaluative criteria and names it *communitarian*. The research methods must suit the nature of the questions being asked, but communitarian criteria also recognise that research takes place in, and is addressed to, the community from which it sprang. The collaborative and participatory nature of this research realises communitarian criteria. The research needed to be pragmatic, being informed by critical theory but not driven by it. It needed to take into

account the participatory rhetoric of the New Zealand curriculum and the abyss between national rhetoric and national school practice.

Secondly, understanding authenticity and credibility can be judged by the clarity of the presentation of the data itself and the links between the data and the interpretation. The use of grounded theory favours understanding and authenticity. In this chapter I have provided data on sorting and analysis, memoing, theoretical sampling and sorting and theory construction. As well as relying on these steps, I have provided rich descriptions of contexts. The two case study data presentation chapters (Chapters 4 and 5) locate the Korean participants' small stories, and the members of management more rehearsed stories, within their contexts. Ethnography, after all, "is a storytelling institution" (van Maanen, 2004, p. 428) and illuminating contexts need to be provided and convincing arguments need to be presented with sufficient exemplifying detail so that although the representation is only partial, the participants' meaning is not distorted. I have followed Silverman's (2000) advice that it is critical to provide the grounds for the inclusion of representative instances of discourse and behaviour, and that it is important to include a significant number of examples. The themes arising from the descriptive data presentation chapters are pursued more analytically in the chapters following the case studies (Chapters 6 and 7). The theory developed in the final chapter (Chapter 8) is freed from, but retains strong and logical links to, the empirical world of the case study chapters and to other literature.

The study meets Charmaz's (2006) criteria of originality in that there are no other studies of New Zealand resident Korean students' secondary school experiences. Its contribution is also in the interpretation and theory developed. The theory developed in Chapter 8 confirms existing theory around the role of participatory networks for migrant students in choosing their future trajectories. It also proposes significant in-school support for Korean students as they develop visions of their future selves, thereby challenging, to some extent, Zhou and Kim's (2006) acceptance of the role of ethnic structures in supporting Korean school students. The study also challenges accepted beliefs about the migratory pushes of some Korean migrants.

The study meets the criteria of usefulness in that it provides in Chapter 8 practical resources for the school to use in explicitly discussing the role of engagement and participation for mainstream and minority students. The study meets the criteria of usefulness in that it provides what the principal asked for – data on the school's Korean community.

I have tried to adhere to Polkinghorne's (2007, p. 484) advice that researchers writing up narratives need to present the evidence and arguments in such a way that the reader is able to make their own judgement about the relative validity of the claim. While such stories are authentic, the stories told are only a partial selection of lived and felt experiences: "There is always much going on behind the scenes that we are not told. Here we have the inevitable bias, the partiality, the limits, the selectivity of all stories told" (Plummer, 1995, p. 363). Polkinghorne (2007, p. 484) contends that researchers interpreting narratives use writing techniques that are similar to the techniques of literary criticism: "In general, narrative researchers provide support for the validity of their interpretations in ways that are similar in kind to those used in literary criticism". What this means for this study is: while the analysis draws on theory (critical theory in this case), the conclusions arise from the data itself; that theory developed is exemplified by in-depth examination of the data; and that relevant techniques of literary criticism are used, such as analysis of the participant's use of metaphor.

In the absence of widely agreed criteria, I have argued that understanding and authenticity are fundamental concepts for evaluating this piece of qualitative research. Understanding and authenticity are attained through the appropriacy of the research methods to the nature of the questions being asked, and the clarity of the presentation of the data itself and the links between the data and the interpretation. I have illustrated how Charmaz's (2006, pp. 182-183) four categories of criteria for evaluating constructionist grounded theory (credibility, originality, resonance and usefulness) may be applied to this research. In offering the participants' recognition of the researcher's interpretations of their voices as an authenticity claim, I draw on Denzin (2004, p. 452) who contends that in the postmodern arena, "a more local, personal, and political turn is taken". He suggests that the researcher should be satisfied with local, pragmatic rationales for interpretive approaches.

CONCLUSION

To summarise, this chapter had six major sections: qualitative research, research approaches, ethnography, data collection, data analysis, and criteria for judging qualitative research. The chapter opened with an outline of the core features of qualitative research that are relevant to this research. In the following sections I described the study's advocacy, participatory, and constructivist approaches and outlined the ways in which the research is shaped by critical theory's traditions. I provided an overview of ethnography and critical ethnography,

before describing its place in my research context. The next two major sections described data collection and the ways in which grounded theory guided the analysis of data. Lastly, I provided criteria for evaluating the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY 1: DOCUMENTS, MANAGEMENT AND STUDENTS

This chapter and the following chapter contain grounded analyses of the core data. In these chapters I draw on case study methods, firstly to describe and explain the distinct research participant groups, their backgrounds and their contexts, and secondly, to show how the commonalities and dissonances across the findings arise from the differing properties of the groups. Describing the properties of cases enables both researcher and reader to fine tune the lens through which findings are viewed. After all, responses to interview questions are always contextually grounded (Mishler, 1986). Cases are situated within their physical settings and contexts and are influenced by historical location (Stake, 2000).

I present data from two cases in two chapters: the school case and the community case. The school case in this chapter consists of data from three sources: the relevant school policy documents; the three most senior members of the school management team; and the eight senior, successful Korean students. The community case in chapter 5 consists of the 12 Korean parents. The latter case warrants a chapter on its own because my primary interest is in the engagement of the Korean community with East High School. Moreover, it is the field where I have spent the most time, three or four hours each week over the last almost four years.

The two cases in this research are set within the wider political context of New Zealand's educational legislation and New Zealand's 2007 national curriculum document. Consequently in this first findings chapter I initially widen the lens to examine the broad context of New Zealand's educational legislation and the MoE's guidelines that clarify and elaborate on the legislation. I focus firstly on the national requirements for collaboration in the local planning and prioritising of the regulations and guidelines, and secondly, on the process of operationalising these requirements at East High School, especially the ways in which the school takes cognisance of the unique nature of its community.

I include only the most relevant parts of the documents, analysing critical sections. I draw on discourse analysis, especially what Gee (2005, p. 54) terms "language-context analysis" in examining these written documents and the associate principal's oral account of the revisioning process. In this I follow Fairclough's (2003, p. 2) contention that social research

“always has to take account of language”. I draw on Gee’s (2005, p. 34) notion of “socially situated identity” in analysing the discourse.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

In the first of the three major sections in this chapter I outline firstly the relevant national legislative and regulatory environment and secondly policy creation at East High School. I use document analysis (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004; Prior, 2004) that focuses on context, content and form.

The national legislative and regulatory environment

The Education Act, 1989: School charters

The Education Act, 1989, Part 7, 61 [1] requires all schools to prepare a charter:

- (1) Every board must, for each school it administers, prepare and maintain a school charter. The purpose of the charter is:
to establish the mission, aims, objectives, directions, and targets of the board that will give effect to the Government’s national education guidelines and the board’s priorities, and provide a base against which the board’s actual performance can later be assessed.

The sections relevant to this study that must be addressed in the charter are:

- (a, i) policies and practices that reflect New Zealand’s cultural diversity
- (b, i) a long-term strategic planning section that establishes the board’s aims and purposes; and
- (b, iii) includes any aims or objectives that designate the school’s special characteristics or its special character.
(<http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1989/0080/latest/DLM179268.html>)

The language of the 1989 Act that outlines the charter requirements is clear, and the ‘external’ relations of the text (Fairclough, 2003), such as the National Education Guidelines (NEGs), are very familiar and accessible to those working in New Zealand education. The language is unmarked and uses nouns and verbs in their common meanings. For example, the overview of this section of the act ‘requires’ schools to ‘prepare’ a charter. ‘Require’ is clearly a ‘necessary condition’. The first clause, (1), reinforces the overview statement replacing ‘require’ with the modal synonym “must”. This clause elaborates on the initial overview of a school’s charter responsibilities repeating the verb “prepare”, and adding the verb “maintain”. The common meaning of ‘maintain’ (to keep in a good

condition) is clear, although details of how often the charter needs to be re-examined and in what way are left to the MoE.

The Act continues, listing its constituent parts (a school's Mission, Vision and Values statements; a Strategic Section; and an Annual Plan) and the purposes for them (implementation of the NEGs, the BoT's priorities, and for assessment purposes). The Act states that responsibility for the development of the charter falls to BoT, and that they must include aims and objectives that designate the school's special character.

The Ministry of Education's charter guidelines

Successful schools communicate regularly with their communities: informing them about trends, events and initiatives, and seeking their input and feedback. . . . The legislation expects a school to revisit the strategic planning section of its charter every 3 to 5 years. It would be reasonable for a school to conduct an in-depth community consultation each time it undertakes a major review of its strategic goals and directions. (Ministry of Education, 2010)

The propositional language and performatory language (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000) of the MoE's guidelines concerning this section of the Education Act, in contrast to language of the Education Act, 1989, Part 7, 61, are less straightforwardly aligned. The language is superficially reasonable and moderate, describing the actions of successful schools (they "communicate regularly with their communities"). The descriptive genre belies the underlying peremptory intention, a closer look revealing the MoE trying to texture their voice (Fairclough, 2003) as not being imperious. The language unpacking the frequency of consultation superficially appears to carry a moderate level of modality both in the verb (the modal verb *would*) and its associated adjective (*reasonable*). For teachers, however, the inferential meaning would be unequivocally directive because the guidelines continue, the text heavy with intertextuality, notably the repeated occurrence of a MoE voice familiar to teachers: consultation is "one of the principles of best practice"; and "successful schools" do this in an ongoing way. Teachers are exhorted both nationally and locally to follow the *best practice* evidence of *successful schools* contained in the MoE commissioned and published series of best evidence syntheses (BES). The MoE deploy language that could beguile an innocent reader into assuming schools that the education system is decentralised in name and practice. This is an illusion. What school being audited by the government's arm, ERO, would not choose to be successful or would choose to ignore best practice?

While *community* is undefined, it is understood in education to mean the stakeholders outside the school itself, especially the students' families. The expectation, then, that BoT develop charters responsive to their community's special character should of course benefit minority communities. However, ironically, a study of the data shows this is not always the case. Firstly, the national documents show that no guidelines are given, other than timing, for the process of consultation, and there are few MoE exemplars of successful, regular consultation with minority communities (Bolstad, 2004). Secondly, while the MoE's acknowledged priority focus is on student achievement, especially in literacy and numeracy, community consultation is the one expectation that is not usually afforded in-depth scrutiny by the government's review and audit authority, ERO. In 2011, for example, ERO's secondary school priorities are: literacy and numeracy achievement in Years 9 and 10; Success for all; Success for Māori: student achievement; Success for Pacific: student achievement; Provision for international students (ERO National Evaluation Topics: Schools, 2011). Schools pay particular attention to ERO priorities.

The language and content of these sections of the national 1989 Education Act and the national MoE's charter guidelines give clear messages to schools about inclusive policy development. These messages can be strengthened or weakened by current government foci as evident in the priorities of the government's auditing arm, ERO. How these regulations and implicit messages were implemented in the context of East High School is the focus of the next section.

Policy enactment at East High School

East High School's guiding policy documents are its Mission, Vision, Values and Strategic Intent documents. These documents set the directions for learning and outline the plan for how to get there (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 7; Sewell, 2010). The purpose of examining East High School's official documents is to ascertain the ways in which enactment is inclusive of the Korean community, one sector forming a significant part of the school's special character. The very names of the documents are redolent of imagined possibilities, and migrants come dreaming of their future selves. Setting up processes for engaging with Korean voices and Korean dreams is challenging for East High School because Korean voices are formed by Other historical locations and Other cultural and linguistic experiences and the national regulations and guidelines offer little guidance around minority community consultative processes.

In East High School's case the process of revisiting the school vision and implementation of the 2007 curriculum was led by school management and involved comprehensive staff and some community consultation. Wenger (1998) uses the term *reification* for the process of congealing a community's dreams into a document, a visionary *thingness*. The associate principal, Claire, deliberately chose metaphorical journeying language in describing the consultative process around the reification of the school vision. She positioned herself as the driver directing the staff and other stakeholders, the 'journey' metaphor being suggestive of time (length of the journey), new geographic and cultural vistas (interaction with Other viewpoints), and cohesiveness (travelling together).

Consultation

In keeping with the MoE's expectation that schools revisit charters at least every three to five years, starting in 2007 and continuing for eighteen months, the associate principal, Claire, led a full review of the school's founding 2004 Vision. The review also covered the process of implementation of the then new (2007) national curriculum. Claire personalised the curriculum review project, frequently using the first person singular pronoun to signal her ownership of the project as she explained its origins and its development process with the advisory learning circle who later helped in the roll-out with staff:

In 2007 I led the professional learning circle which was if you like given the responsibility to implement, to decide a plan of action as to how we would implement the new curriculum and so we worked on it for a solid 18 months [with] representation from each whānau. . . . So there's actually like a trail because I had the, I was involved in the Aspiring Principals pilot in 2008 and this was actually my project that I'd worked with there so I've got all this documentation and like a journey if you like. . . what we did with the staff . . . the data that came back, so it was really quite a little rich project by the end of it. (d. C, 9)

The associate principal was justifiably proud of the project's process and said so: "really quite a little rich project" with a clear audit trail. She cited others in leadership outside the school who thought so too: "[M] from Team Solutions. . . was quite impressed" (d. C, 15). In the planning stages, a professional learning circle was used to develop and test out ideas, and in the second phase these modified and rehearsed ideas were used as the platform to consult with the teachers and other stakeholders. Claire explained that it was appropriate to have a comprehensive review, as the school at that time had become a fully fledged Year 9-13 school:

of course the school was at full capacity and so it was quite timely to have all of the staff on board and all of the staff had an opportunity to look at what the vision stood

for how our values aligned or did not align with what the new curriculum was, what we thought was the stake in the ground about what we wanted to go with so it was really really in depth. (d. C, 9)

At this phase in the project Claire explained how collaborative the project she led was, twice using the inclusive pronoun “we” and the inclusive determiner “all” to emphasise complete staff involvement. Claire repeated the word ‘really’ to stress the project’s depth. She raised, but didn’t resolve, the tensions inherent in running consultation, the process of hearing other voices while holding a “stake in the ground about what we wanted to go with”. While acknowledging difference, Claire favoured a majority consensus vision for the public document rather than one representing the community’s disparate voices: “what we were wanting. . . was an overall outcome of our overall consensus as a school. . . which didn’t mean to say it negated what you as an individual may still believe” (d. C, 63).

Clearly the consultative process was in-depth in terms of the lengthy planning and consultative process, taking on board the views of teaching staff, and in terms of the close scrutiny of ways to implement the new (2007) national curriculum. Within these boundaries East High School has carried out its legislative duties well. The staff is a captive audience, however, and so consultation is straightforward while being representative of only one sector of the stakeholders, however important, however diverse. Interestingly, endnotes to the school’s 2011 Charter state that the process of creating a vision for the school involves staff only: there will be “a visioning process that involves the staff – they will be the ones who work towards achieving this desired future”. East High School’s visioning process is not, therefore, explicitly inclusive of students or community whose role, the endnotes state, is to know and understand what the staff decide. The passive role assigned to the community is at odds with the other school policy documents such as the Mission and Values statements and with the national legislation, and the MoE guidelines. However, the Charter endnotes do make Claire’s revisioning process look inclusive.

Each school has a special character that derives from the properties of its unique community and this should be reflected in its charter. The associate principal admitted that consulting with community stakeholders was very challenging. Claire used the superlative adjective ‘hardest’ to emphatically describe the barriers. Established school groups, such as the BoT and the English speaking community group, ‘Friends and Family’, that functions rather like a Parent Teacher Association, were consulted. The BoT itself has five elected parent representatives, so it could be claimed that the local community has been consulted through

its representatives. However, as in any democracy, those who represent the majority community are more likely to be elected. The principal commented on this very tendency:

I don't believe we have a good representation on our Board of different ethnic groups and I'm hoping that the Board we had a Chinese man and Maori woman apply but didn't get elected on so I'm hoping that the Board will look at co-opting. (d. T, 124)

Both the principal and the associate principal commented that the BoT and the 'Friends and Family' groups were small and not very ethnically diverse. Claire was unsure whether the Korean community was consulted:

One of the hardest in the journey is actually getting ideas or impressions or opinions from your community stakeholders. . . . I'm not sure then if [principal] took it to the Korean meeting one time because of course we rely so heavily on [Korean teacher] to do the interpretation. (d. C, 15)

Given that the Korean parents meet regularly at the school and so are very accessible in that sense, it is perhaps surprising that they were not part of the consultative plan. On the other hand, one of the parent participants explained that many of the Korean parents who attend such meetings are newcomers, knowing little about the New Zealand education system. Setting up a process of in-depth curriculum information sharing before consultation would be extremely taxing for any school. It could be argued that there are two members of staff who are Korean and who contributed to such visioning. However, one was relatively new to teaching and the other was not a member of the teaching staff and so neither was perhaps positioned to take a very active role.

While the school is exemplary in holding regular Korean parent meetings, its consultation with its minority communities in the revisioning process was not in-depth. The national legislative and regulatory guidelines were not used to support minority voices. School charters potentially have some agentive power of their own (Prior, 2004). The content of the Vision could be used as a lever, for example, by an internal stakeholder who thought it was not being implemented, or by an external stakeholder such as ERO. However, ERO is not currently prioritising community consultation and the positioning of communities from migrant backgrounds such as the Korean community is hugely constrained by language and cultural factors.

Next I will analyse the output of the visioning process, examining the discourse of the publicly available charter documents on the school's website. The documents include the

Vision overview on the home page, the Mission, the Vision, the Core Values and Strategic Intent statements.

East High School's documents

Vision on East High School's homepage

The Vision overview on the school's web home page is significant because it is the essence of East High School's vision. Its left-hand placement on the home page indicates that the school affords it primacy:

Welcome to [name of school] where we have a vision to maximise achievement through intellectual growth in an environment that promotes confidence and lifelong learning.

We encourage you to explore our website and experience life at [name of school].
(Retrieved, April, 10, 2010, from school website)

Content on the left is given primacy by both digital and non digital natives. The Vision's prime placement is significant because other schools don't prioritise vision statements on their home page. Moreover, in the first hit of a Google search using the name of the school, most of the welcome and Vision is captured in the Google byline.

In the next section I will examine the fuller documents as published on the schools' website, with particular reference to the implications for the Korean community.

The Vision

The Vision statement describes the desired future for East High School and a good vision statement: reflects high ideals that people can aspire and commit to; is seen as achievable (with effort) and implies action; and motivates, by enabling the staff and board to see how their work relates to ideals, values, and the school's future direction (Endnotes, School Charter). It is worthwhile restating two points here: the students and their families are not written in as actors together with the teachers; and action is implied rather than made explicit. There are four aspects to the vision, but I will focus mostly on the first one:

To be an exceptional whānau-based learning community. Our students will be confident, connected and self-managing lifelong learners who will seize our excellent learning opportunities. They will be innovative, creative and enterprising.

East High School's Vision foregrounds the role of the whānau structure, although the elaboration ("Our students will be. . .") does not essentialize whānau. Certainly the principal and deputy principal said they relied on the whānau structure as an enabling structure that

organically developed cross-cultural connections that then transferred to classroom learning opportunities. This interactive conceptualisation is not, however, reflected in the Strategic Intent where whānau detail is dominated more by the teachers' pastoral role. It is worth noting here that neither the parents nor the students in this study (except one) felt that cross-cultural interaction was characteristic of the school, in social or cognitive contexts.

While the endnotes talk of action, the language is passive. After the first aspirational bullet point ("To be a . . .") the rest of the Vision uses stative verbs that are not dynamic, do not encompass change: "We *are* contributing members of our local, national and global community". In the fourth bullet point, *recognition* of the multi-cultural community is a mere neutral noticing; the second verb *valuing* indicates something more. But there is no dynamic verb suggesting action to accompany the valuing. Critical theorists would argue that recognition and valuing are insufficient, that schools need to encompass an active engagement with others (Papastergiadis, 2000).

The Mission

In contrast to the visioning process, the endnotes to the school Charter state that a mission statement should: capture the core values and aspirations of not only the staff and BoTs, but also the students, and community; and represent the cultural context of the school (for example, be available in the languages other than English that are spoken in the community). These are commendable goals, but currently they don't extend beyond the aspirational level. There is no suggested process for □ capturing the core values and aspirations of the community other than through the parent representatives on the BoTs. Nor is the document available in community languages.

The Mission statement at East High School consists of three carefully crafted gerunds that outline the learning process: *creating opportunities, releasing potential and achieving personal excellence*. The outlined learning process relies on the students' noticing and being confident to participate in the learning opportunities. Such student behaviours are features of western education systems, behaviours that some Korean parents deliberately sought in New Zealand, but also behaviours that most Korean parents talked about as particularly problematic for their children who were accustomed to teachers actively intervening to support each student's participation. One of the parents, Andrew, for example, commented that: "even if there are opportunities out there, you have to participate voluntarily, but my

children don't" (b. A, 351). Unpacking meaning in the Mission statement is a potential site for interfacing with Other cultures.

The national curriculum document is more explicit about the role of the teacher in student achievement. For example, the notion of 'potential' has a different collocate in the introductory overview sections of the national curriculum document: 'realise', rather than East High Schools' 'release'. 'Realise' has more of an achievement orientation. East High school's mission denotes a step earlier in the process of educational achievement – *releasing* rather than *realising*. The national curriculum document uses verbs that prescribe teacher scaffolding and modelling for student learning: "*supporting them to achieve* to the highest of standards"; "it sets out values that are to be encouraged, *modelled*, and explored" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 4).

The Core Values

The four shared core values for East High School are respect, integrity, excellence and empathy. For example:

Respect: For self, others and the environment, through tolerance, equity and the celebration of diversity.

Empathy: Through participation, teamwork and service. (Retrieved, April, 10, 2010, from school's website)

East High School has elevated *respect*, which is an afternote in the national document, and made it into a generic term that includes the national curriculum's separate values of *diversity*, *equity* and *ecological sustainability*. Respect towards others, especially others who are older or in more senior positions is a value significant to migrants from Confucian heritage countries. It is noteworthy that neither *diversity* nor *community and participation* from the national document are values in their own rights in the school document, but they are encompassed in the respective values of respect and empathy. Empathy is to be achieved, in the school document, through being part of a group: through "participation, teamwork and service". Certainly Jade, one of the Korean students, consistently championed the value of getting to know others through service. She commented, for example, that: "you are always in contact with people around you and doing service activities" (h, Jade, 40). A number of the parents commented that their children did not seize their opportunities to get involved and so did not develop cross-cultural friendships through participation and teamwork. Andrew, for example, said: "They don't participate. . . they just watch at the

back” (b. A, 351). In the national curriculum ‘empathy’ is mentioned as something the students will learn about through their learning experiences: “explore, with empathy, the values of others” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 10). The national document’s emphasis on deliberately exploring the values of others aligns more with research suggestions (McCarthy, Rezai-Rashti & Teasley, 2009 ; Sleeter & Bernal, 2004).

Diversity and community and participation may not be awarded the same status as in the national documents. However, East High School also has a *Philosophy* which specifically focuses on the relationship between the school and its community which is at the “heart” of the school: “the quality of relationships that are developed among all the participants within the learning community; and the support and involvement of parents, friends of the school and wider community”. The fact that the community is diverse is not made explicit, which is significant.

The school’s philosophy has three further elements to it that outline the qualifications students will have when they graduate. All three are connected metaphorically with bags associated with life outside and after school:

At [name of school] we aim to develop young men and women as people who will graduate as independent learners able and willing to make a constructive contribution to society. They will graduate with a ‘backpack of personal qualities’ and a ‘toolkit of skills, and a briefcase of qualifications. (Retrieved, April, 10, 2010, from school’s website)

The personal qualities are: service, honesty, respect, perseverance, sensitivity, compassion, fairness, interpersonal skills, confidence, direction, self esteem, flexibility, leadership, balance, resilience, and ethics and values. Placing ‘service’ first in the list is significant. Jade certainly had taken this on board:

Most of us think that community service is a waste of time and do not bother to do it because it does not benefit them. However, this is not true. You learn so much more by helping others and doing service activities. You realise the true meaning of happiness. (h. Jade, 49)

The other Korean students were not averse to service (Min Gue commented that it would look good on his CV), although they were divided over whether it should be compulsory. The Korean parents in the school parent group certainly said they supported the teaching of values and morals. Amy and Kyu, for example, wanted mainstream students to learn to respect people from Asian cultures:

She [Amy] explained when Kiwis grow up and become teenagers some people have prejudice to the Asian communities because they lack information, so she suggested the school must provide knowledge and information to understand other students. I quite agree with her. (c. Kyu, 351)

The briefcase of qualifications that students will acquire are: “Aspirations to achieve at the highest level”; and [believing self to be] “valuable and worthwhile”. Qualifications are what are achieved at the end of school and a briefcase conjures up a professional career. It is interesting then that the qualifications are not student achievements, but student beliefs about their ability to engage in ongoing learning. Most of the Korean students in this study were focused more on the here and now of achievement in national exams, on qualifications that enabled them to have happy working lives and to contribute to society.

The Strategic Intent

The strategy section is the one section where “it would be reasonable to expect” an “in-depth community consultation” (Ministry of Education, 2010). The process East High School uses for constructing the school’s Strategic Intents is not outlined. Certainly in all five Strategic Intents the school is the agentive power, not the students, or the community.

1. [School name] will provide excellent educational opportunities for all students.
2. [School name] will maximise the resources and opportunities provided in the philosophy of the Whānau to support students.
3. Attract and retain the highest quality staff who share the college’s vision, culture, philosophy and pedagogical approach.
4. Provide excellent Information and Communication Technology. Actively seek and use new and emerging technology to encourage creativity and innovative teaching and innovative learning.
5. Communication and marketing tools are used to promote the college as an outstanding learning organisation. (Retrieved, April, 10, 2010, from the school’s website)

I’ll comment briefly on two of the strategic intents, the second and fifth. As mentioned earlier, members of management saw the whānau structure as providing opportunities for cross-cultural interaction initially founded on the Year 9 whānau camps. The principal said:

I think and we have a building structure which should allow kids to integrate quite readily. . . . Most classes are heterogeneous, they have a wide range of cultures and generally if they start in that group they go away on camp, they should be able to build on that. [d. T,152]

However, in the important strategic intent, using the whānau philosophy to support students is defined, surprisingly, as a focus on the individual rather than what connects individuals within the whānau: “A whānau is an exceptional learning community where each individual is valued and supported”.

The fifth strategic intent focuses on using communication and marketing tools to promote the college as an outstanding learning organisation. While this intent appears more oriented towards business marketing than learning, the detail includes information-sharing with parents: “develop systems to foster communication with and amongst our community”. For IT savvy migrants, digital tools that enable information-sharing are welcomed.

Minority community participation in a school’s policy development process is required by the 1989 Education Act and by the MoE’s guidelines. While all aspects of the Act and guidelines are *required* to be implemented, it seems that the MoE tolerates schools awarding low priority to engagement with their communities when developing school policy. The paucity of exemplars of in-depth community consultation supports this view. In East High School’s case, consultation was in-depth with the staff and the small and relatively homogeneous BoTs and Friends and Families groups. The school’s home page inclusive welcome to newcomers is implicit rather than explicit in its outworking in the fuller documents as exemplified in the documentation around the whānau structure and the choice of passive language. I now turn to the data from school management.

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

I interviewed the school principal, Tony, and have kept in on-going contact with him, hence his lengthier section. On his advice I also interviewed the next two most senior members of the school management team, the associate principal, Claire, and the deputy principal, Rajan. I asked them about their concerns for the education of the Korean students at the school and their hopes and dreams for how things might be different. The sub questions centered on inclusive education, community engagement, and the audibility of Korean voices. In responding, the principal and associate principal both talked about the school’s short history (becoming a fully operational Year 9 to 13 school only in 2008), and the consequent

malleability of its ethos. The principal who was the school's second principal saw this research as contributing to the shape of the school:

We are still only a new school and we're still only finding our feet in many of the things that we can do. So that's why I'm really interested in what you come up with because I think it will be a good building block for us as well. (d. T, 16)

Each management member emphasised their shaping role, but the content and form of the responses were very different, affected by their different responsibilities, and their different histories. Tony responded to the questions with a broad sweep covering a range of areas within the school. Claire concentrated on the revisioning consultative process, as discussed in the previous section. Rajan focused initially on inclusive teaching pedagogy. He then spoke about his role as one of a small number of Indian members of management and how his bicultural perspective was useful in defusing challenging intercultural misunderstandings and intergenerational disputes. I outline their different, but parallel stories.

The principal

The principal had a future vision of what the school could be like for communities from migrant backgrounds while admitting the dissonance between that and the actuality. Important to his future vision were: a sound IT platform to communicate with parents; and professional development for staff on effective teaching and learning for ELLs. As the most senior school management member, he was self-effacing about his efforts, using high modality and self critical descriptors in talking about his language skills: "*I should be able to greet them; I'm terrible at other languages personally. . . I often think I'm insulting them by not being able to do it and I'll apologise . . . I feel embarrassed.*" (d. T, 293). He played down what he and the school did for the Korean community: "Other than [Grace] running the Korean parent's night there's not a lot else that we do" (d. T, 40). My field observations tell me otherwise, noting his commitment to the Korean community in his attendance at every Korean parent-school meeting. This despite their length (upwards of two hours) and the talk being in Korean. The principal afforded the meetings the best school facilities - the comfortable school staff room with refreshments available. The status awarded the meetings is illustrated in Claire's and Rajan's attendance both at the initial meetings and at the meetings during the principal's sabbatical leave. At each meeting the principal reiterated his open door policy to the parents. He actioned the parents' requests. For example, he extended Grace's job description to include pastoral care of domestic Korean students (as well as

international students). Certainly the Korean parent-school meetings were the mainstay of the school's initiatives to include the Korean community.

The principal mentioned other initiatives on behalf of the school's minority communities, repeatedly using the verb 'try' and its synonym 'endeavour' when talking, for example, about representations of multiculturalism within the school:

We try and represent the school with things so that when people come in, they look and they go 'They actually think about us or they know about us or something' like that rather than just being a Western organisation. (d. T, 26)

Or, when discussing the school's appointment policy:

You always *try* and employ the best teacher . . . I know that it's quite good to have a representation on your staff of the different cultures, because kids will see that as okay So yeah in my mind I *try and do* things like that. (d. T, 118)

The principal was very conscious of the dissonance between the actual context and his visualised ideal. For example, the endnotes to the school Charter suggest that the Mission document should be available in the communities' languages, and Tony used the adverb 'hopefully' in suggesting that translated Korean material may be on the school's website soon: "hopefully it will be online soon" (d. T, 136). The principal positioned the school's translation efforts rather weakly, his choice of 'hopefully' signifying a very indeterminate time frame. The principal was conscious that at other local schools translated material was systematically available: "I know some schools do their newsletters in Korean and Chinese and I know [Grace] does ours but she's only sending it to a select few people" (d.T, 124). Grace translated the student handbook, and option booklets but other documents were not translated in a systematic way, nor was distribution systematic. The principal's future vision, however, was clear and well rehearsed and included not only bilingual material on the school's intranet but also regular communication with bilingual parents about student progress through well functioning IT system, and staff professionally developed around effective practice for ELLs.

Fundamental to his future vision was a sound IT platform that enabled effective communication with parents so that they could be partners in their children's learning:

We know that if parents are part of the partnership in learning then students will learn better so we take it really seriously that we want to communicate with every parent . . . that whole Vygotsky thing needs a significant adult to help shift the student from where they are to where their potential and so being able to bridge that gap Sometimes parents are disengaged for one reason or another, sometimes it's

cultural . . . our main focus is to communicate with parents . . . and to that degree I've been let down by the computer people. (d. T, 54)

The principal's angst about contractual failure to deliver IT systems central to implementing his vision was clear: "They just tell lies those computer people" (d. T, 58, 66). The principal had led other, more successful, IT initiatives to facilitate communication with parents such as simpler school reports:

We've had to rewrite our report format so that it's simpler, instead of being 10 or 12 pages it's one page . . . Now some parents can't read English . . . but they are actually getting the document so they know what it is and they can find someone to help them. (d. T, 82)

The statement that "they can find someone to help them" may appear hard-hearted but the Korean parents are very IT savvy, and the online written word is accessible to parents over time. In a context where newsletters may not be taken home, email is reasonably accessible for Korean parents.

Another important plank in the principal's vision was professional development. His interest is exemplified in this emailed response to some analysed student data I sent him on classroom seating and group work: "I was really interested to read about what the kids talked about and I think we can learn a lot more from our kids" (T, personal communication, August 3, 2010). The principal is a very hands-on principal, taking an active role in professionally developing staff to cater for the students' perceived learning needs. In the following excerpt, for example, he discussed how he ran professional development on group work by modelling the process:

We're just doing that with our staff in professional development. I try to but I don't do it in a way that puts people down and say: 'You're not doing right'. We just say, look okay, I might do it when I'm running a staff session: 'We're going to have group work today' and so I'll set up my groups like that. I'm not going to say: 'Get yourselves into groups', I'll go: 'Oh you can be the leader there, you can record. . . . So you know there's ways of getting the message across without saying: 'You must do this'. (d, T, 263)

The principal took the whānau concepts of care seriously in his efforts to cater more effectively for ELLs. He was worried about his staff's lack of understanding of how bilinguals function cognitively: "I'm trying desperately for teachers to understand the impact that ESOL has, it's not a brain disorder or intellectual disorder" (d. T, 144). The principal raised the issue of his having to intervene to negotiate when Korean students were unjustly excluded from the accelerate classes: "I do worry at times that the teachers, that

some teachers who are part of the course selection processes often don't understand. . . . So sometimes I have to negotiate" (d. T, 227).

The principal's beliefs about the prior learning and abilities of the Korean students meant he realised the need to adapt programmes, and the school did this to some extent: "We push them a bit harder, we run some accelerated programmes for them" (d. T, 215). However, in general he thought that Korean parents wanted their children to find success in a less pressured environment. He was tentative in this assessment, however, saying he was "only guessing":

If they spend three years here they'll get Level 2 because Level 2 is not a difficult qualification so I think good families see that as a way of keeping pressure off their kids but also letting them get to a point in their lives where they can make good decisions and not be under the constant pressure. (d. T, 197)

Tony perceived that Korean parents understood that it wasn't difficult for their children to achieve sufficiently well to get into tertiary study. Tony perhaps underestimated the barriers to study in a new language and the value all parents gave to student effort.

The principal raised culturally preferred ways of learning, problematising these in a New Zealand setting. He said that Korean students liked a teacher-centred classroom and that while he might support this for the Korean students this conflicted with what ERO valued:

Like ERO come in and they have a look at the school and they go: 'Well your teachers are too teacher centred, should be more student centred' and I said: 'Well have you been in a Korean classroom? At the end of the day the Korean kids really want you to guide them a lot more than New Zealand kids', I said, 'and Chinese kids want even more guidance,' I said. So we have to find the best way to deal with our cultures and facilitate their learning. (d. R, 275)

The principal challenged ERO but hadn't resolved how to deal with such issues in the face of ERO's scrutiny. Teacher directed learning that includes Vygotskian scaffolding is pedagogically completely sound, but as pointed out earlier, explicit scaffolding was not written into East High School's documents. Still, the principal's future vision was clear and he was pursuing it particularly through IT communication of student data to parents and through the professional development of staff.

The associate principal

The associate principal's role in managing East High School's revisioning process was outlined earlier in the chapter. She saw the Korean community as one of a number of minority communities all of whom warranted attention: "They're just such a small

percentage of the school, while they're very enthusiastic we're still missing a huge percentage of the school" (t. C, 24). Claire raised the tension between aspirational policy as in the principal's message in the prospectus ("Schools cannot operate in isolation from their community. Strength lies in our working together") and her perspective of reality where small groups won't all have their needs met. Like the principal, Tony, Claire had a future vision where systemic translation processes enabled a better flow of communication between the school and all its minority communities, but the data showed her vision for the Korean community was focused on problematising the current context, particularly the use of L1.

Firstly, Claire visualised the school more successfully, informing minority groups about school policy and school culture:

We need to do more of that in relation to all forms of our communication whether it be our website, our prospectus and our newsletters, the memos that go out. . . . you don't have that next step, now let's bring in our translators and get that out as well. So that's something that we're aware of and something that we want to do better. (t. C, 24)

In describing the situation, Claire slipped out of the first person (we) and used the second person (you), briefly not owning the communication break down.

With the Korean students in mind, Claire problematised the use of minority language use within the classroom, placing English in a dominant position ("New Zealand speaking students"):

My personal opinion is that one of the challenges, when students from the same ethnic background or same country or language sit together and it's that challenge of while they help one another, they'll always resort to their own language and therefore it makes it hard for those students to engage with the New Zealand speaking students. (t. C, 48)

She valued the cognitive advantages of using L1, while seeing the downside – paucity of interaction with native speakers. She positioned the Korean students as having to initiate dialogue with the English speakers, rather than the teacher facilitating it. Claire raised the issue of appropriate context in the use of L1 on another occasion:

I had two students in here yesterday, two girls who had a bit of rough and tumble tete-a-tete amongst one another and straight away they resorted to their natural language and I said: 'No, I can't understand what you're saying, please speak in English'. And then later on they wanted to talk about, part of the process was they wanted to each have their say before they went back to class and they said to me:

‘Can I talk in my language?’ I said: ‘That’s fine’, because they were at a point now where they were doing their own sort of restorative justice. (t. C, 48)

An interchange of ideas around the value of being bilingual and L1 use in different contexts would be beneficial for both students and staff because, as Claire explained, she found talk in L1 a real challenge:

and as a teacher I don’t think I have ever managed to totally overcome it. . . . but I really do like people to, you’re in this country, and if I’m to participate with you, if I can’t understand you as a teacher, how can I help. So, big challenge. (t. C, 48)

A focus on the language and interaction issues that Claire problematised could be an opportunity for all students and staff to engage with bicultural and bilingual viewpoints, a mutuality of learning. Such talk could be evidence of the whānau structure in action.

The deputy principal

Rajan focused on the context here and now, keen to narrate detailed examples of inclusive pedagogy where the students’ cultural capital (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) was incorporated into classroom teaching and learning, and examples of bicultural staff intervening in intergenerational and intercultural conflict. He saw his bicultural skills as significant because members of minority communities were poorly represented in school management:

I guess one of the advantages coming here for me is that there’s a strong Indian population and often senior leadership teams are very poorly represented by that and I guess one of the qualities I bring to the job is the understanding of that culture. (d, R, 68)

His narratives illustrate, however, his empathy and intervention on behalf of students from all minority groups. Rajan recounted an incident involving a Korean and a Middle Eastern student in which he called on teachers from both of these cultures who were able to understand, and manage, to some extent, the cultural impact.

and so for us we just say oh . . . ‘Don’t be silly!’ But to him that’s something in his culture that is quite serious so I guess having the staff on board and being able to understand those things a little bit better is important as well. (d, R, 84)

Despite Rajan’s uses of the self-deprecating phrase ‘I guess’ in the above data, both his raising of the incident and the detail of the recount position him as very confident about the value of his bicultural skills. His implication is that without such bicultural and bilingual experiences it is perhaps challenging for schools to provide safe places for migrant students struggling to find their place in the host society.

Like Tony and Claire, Rajan values the school's commitment to professional learning. He spoke of the policy of management learning themselves in order to upskill staff:

"Management policy is to upskill selves in order to upskill staff" (d.R,12). He explained how he had run a professional development workshop for teachers on student investment in learning when student background knowledge was incorporated into lesson planning:

We took each component that we wanted to look at for professional development and then we presented a workshop . . . and the one that I was involved with was engaging students and one of the things that we talked about there was the idea that you're using the students' background, the students' knowledge to do that. Now a good example if I look at outdoor education. They were doing a unit on climate. . . . The teacher examined her class roll, looked at the ethnic breakdown. She had Korean students there. . . . she got them to team up with two others so they were in groups of three so they then had to talk about the climate in their country. . . . She hooked them in by first of all using their country so straight away they were interested. (d. R, 8)

Teacher professional development video exemplars of such practices on the intranet (as in the principal's ideal vision) would potentially help students from minority communities to seize their learning opportunities.

Both Tony and Rajan mentioned the role of the whānau communication system in helping parents to be present in their children's education. Korean parents, however, may not receive the routine phone calls because of the language barrier:

Most of our whānau leaders ask their tutor teachers to ring home, especially Year 9 and 10 so that there's a phone call home. Now that's quite difficult if the family only speak a language and the person doesn't ring home but we have a group of people in the school who can be called on to help communicate with different people if it's really important. (d. T, 100)

Of course, Koreans historically would dread a phone call from a school because in Korea a phone call from school was always bad news. Rajan made a habit of having his notices translated, however: "I just sent out an email to all parents regarding parents' evening and so she'll [Grace] take that document, translate it and we'll have it sent out again" (t. R, 80).

The three members of management told parallel stories that reflected their own histories and their school roles. All saw the school as still being in the building process. At times they used well rehearsed metaphors, hinting at strongly held beliefs and visions. The principal was troubled by the dissonance between the actual school context and his ideal context. The associate principal problematised what she saw as current language and interaction issues. The deputy principal heralded inclusive pedagogy and the role of bicultural teachers.

THE STUDENTS

Introduction

I interviewed eight students, five male students and three female students, in a focus group on successive Fridays. (See Table 2 for demographic details). The students were from Years 12 and 13 and were all very competent users of spoken English, having had most of their education in New Zealand. At school they were identified as successful students so not surprisingly they were largely content with school and had their lives optimistically mapped out, in this expressing quite traditional Korean career aspirations. However, Jade saw some of the viewpoints as collective story building, stories that she wanted to distance herself from, especially the stories of Korean solidarity. She saw herself as an outlier, and while she participated in whole group talk, not shying away from expressing her opinions, she twice stayed after the others left to tell a more detailed narrative illustrating how she was different from the others.

In coding the data and presenting them here I have coded for actions (Charmaz, 2006). The major codes are: having trust in their ability to succeed in the New Zealand education system; and being positioned as a minority group.

Having trust in their ability to succeed in the New Zealand education system

Having trust in the New Zealand education system meant the students were generally content and unquestioning: “I think people are pretty just like satisfied. No one really like questions” (i. Anna, 20). The students were confident, all reporting being on the pathway to those academic careers traditionally valued in Korean society: “I’m going to do dentistry” (i. B, 51); “I am thinking of medicine” (i. MG, 57); “the whole UN kind of thing” (i. Jade, 69). The school had provided a context where they could be successful, although it was their own efforts that the students most attributed success to. They were committed to diligence in study believing it would result in good marks, a successful career and a happy future. Having trust in the benefits of education at East High School also meant, particularly for three of the students, something much broader: a developing commitment to the values of extracurricular activities and the resultant cross-cultural interactions. For Jade the service opportunities at school, such as partnering with a poorly resourced school in Fiji, were life changing: “This school has given me so much opportunities and I’ve benefited so much from that and so I’m really thankful” (h. 40).

Trusting in your own efforts

All the students commented on the importance of the role their own effort played in academic success. Cindy said: “I think it’s kind of what you do by yourself not what others help you do. Like if you don’t have like the motivation to succeed then help is useless” (j. C, 2). Jae backed her up: “The most important thing is you, that you do your own learning. . . . It depends on how hard you study how well you do” (k. Jae, 30). Min Gue’s effort included physical training to develop the stamina to keep studying:

You can’t stay up late if you don’t have stamina so it is important to grow stamina in college as well as academic. . . . You need to have strong body to have strong mind. Training your body will somehow aid concentration levels. (h. MG, 38)

He saw time as a gift to be apportioned carefully to maximise study opportunities. His repeated use of the religious verb ‘sacrifice’ is telling of his wholehearted commitment to academic learning:

By sacrificing what is given to me. For instance, in order to do badminton after school, for not only my entertainment but for health, I must sacrifice my own time in order to do so, and then later on, when I get home, I must study without resting as much as before as my time was taken away due to badminton. (h. MG, 39)

Min Gue saw the pay-off for choosing to engage in sporting activities after school, was making up this ‘lost’ time by resting less at home. He used the peremptory modal verb ‘must’ in referring to the making up of lost time. Lee (1996, p. 39) contends that “there is an extraordinary emphasis on effort, will power or concentration of the mind in the Confucian tradition”. Min Gue’s sacrificial commitment to study may appear stereotypically Korean, but in pursuing sport he portrayed himself as very different from students in Korea: “I hear from Korean students who are here in New Zealand in Korea they hardly have any time to do co-curricular stuff, sports or anything that helps their physical health” (h, MG, 38). Resiling from the competitive environment in Korea describing it negatively as “fierce” and “harsh”, he, like the others, viewed academic achievement and effort as going hand in hand.

Getting good marks

The students saw achieving good marks at school as opening up the pathway to a successful and happy life. All of the students prioritised academic achievement. John, for example, explained: “Because we have been taught from a young age that if we get good grades then we can have a happy future rather than be a rubbish collector or something” (h. 43). He saw good grades as the elevator to a happy life later, one that would take him to the top levels of

society, rather than sentence him to a dirty manual job. This was a cultural imprint from when he was small. John embodied Dörnyei's (2005, p. 106) "ought-to self" showing "attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e. various duties, obligations, or responsibilities) in order to avoid possible negative outcomes". He also seemed to have synthesised this cultural ought-to self imposed by his parents with his 'ideal self'. The others in the group were no different. Harry said: "Primary goal is to get good grades and go to a good university" (h. H, 44). Bin used English words sparingly, echoing the others: "My school aim is same" (h. B, 46). Even Jade, the outlier, was still interested in academic achievement: "For now, my aim is to do like well at school, to pass NCEA with excellence and then go to a good university, that's my highest aim for now" (h. Jade, 40). She explained how her mother talked her around to this valuing of academic study. Jade's mother's role here is that of a traditional Korean mother's role with responsibility for her child's educational success:

Like the whole UN kind of thing. Cause I wanted to do that kind of thing. I was just talking having a casual chat with my mum and then she said: 'Well in order to do that at first you need to do everything like go to uni get all the academic things. In order to help people'. Like she tells me and I kind of go like: 'I can't be bothered doing that kind of thing because I really don't enjoy doing physics and things like that', but I still do it, but she goes: 'How will you become a leader if you can't even you know to do things that are your own thing, how will you manage to help others?' Yeah, so my parents have a big influence on me to help others. They still care about academics, and they still value that but it's not just that it is everything around it as well. (i. Jade, 69)

Jade was explicit that although her mother appeals to her to be self-disciplined and self-motivated in her studies, as a typical Korean parent would, her parents are different in that they don't value academic success above the development of personal traits valuable for society :

Asian parents usually have this thought that study is everything 'cause like you'd be amazed 'cause like I went to Korea after the year 10 holidays. Some parents would just do anything, as long as their kid studies. . . . [The children would] use their parents as slaves. . . . and my parents they don't really, they're not like that. To them you need to have all the human qualities. Like you need to be polite and have all those things in order to study and be successful. It's not just study. It's having the politeness and having your right mind. It's just family values. (i. Jade, 69)

Jade used the derogatory noun "slave" to denote the unnatural assumption of a servile and chattel-like role by mothers in Korea. Clearly her own mother assumed none of these behaviours, but nonetheless Jade, like John, attributed her study diligence to her parents.

Min Gue and Anna also both pointedly mentioned the training of whole self in order to learn well and to benefit society:

I would like to achieve, as mentioned before, a high academic achievement and not only that, various other skills such as social skills (the ability to interact with people), thus naturally communication skills. . . . All this so that I may have a high record of achievement for university and society. (h. MG, 45)

While all the students prioritised getting high grades, Anna, Jade, Min Gue, and the others to a lesser extent, were also committed to the school's ethos of service

Benefiting from service opportunities

The school's service opportunities had changed Jade's life for good:

Doing service activities it made me realise how important helping people is and it made me realise that is something I would like to carry on doing throughout my life. (h. Jade, 40)

However, Jade believed that engineering participation was ultimately her responsibility: "It is up to me to be responsible of my own learning and finding my ways to take part in activities that I feel I should play a part in" (j. Jade, 6). For Jade the benefits of being involved with service activities involved cross-cultural friendships and self-fulfilment. Jade described a service initiative she was currently involved in:

I'm going to Fiji these holidays. I was at a meeting for the service trip. The technology teacher it's the school he came from. That school it's quite poor and not as developed as ours. Originally we wanted to take 30 students over and paint the school rooms. Their school has been coming to our school for about for three years and I used to guide them. (h. Jade, 48)

Jade, then, is a role model for the school's whānau philosophy which aims to encourage a sense of a community-based learning environment. All the students mentioned interaction with others and service as other important learning components of school, but they don't rank them as highly as Jade did. Anna spoke of how in Year 13 she had become more involved in extra-curricula activities. She commented that her role in the production helped her develop new friendships. She felt though that teachers could also be more active in encouraging participation in inter-cultural contexts:

I've never done the production before but this year I've joined the production. There are so many people different people I've never met before it and it's been like a really good experience. But the teacher thing is true. I think the teachers should also like support like getting out of comfort zones. (i. Anna, 29)

John, Harry and Bin all saw developing intercultural communication skills as valuable for their futures, but gave it a lower priority than grades. Harry (h. 43), for example, said:

So the main purpose is to get good grades and live the rest of your life happily. But apart from that there are other things that come along with it such as the interaction with other people and all the co-curricular things they help your life in some way later on. There's not just one reason for going to school there's a lot of things.

The students' future selves influenced by the school's ethos and their Confucian heritage (Volet, 1999) awarded value, although varied, to service and the development of intercultural skills.

Being positioned as a minority group

While the students were content with school life, when asked to collect data by explicitly noticing their experiences over a day and writing these down, the students noticed the minority positioning of Koreans within the school. For them this meant in particular: there being a Korean table in every classroom; discouragement of talk in L1; teachers not learning Korean students' names; and teachers not interacting with newcomer Korean students. Jade remained the outlier.

Sitting at the Korean table

An issue that two students noted in their diaries and the one that caused the most discussion later was classroom seating and the consequent opportunities for speaking in Korean and English. John said that every classroom had a table where Koreans sat together and talked in Korean:

Except where there's seating plans, there's always a Korean table. And that's for every single classroom. And that's only possible because there's enough Koreans in our school for there to be at least 4 Koreans in every classroom. In that table, most of the discussion is in Korean, not in English, and teachers really discourage that, they want Korean students to speak more English. Also probably 'cause they don't know what we are talking about. (h. John, 10)

There was general laughter of recognition as John said this, suggesting group solidarity regarding the resource Korean language was for them. When I suggested that the talk might be about class work, Anna countered "not really", and John modified her comment saying, "not always". They did admit to thinking that teachers could probably tell when the talk was off topic. Jae explained that even though he had been here for nine years he was one of those students who sat with other Korean students. The only times he sat with non-Koreans was when there weren't any other Korean students in his class or when the teacher put the

students into cross-cultural groups. He realised that he could himself initiate other opportunities to speak English, but in reality this didn't happen. He raised the value of teacher managed cross-cultural mixing:

I'm one of those students that sit in the Koreans group and in certain subjects we don't have any Korean friends so in those classes we get to speak English. With the classes with other Koreans we sit together and most of the time we only speak Korean. So when we discuss certain topics in class that's like the only chance we get to speak, in English. Not the chance, but that's the only speaking. So I think it's kind of good to sit together 'cause if you can't get friendly with other international students in New Zealand or in any other country's classes then [not decipherable] So I don't know, sitting together provides more [searches for word, and someone supplies the word 'comfort']. Yeah, yeah. If someone can't understand something, it's easier to explain because we speak the same language. (h, Jae, 13)

Jae who has had all his schooling in New Zealand was recognised as a successful Korean student, yet he talked of the "comfort" of sitting with other Koreans. This suggests even at senior school level, for students who have good levels of English proficiency, straddling the cultural divides is still a real challenge and teacher support for this is needed. Harry continued the discussion saying that it took courage to share your ideas in a group when you don't know the others well:

If you're alone in the group it might be harder to share your ideas 'cause they might think they don't understand. They may not understand. It is like harder to share your ideas. [Because they have different understanding – translator's note.] If they could get to know each other then that would be ok. (k. H, 22)

Harry explained that the majority of the listeners might not be willing to make the effort to clarify and so understand ideas that were different. Miller (2004) raises the issue of *audibility*, that native speakers in schools don't afford speaking rights to second language speakers. Audibility requires the willing collaboration of the speaker and the listener. Yet, "speaking is itself a critical tool of representation, a way of representing the self" (Miller, 2004, p. 293).

There were mixed feelings about having seating plans in Years 12 and 13. John (k. 20) commented that seating plans are not such a bad idea in terms of getting to know others:

At the start of the year when the teacher announces that there's going to be seating plans everyone complains but as time goes on the complaining stops as they get to know the new people.

For Cindy seating plans were a step too far in Year 13: “I think that it’s a bit weird and that like my friend she told me how she’s got a seating plan and she doesn’t think that year 13s should be given seating plans”.

Min Gue talked about the solidarity he felt with other Korean students and his, and others’, instinctive desire to look out for and help each other, even if it is through the medium of English. He valued choice about where he sat therefore:

There are Koreans with different levels of English skills in the same room, some who come recently but can understand but not as fluently but if for example that person is A we sit always sit always close to them and people that are not high in English level, so it is easier to help them but not in Korean but in English. I think it is something we do unconsciously to help each other. (h. MG, 7)

Teachers clearly rely on Min Gue to translate and teach because in his diary Min Gue recorded how many times he used Korean in class over one day: period 1, 12x explaining specialist biology language; period 3, 6x discussing maths questions with Korean accelerate group; period 4, 8x explaining chemistry; period 5, 3x explaining physics concepts. The students were aware of the learning benefits of L1: “if someone can’t understand something, it’s easier to explain because we speak the same language [Korean] (h. Jae, 22). Cindy felt strongly that L1 should be allowed and reported that she had heard that speaking Korean had been banned at another school. She was worried her foreign language teacher would ban its use.

I heard that like [name of another school] banned actually using Korean. . . . In our [name of class] class it’s like 10 people and we’re all Korean and so we speak Korean and the teacher kind of threatens us that she’s gonna ban Korean. Maybe it’s a joke I’m not sure. It wouldn’t be fair. (j. Cindy, 20).

Cindy felt that L1 use was critical: “some Koreans that speak poor English find it [teachers banning L1 use] offensive” (l. Cindy, 19).

Tellingly L1 use was also critical for fluent users of English. Min Gue, although contending that English was now his stronger language, explicitly noticed and recorded in his diary that he used Korean when discussing maths with other fluent English speakers in his accelerate maths class, and he also used Korean when he talked through new maths concepts in his head.

Knowing the students' names and participation opportunities

Anna noted that during her nominated day for gathering data that teachers didn't know the Korean students' names and couldn't tell the Korean students apart. Although she at first made a general statement ("sometimes teachers have a hard time learning our names"). She later qualified this to say that on the day she recorded notes, it was one teacher in particular:

One interesting thing I found is that sometimes teachers have a hard time learning our names. They have a hard time telling us apart. Even if we are using English names they still have a hard time telling us apart. Even though we are all on this table, they always muddle up our names and stuff. (h, Anna, 7)

Mirroring the voices of the students in Bishop, Berryman, Powell and Teddy's (2007) research, Jae noted that relationships and learning were tied inextricably: "it's easier to talk to them [if the teacher knows your name]. . . .it's hard to ask questions if the teacher doesn't know you" (k, Jae, 18). Anna also said that the teachers who knew her name also had a close knowledge of her learning and her required next steps. Bishop et al. found that for many students 'culture' was taken care of when teachers treated them well, challenged their learning and listened to them.

Cindy agreed with this: "So you feel welcome and it gives you the idea that the teacher has interest in you" (i. Cindy, 67). Min Gue echoed the girls' comments: "Teachers remembering students' names can be reassuring and in some way comforting by the thought that the teacher cares about them" (i. MG, 68).

The students noted that teachers avoided newcomers. Harry (j. 30) said: "Often in class, teachers talk to the students who are more open and like to avoid those that are hard to talk to. Students often got excluded in this way." Bin agreed saying that having few required participation opportunities, such students withdrew completely: "Sometimes, during class, I feel the teachers prefer to ask those who are fluent in English and omit those who hesitate speaking. This causes Koreans to rarely contribute to class discussions" (j, B, 1). The students saw interaction with the teacher important for building conceptual learning: "If the teacher could communicate freely with the student, then teaching could occur more efficiently" (j. H, 32). Making fewer demands of newcomers means they do not receive the same degree of input or feedback from teachers or native speakers. Min Gue's diary notes recording his repeatedly giving help to Korean classmates imply this.

Jade, however, positioned herself differently: “I think all of my teachers know me pretty well because I am close with most of my subject teachers and I talk with them often” (l. J, 3). Jade, highly invested in learning English from the beginning, made a conscious effort to gain access to the English-speaking community by not using Korean language from the beginning. She emphasised not her success in English language acquisition (and she was a very fluent user) but the benefit of her breadth of learning about different world views. In this she was different from the other Korean students, except perhaps Anna who felt students may as well stay in Korea if they plan to speak Korean all the time.

When you interact with others you get so much a wider view of everything else because different cultural backgrounds. I find that really interesting. . . . I came here when I was year five – there were hardly any Koreans at the school so I had to try hard to learn English. . . . I made that choice not to stick with Koreans all the time. . . . That’s just my opinion, not everyone will agree with me. (h. Jade, 48)

Jade created her own contexts for learning. She saw her opportunities from a relatively young age, showing her individual sense of autonomy. She was helped by having few other Korean speakers in her class.

I think you have to create the environment yourself and push yourself to interact with other people. I know it is not the easiest thing to do and it may be horrifying but I think it is just one of the challenges you have to face when you move to a foreign country. The students will be much more helpful and friendly towards you if you make the effort to talk to them (h. Jade, 49)

The students elaborated at length on Korean students having to be courageous to succeed: “The overall determining factor is whether or not the new student wants to face the fear or not” (j. B, 30). Min Gue explained clearly the barriers that students have to overcome to engage with another culture. He thought that pairing up a new Korean students with one who had been here much longer would be useful just at first to help the students face the fear: “pair up international students with those fluent in English, of the same nationality so that they can help the other. Firstly build their confidence, courage to face their fears” (j. MG, 28).

However, despite the brave words, the reality at East High School was reflected more in Cindy’s words. In a fragile new context of both language and culture, even students fluent in L2 withdraw from interacting with native English speakers:

I’m one of them, those Koreans who speak Korean all the time. . . . Like in primary and intermediate . . . initially I joined other cultural groups so I could improve my English but when I came to college, I didn’t feel the need but as well there was I

don't know if it's the case all the time but there was like people from the same culture hang out together (h. Cindy, 15)

In the absence of required interactive opportunities, Cindy adapted to accepted college culture - students hung out with their own cultural groups. Schools develop their own cultures over time and it takes a determined effort, such as Jade's, to go against the trend, or it takes deliberate management by the school to change the culture. Perhaps it was indicative of the strength of this school culture that Jade wasn't in the habit of publicly declaring her ethnicity:

I don't sit next to any Koreans in my class. I don't speak Korean at school. . . . I'm aware that people are Korean and some people are aware that I'm Korean but even if they speak Korean to me I always reply in English. (h, Jade, 32)

CONCLUSION

The language and content of the national 1989 Education Act and the national MoE's charter guidelines give clear messages to schools about inclusive policy development. While East High School is exemplary in holding regular Korean parent meetings, policy development has not stretched to planning to make Korean voices audible. The current wider political context where the MoE tolerates schools awarding low priority to engagement with their communities when developing school policy, the paucity of national exemplars of in-depth community consultation, the absence of discourse around participation in classroom learning and the lack of reporting requirements around implementation of this key value and competency are probably contributing factors. The language of East High School's policy documents is perhaps disappointingly passive and implicit compared with the national curriculum document. However, implementation in the real context is the critical thing and if the principal's ideal IT vision is realised then engagement with minority groups will grow. In the classrooms, as indicated by the student data, there is work to be done in building audibility for newcomers.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY 2: THE KOREAN PARENTS

The parents' dreams or visions for their children's education are currently played out within the context of policy at East High School. Central to the school's policy is its own vision. *Visions* and *dreams* share meaning. The interview topic of dreams was something the parents all warmed to, spontaneously relating to each other and to me critical incidents that fed their thinking and their actions, storytelling being a natural impulse amongst the parent interviewees (Mishler, 1986). In these group interviews the parents, in particular *the school group*, were actors in their own narratives, constructing their self-representations to establish solidarity and to gain acknowledgement of their shared migrant experiences (Riessman, 1993). Their stories tapped into issues that group members found familiar and important (Chase, 2003). They shared their talking turns deliberately, introducing themselves at first, and then, as familiarity grew, gradually crafted almost a collective thread exemplified by individual stories. In this way, the participants directed their own interviews and consequently, the coding.

As well as the school group, comprising eight parents, there was the *English language group* comprising five parents. (In addition, there were the twice weekly English classes and numerous associated social occasions where I tested my developing interpretations.) These two distinct groups are treated as one case because coding of the data showed similar thematic saliency. The slightly shorter time the school group had been in New Zealand didn't appear to be a factor – an average of 4.5 years, whereas the English language group had been in New Zealand 5.1 years. (See Table 1, Chapter 3, for demographic details.) Differences between the two groups related not so much to content, but more to form arising from the use of interview language, the Korean of the school group or the English of the English language group, which enabled longer or shorter talking turns. (See Chapter 3 for further discussion of this.)

The school group knew me and most of the other school group participants by sight only, through attendance at the parent school meetings during 2009. Grace, the Korean support teacher, described the school group members variously as: a “dedicated person for school”, or as “intelligent and religious” or “always interested in New Zealand Education system” or she positioned them as wanting to participate because they “respect you and also want to

help you” (personal communication, September 3rd, 2010). Certainly I had positioned myself in their good books by running the English classes and attending Korean parent-school meetings. It is likely also that they respected and wanted to support Grace, their liaison person with the school, when she approached them to participate in the research. The English language group, in contrast, knew each other well, and in their eyes I was positioned favourably as the provider of their free English classes. Members of the English language group, together with other English class members, had a habit of continuing talking after class in a Korean restaurant over lunch. I did not record these more informal lunch talks, treating them as field data that I would write up as soon as I got home. The comparatively lengthy time spent gathering parent field data (over three years at this point) is reflected in the Korean parents having a chapter to themselves.

The Korean parents wanted me to understand that the range of views expressed were the group’s views only and were not representative of the Korean parent community at the school: “Firstly, we are not representatives or anything” (c. A, 391). Earlier in the interview Yeon Ok suggested that the school group was more representative of two categories of parents: those who were not confident about their English language skills because confident Korean parents didn’t need bilingual school information nights; and parents who were not completely happy with their children’s progress at school. For example: “I know many parents in [name of area] whose English is good. However they are not there whenever I come to things like parents’ meeting” (c. YO, 102). The English language group were also interested in finding out more as the classes were specifically set up to teach the language of school. Such circumstances played a significant role in the findings.

In order to illustrate the collective nature of the Korean school group’s story, I begin by following the first salient thematic storylines as they develop, illustrating themes with brief examples from a variety of participants, including comments from the English class. At the short story level, the cases told at length are those that most graphically represent the case, in my eyes. I have applied narrative analysis to the short stories, considering Pavlenko’s (2007) interest in form and context, as well as the content of small stories, considering also Barkhuizen’s (2010, p. 295) three levels of positioning, in particular “the historical, political and cultural circumstances of the narrator’s story evident in the big narrative data”.

THE BUILDING OF A COLLECTIVE STORY

The school group

I suggested that the school group talked in Korean thinking they would prefer that. I asked them to go around the group introducing themselves first, partly so that the translator would become familiar with their voices, partly also as an introductory protocol for themselves facilitating friendly group relationships. What they did as a group then was to spontaneously negotiate group procedures, deciding to generally take turns at speaking, and when taking a major turn, saying their names as they began. And so each speaker would comment or tell their story, but also respond to what had been said before. There were of course lots of noises of agreement and questions for clarification. The talk continued for a long time – more than two hours at the first interview.

During this time the group firstly responded to the initial warm-up question: *Think back to Korea. What is one good thing about Korea's education system?* In their initial responses the parents introduced their children to each other and to the interviewer, by placing their children in their Korean contexts that explained why they migrated. After each participant had had a turn I asked the next of the three main questions: *Tell me what you were thinking about when you decided to leave Korea and put your children in school in New Zealand. What were your hopes and dreams?*

In asking this question I was thinking of dreams in the sense of wishes. The next question was more about imagination, what could be/might be: *In what ways is secondary school education in New Zealand like what you expected? Tell me about what you would like to change.* As trust within the group grew, they took long turns, spontaneously telling their stories to each other, both as a way of sharing commonalities with each other to build affiliations (Gee, 2005) as mentioned earlier, and as a way of making sense of experience by casting it in narrative form, their words. Each story fragment stood alone, but had clear connections to the previous stories, 'my story' becoming 'our story' (Ellis & Berger, 2003). As Pavlenko (2007, p. 171) points out, telling stories in L1 was going to be richer because "stories told in the language in which the original events took place are higher in emotional intensity and amount of detail". Outside of the interview these parents largely operated in a Korean speaking island within the larger English speaking community.

I sat outside the circle as did Grace. They seemed to forget our presence. On one occasion only did any of the participants make mention of either of us: Andrew, speaking about his need for L1 support to answer questions about the school: “There is a problem in communication in our case. [Then remembering Grace, sitting outside the circle, he added the following comment] I found out about you [Grace] just several months ago” (b. A, 366). To me as the observer, the participants seemed to be absorbed in the talk. Certainly, the talking turns were often quite lengthy, their illustrative narratives suggesting participant investment in the talk. The paucity of my Korean language skills meant there was no interference in the group talk other than when they looked to me for the next of the three questions. In this way the group could assume more control. It was a more natural setting in this sense.

On the second occasion the school group met, the talk was once again in Korean, but Kyu decided to summarise the comments for me after each round of answers to each question. Perhaps he took this leadership role in the absence of Grace, although she had not intervened in this way at the first interview. In this second interview, in responding to the English summaries, I directed the discussion more than at the first interview.

The English language group

In comparison, the English language group participants knew about each other's children, knew each other's stories to some extent and knew me well. We were accustomed to talking with each other in the English class, in shortish English-speaking turns. In class, as members speak, they search for the English words to express their thoughts. And this is how they responded to the formal interview questions. I directed the talk more, asking questions in response to their comments. English was a constricting factor and consequently while they gave illustrative examples, their stories were shorter with less detail. However, their words often carried intensity of meaning and were very memorable in their performatory aspects. I can still visualise the strength of emotion attached to some of their verbal and gesticulatory outputs, the key points, without lead-in and lead-up-to details, being very powerful.

The following sections centre around significant categories that developed during data analysis. I will draw on grounded theory in defining and exemplifying the meanings of these categories. The parents' talk showed their perspectives to be different from the students' and the school management's perspectives. The parents unlike the students, were equivocal about the benefits of education in New Zealand. The parents had made a huge investment in

education but didn't have the resources to be present in their children's education in New Zealand in ways they would like to be; they requested resources to help them be present. In keeping with current findings in the literature, the parents' hopes and dreams focused on education, but contrary to the literature, most expressed interest in their children having the opportunity to pursue non-traditional careers. The parents wanted their children to be passionate and diligent in getting an education, while finding their own voices and dreams. They saw education in an English-speaking country as creating a wide path for this, often a second chance pathway.

BEING EQUIVOCAL ABOUT THE BENEFITS OF EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND

My research participants felt propelled out of Korea for reasons of education, both pushed and pulled: pushed by dissatisfaction with English language teaching in Korea and pulled by a desire for the perceived benefits of education in an English-speaking country. However, general lifestyle factors for the parents counted too. Rose, for example, ranked education as an important factor but below a desire both for adventure and for escape from the stressful business culture, especially the male business socialising and drinking culture. Positioning herself vis-à-vis normative discourses (Barkhuizen, 2010), another informant talked (at a moment of high emotional stress) about the biggest push for migration being the parents' mid-life crises, rather than the more common widely accepted public talk of *education*. She claimed that talk about migration being primarily for education reasons was "rubbish". This is a significant admission and it is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. However, all the parents talked of wanting a less stressful educational life for their children, a place where both they and their children could settle down comfortably. Their experiences in New Zealand, however, meant that they had mixed feelings about the education system.

It can be a good thing or a bad thing

Kyu's words that in New Zealand education 'can be a good thing or a bad thing' (b. K, 7), encapsulate my analysis of both the translated data and the English language data, that the Korean parents sought to be reasonable and inclusive of the points of view of all members of the group, and that they tried, if being negative, to also find a positive to their migrant educational experiences. Of course the interviews were formal events carried out by people attached to their children's school. Choi (2002) talks about the maintenance of social harmony as one of two driving forces behind much Korean social interaction. A significant

implication arising from Choi's comment is that Western ears accustomed to the to and fro of linear debate may not notice the strength of Korean feeling.

After the introductions the talk began in response to the warm-up question on the benefits of the Korean education system. On reading the translations the co-constructive nature of the school group's talk was immediately noticeable. The group members immediately positioned themselves to construct almost a thematic group story, one speaker picking up the words or concepts of the previous speaker to elaborate or report a slightly different angle concerning their hopes and disappointments. Amy began the story commenting on the work ethic that the Korean education system demands: "The best about Korean education system is that it makes children work hard" (b. A, 4). Kyu took Amy's descriptor of 'hard working' children and commented on it, inclusively affirming her comment and using her name. Kyu, whom all knew as the chairperson of East High School's Korean parent group, in this way, implicitly started to construct a group story, introducing the concept of being able to see both sides:

It's been a long time since I left [Korea], so I can't recall that well [literal: my senses are diminished a bit – translator's note], but when I think of Korean Education, I think of 'hard-working' like [Amy] said, which can be a good thing or a bad thing". (b. K, 7)

The perspective Kyu introduced of seeing both sides was both broad in its sweep and harmonious. In accepting both sides the participants were given space to say what they thought. In turn, the third speaker, Andrew, expanded the previously introduced notion of hard work by raising a related thread, the breadth of the curriculum. He picked up Kyu's concept of balance and continued:

It's almost a similar concept [to the notion of hard work – translator's note]. Here the number of subjects is smaller and the things that I think should be learnt [by students] are there as optional subjects, so if you don't get to choose them, you miss them. I think [in Korea] they teach a lot of 'essential' aspects that you should know broadly, although they say it is a problem in Korea and it could be a good or bad thing. (b. A, 11)

Sera then elaborated on Andrew's ideas, discussing the consequences of a narrow curriculum:

When they grow a bit older they have to make choices [of subjects] early on when the kids haven't fully formed the ideas/values which they can make their decisions based on, there are already subjects that they should choose or should not choose. Then you cannot learn things in school that you wish to learn later. Those aspects are a bit disappointing. (b. S, 14)

At this point, Stephen provided a commentary on the big picture - why he thought the two countries have different systems:

I think the educational environment [in New Zealand] is totally different from Korea. Korea has a large population with small land, and here there is huge land but a small population, so I think the education systems are different accordingly and inevitably. Yeah so one cannot say that Korean education is bad, or that education here is better. I think both have strengths and weaknesses. (b. S, 19)

Once again he picked up the theme of balance: both having strengths and weaknesses.

Although the interview was only at the warm-up question stage, the group members immediately positioned themselves as being in this context able to construct a reflective group story characterised by *good and bad* generalities.

The content and structure of Kyu's talk had interactive consequences. Good and bad generalities were accepted and continued by the other participants possibly because this kind of harmony in discussion is familiar culturally (Choi, 2002; Tin, 2004). Tin contends that the interactive nature of group talk where participants are from Asian countries requires content elaboration rather than contradiction. Within the big picture the speakers positioned themselves as a little weary and worldly wise, looking back on education in Korea, and reflecting on the value of a fusion of the strengths of the two systems, and how geographic and population contexts influence education systems. Rose from the English language group visually illustrated this fusion: "I think New Zealand education system and Korean education system union. [Puts knuckles/hands together] It's very good. Very good system" (a. R, 49).

As a close look at the school group's story shows, statements of their perspectives are couched in such a balanced and conciliatory way that the messages may not be heard by Western ears accustomed to unequivocally linear arguments. The parents' sentiments regarding education were strongly held, however, as the following section shows.

Not being able to develop trust in the New Zealand education system

The talk then moved on to the notion of not being able to trust the New Zealand education system. This meant not knowing enough about the system to either trust it or to help their children succeed within it. In particular it meant not being confident that their children would work hard and not being confident that their children would seize their learning opportunities.

Feeling by this stage comfortable in the group interview context, the next speaker, Yeon Ok, was the first to add considerable personal detail, speaking for longer to explain why she was no longer sure that her educational purpose for migration had been achieved. What she had wanted to escape (the stress of Korean education) had become a minus here (her children don't work hard). This reflection led her to look more favourably on education in Korea because in New Zealand the minuses were threatening to outweigh the pluses:

I also haven't been here [in New Zealand] for long. I came here without knowing anything. From nothingness now I have a lot of thoughts like 'It was a good thing to come here for children' and in fact also thoughts like 'Oh, it could be better if we had stayed in Korea'. (b. YO, 23)

Yeon Ok firstly recognises the previous speaker ("I also. . .") then begins her story using conventional story structure: the orientation (her busy life in Korea that led to migration, having no time for the children); the action (migration to a peaceful country); the complicating action (her children don't work hard in the peaceful country, and she can't help them here either); the lack of resolution, and evaluation (she questioned whether it was a good thing to come). She names her state as 'nothingness' at the outset, a kind of wish or hope which is shapeless before migration because it lacks a detailed context. Yeon Ok's voice is clear; she positions herself and her children in a bad place, without the resources to rescue themselves. She positions herself as a stranger with insufficient settling down strategies or structures: "We are a minority ethnic group, and it is not an easy place for Koreans to settle down" (c. YO, 112).

Yeon Ok had lost confidence in the school system, and had lost trust:

In Korea, I couldn't take care of my children very well as I was working constantly. We came here because I wasn't confident that I could be a good mum when my children would be studying hard in their high school years. However I feel like I am not helping them much and the children are not working hard either after coming here. Here the country itself is so peaceful and good but I think it might be hard for my children to settle down here. We are a minority ethnic group, and it is not an easy place for Koreans to settle down. Now my children are not in a very good state [my children are in a slump a bit – translator's note] and I also question whether it was a good thing to come here or not. (b. YO, 27)

Yeon Ok contrasts her lack of knowledge (nothingness) with her conflictual knowledge ("it was a good thing to come here. . . and. . . it could be better if we had stayed in Korea"). She said that although things were different the problems remained: "I wasn't confident that I could be a good mum when my children would be studying hard in their high school years" and "I feel like I am not helping them much". As a migrant in an unfamiliar context, Yeon

Ok was at a loss as to how to draw on her resources to actively create practices of engagement to support her children's education. She volunteered to be part of the research because she wanted to learn more about New Zealand's education system. Although she was far from Kanno and Norton's (2003, p. 248) alternative visions of the future that offered "intriguing possibilities for social and educational change", she showed resilience in not giving up.

Next, Heon Ju began, picking up Yeon Ok's thought that migration was not a panacea:

I came here because I thought the education system was better here, but now I think that the children who study in Korea study in New Zealand as well, whereas those who don't study in Korea don't study wherever they go.
(b. HJ, 32)

She positions herself sympathetically with Yeon Ok in saying that children get away with being lazy in New Zealand: "If there is one disappointing thing [in education] here, then it would be that the ones that should study may become a bit lazy as they aren't managed a bit more strongly, but, mmm..." But then, picking up the theme of balance, she states that Korea does not have all the answers either: "I think like, but there is no one in Korea who received the Nobel Prize. As you know, other countries do". She points out that she did like the building of critical thinking skills in New Zealand: "I like here because the education system here eventually leads them to examine themselves although it seems a bit loose for now" (b. HJ, 32).

Yeon Ok and Heon Ju in their narratives follow the pattern of trying to look at both the good and the bad, but they were at a loss in the New Zealand context to locate the resources needed to manage their children's educational progress. Neither the parents nor their children knew precisely how to appropriate the opportunities, and consequently their children didn't set their own motivating goals; they didn't dream. In Korea, in contrast, goals had been set. Yeon Ok said her son's grandfather would try to seed dreams in his grandson. Yeon Ok talked of her son being guided by his grandfather's voice when filling in at school the "blank space for future dreams" (b. YO, 258). She said: "New Zealand is where you can do what you have liked and wanted to do, but my children came too late, so it seems that they don't know their dreams or what they like" (b. YO, 263). Migrating to an unfamiliar context he needed a replacement for his grandfather's voice, a voice familiar with his Korean context, but one that is also resoundingly familiar with possibilities in the New Zealand context. In New Zealand, where the parents, at the point of migration, envisaged their children being able to grasp any of plentiful career opportunities, some now

despaired, seeing their children as directionless, and they themselves positioned as lacking in both linguistic and local knowledge, unable to help and unwanted.

For Rose, New Zealand's complacent culture exacerbated her son's lack of direction: "In America, young people got ambitions, in Japan and China too. Students want to win. In New Zealand students - 'I don't want to win'" (a. R, 223). She said she worried about this, and recalled her conversation with her son:

Rose: Didn't have adventure. Didn't have hope. 'What to do?'

Son: I don't know.

Rose: What do you want?

Son: I don't know

Rose: Which is good?

Son: I don't know.'

Rose: Didn't have hope. No challenge. Big problem. I ask my son and young people: 'Do you have dream?' Don't. So here no plan no dream. Comfortable, satisfied but didn't have hope. Yes. 'Where are you going?' [Laughs.] Didn't have will. 'Want to be there?' 'Want to be it?' Didn't have. I worry about. (a. R, 211- 219)

In Rose's reconstructed conversation her son's responses are repeatedly negative ("I don't know"). She reports his failure to develop plans, to dream, again repeatedly using the negative, varying only the tense from conversational historic present ("don't have") to narrative past tense ("didn't have"). She paints him as "comfortable" and "satisfied" but being without hope makes these adjectives rather empty and negative. Her speaking partner, Clara, at first challenged Rose, asking whether the boys' situation was any different in Korea: "In Korea they got hope?" (a. C, 220). But later she admitted: "Sometimes I worry about that, sometimes not" (a. C, 222).

Rose was worried that her son and his friends were unable to construct 'projected' goals for themselves, because they had no inkling of their ideal future self. They were stuck in their 'actual selves', their complacent everyday New Zealand lives (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). Without goals they didn't dream, she claimed. They lived day to day, going nowhere, she felt. Yeon Ok's older child, her son, had only historical dreams to fall back on, his grandfather's 'vague' dreams for him. Accustomed to following his grandfather's wishes, in the new host country he could not find his own voice. All his parents could do was worry,

Yeon Ok did not have the local knowledge to suggest replacement dreams, and her children positioned her as powerless and didn't want her to get involved in their school lives. It was a new cultural landscape where there might be a surfeit of choices, but they were unknowable.

On arrival in the host country, difficulties seemed to arise when the parents found their participation opportunities very limited. They couldn't help their children. They needed translators to interact with the school, and were surprised when these were not available. The New Zealand education system was alien. Acquiring a rich understanding of the system, both its language and its content, was currently beyond their reach. The paucity of their participation in the wider English speaking society meant the parents had limited local knowledge of career opportunities for their children. Consequently the parents couldn't contextualise their dreams with local knowledge, or with local stories. They were without the resources to realise the dreams while they perceived their children to be struggling to develop and pursue dreams on their own. This in the face of their huge investment in education as evidenced in migration.

HAVING AN INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION

These Korean parents' acknowledged interest in their children's education aligns with widely reported research findings that Korean "parents are ready to sacrifice their lives for the education of their children" because education is the road to success, to high social status and economic prosperity (Han, 2010, Ong, 1999; Shin, 2007; Song, 2010). For the Korean parents in this study, migration opened up a pathway to this success: "I want they get so many opportunity – job and countries. If they speak English well I think they can do it" (a. C, 11). Clara spoke for all in focusing on English language. The parents were aware of the strengths of education in Korea – but they saw English language teaching as its weakness.

Having another chance

Rose emphasised the significant role of opportunity. Speaking with Clara she used either the word 'chance' or the word 'opportunity' six times over the space of 49 words. Participants in the Korean-speaking focus group used opportunity's collocate, 'hope': "I found a hope here" (b. S,150). It is not a particular country or a particular curriculum that is sought, any English-speaking country from a selected few would do: "So at that time I think we've got another chance. And then we moved in New Zealand. New Zealand or America or Australia it's ok we got another chance or opportunity" (a. R, 22). Another chance is sought, a chance

to learn in an English-speaking Western education system: “I didn’t have time to compare schools, systems or curriculums precisely. I just hoped for better when I left Korea” (b. A, 300). Amy didn’t know much about the new educational environment; frustration with the English learning opportunities in Korea drove her. She hoped her children would experience an environment that facilitated English language learning and consequently transnational opportunities.

The desire for study in an environment conducive to English language learning was strong, the Korean adults being self-deprecating about their own English language skills, and the ability of their education system to teach English. Acquisition was seen as vital to survive and obtain prestige in a globalizing market. They were investing their economic capital, converting it to international, transportable capital (qualifications from an English-speaking education system).

It’s not just about marks

‘It’s not just about marks’ means that the parents migrated because they wanted a space where their children could flourish in a broad sense. This concept does not mean that achievement in education had completely taken a back seat – passion and diligence were still very important – but it was achievement outside traditional borders that mattered.

Unlike the Korean migrants of some international studies, (Han, 2010; Park, 2009, for example), the participants were not all fixated on their children achieving high social status through education. Also breaking from Korean tradition where the mother typically takes responsibility for the children’s education, the men in this group were active in their children’s schooling. Kyu explicitly rejected a reinvention of Korean educational aspirations in New Zealand: “I didn’t come here with big expectations in education” (b. K, 104). Stephen, too, wanted a comfortable environment where his children could choose their future pathways. He talked about his role in their education:

So [in Korea] there is one drawback - it lacks in developing a child’s potential. . . . I think that they [children] themselves should think about their living as they grow up, because we [parents] will die off when they all grow up. They should lead their own lives. I think like that and I have led them towards that way. So they have always thought for themselves, rather than parents pushing them to do things. (b. S, 168)

Yeon Ok, also, planned to let her children make their own choices: “If my children like to do something or learn some skills then I would rather want them to do those [as opposed to

forcing them to study – translator’s note]” (b. YO, 250). June, similarly, valued the opportunity for her daughter’s creative talents to flourish despite not being so diligent:

So she came, oh, and I think New Zealand is like heaven for my daughter. And she would become an idiot again in Korea [if she went back]. My child is very creative and not so diligent, but not an idiot. She does well in school here, so we couldn’t go back. (b. J, 185)

June perceived herself as different from most Korean parents in that she didn’t organise her daughter into any after school programmes (hagwons) in Korea or in New Zealand, although within the interviewee group, June was typical.

Half of the participants raised issues of their children having not only a school life that was more comfortable but also a future that was less governed by traditional Korean cultural conceptions of what constitutes an acceptable career. The freedom from traditional career expectations was a clear finding, and marked this group as very different from the student group. Andrew explained:

I have the similar reason [for coming here – translator’s note] as the person who talked before me. . . I’ve always wanted my children to be able to choose what they want to do and go through the school years comfortably. That was my take on my children’s education. So I did not send them to cram schools or anything like that. I just let them relax at home after school. That was how I educated my children. However, my view on education started to get challenged as my oldest child started middle school, because as someone said, I couldn’t help noticing what others were doing. There was a conflict going on in my mind about whether I should make them study like others, or... [At this point others verbalised their agreement.] let them study in a relaxed way and keep it that way. Then I had a chance to come here at that time as I had relatives living in New Zealand. After visiting here, I thought if I came here, the education would be similar to what I thought. What I thought was the biggest difference between here and Korea is that, in Korea, if you don’t do well academically, people consider it as a bad thing [original: people talk in a bad way – translator’s note], like ‘Would you be able to earn enough to eat? What are you going to do? Work in a factory?’ Although I thought like that as well. Here, if you do well academically, you can have a so-called ‘good job’. [At this point there are more noises of agreement – translator’s note.] You do what we call ‘physical work’, but people here don’t think that there is a world of difference between them whereas in Korea people do. Right? (b. A, 117)

Andrew reports on how his thinking about wanting his children to be relaxed about school work and to find their own voice in choosing their pathways was challenged as his children got older. Noticing how out of line he was with mainstream thinking about education in Korea, he was having second thoughts. On visiting New Zealand, however, he saw that his thoughts were a good fit with educational practice here. Discussing this with my English class, the members used the slogan *all trades are equal* to describe their understanding, and

approval of, what Andrew and they perceived as a characteristic of the New Zealand work environment.

Stephen then told his reasons for coming to New Zealand. He positioned himself similarly to Andrew in terms of his role in his children's education and his desire for his children to choose their own employment pathways:

I think the children will be happy if the parents are not ambitious about them. So I have never told my children to study so far. Do whatever you like. . . . They study for exams without anyone telling them to, and they are very happy now. Yeah. Children can do what they want to do very well if parents are not too obsessed with their education. I think that kind of thing is great here. (b. S, 168)

All the participants in the extracts above stated or implied that they wanted more from New Zealand's education system than marks. The parents talked about rejecting traditional career choices, but actually all wanted their children to achieve well. In Stephen's words: "Children can do what they want to do very well if parents are not too obsessed with their education" (b. S, 168).

The research participants' traditional worries about academic achievement commingled with their beliefs about stepping back and allowing more choice for their children. Some, such as Heon Ju, deliberately chose a space where she could comfortably accept what might be deemed amongst her friends in Korea as 'low-status' career choices by her children. She, like the rest of the parents, was very open with her personal disappointments, worries and downward adjustments in what she expected for their children. Heon Ju explained just how dire her son's position was in Korea: "My son had a hard time. So we decided to come here after we visited. That boy's health was ruined as well from stress. It was "irritable bowel syndrome" (b. HJ, 283). Heon Ju set the scene – her son was sick with stress – but she was the one who was unable to stay in Korea because of the shame of her son not being at a good university. Children are the family's focal point and entry to a prestigious university is so valued that my English class members told me it is customary to use as an opening greeting on the phone not 'Hello', but: 'How is your son/daughter getting on at university'? Heon Ju explained the public shame ('mangshin'):

He couldn't have gone to university in Korea, of course [if he had stayed in Korea]. Then I as a parent, not that one, would have got stressed about it, because he couldn't go to university. There would also be pressure that the university should be in Seoul [should be within the four gates – translator's note]. There is also a shame on the parents and so on. (b. HJ, 283)

Heon Ju couldn't stay in Korea because it would be too shameful for her to talk about her son. She twice emphasised that the problem was hers, repeatedly using pronouns to own the problem as hers, not her son's: "I as a parent, not that one".

Heon Ju talked about how in the New Zealand context she was able to give her son permission to spend much of his time practising electronic music by himself while studying Japanese. In Korea she couldn't be this generous. Lee (2007, p. 284) says that "when Koreans of older generations were teenagers, they devalued this particular line of work, giving it the stigmatized uncomplimentary title of *ttanttala*, which stresses how insignificant and undesirable this career is by simply mimicking the sound of wind pipe musical instruments". For the younger generation this stance on the position of an entertainer may have shifted from negative to positive over recent years, but not so much for their parents. Heon Ju justified her position by saying that Koreans are the only ones who think going to university is essential.

I have never seen that one being so into anything in his life. When I saw him like that, I wanted to say 'Yeah. Do what you want'. It seems that going into university isn't necessarily a goal in Kiwi children's lives. Only Korean parents seem to think that university study is necessary. I think that only those who study should go to university. In Korea, university is just for entrance and graduation.. I am like 'Yeah. Do everything you want', so now he studies Japanese and that. I can afford to have that generous mindset [to allow him to do whatever the child wants] because it is here [New Zealand]. . . . If I were in Korea, I wouldn't allow him to do that.. . Then it would be unacceptable for me because people say it is 'ttanttala' and because of that kind of perception and atmosphere. I wouldn't be able to talk to someone about my child openly. (b. HJ, 283)

Where there was space to pursue interests that would be unthinkable in Korea, Heon Ju's flexibility in thinking could accommodate her son's choices. Discussing this with June in a later individual interview, she explained that it is easier to loosen the hold of Confucianism in the N Z context where the Korean population is smaller and familiar networks are loosened making reputation less significant.

Heon Ju was looking for a safe place for her son to pursue dreams that would not be possible in Korea. Stephen's and Andrew's migration visions suggested that their educational hopes for their children would not be realised within the Korean system. Jane pointed out that Korean parents might think logically something is so, that it doesn't matter what career pathway children follow, for example, but they still found it hard to give up their traditional dreams for their children.

During the focus group interviews all the parents spoke of education as the driving factor in migration. It was later, during informal talk, that the parents spoke of the role of their mid-life crises. Heon Ju explained: “Korean parents have so much interest that brought their children for their study overseas” (c. HJ, 133). The Korean community put their lives on the backburner for their children’s education, they are, therefore, demonstrably wholehearted in their desire to be present in education. Heon Ju, able to accommodate alternatives for her son, speaking of her son’s learning of the electric guitar said: “that child is crazy about playing the electric guitar... He doesn’t even sleep... If I had studied like that in university I would have received a scholarship” (b. HJ, 617, 632). Heon Ju was proud of her son’s passion and diligence. The parents seek somewhere where their children can settle comfortably. The concept of *settling comfortably*, to Western ears, however, belies the parents’ strength of commitment to diligence and sound educational outcomes. Settling comfortably also implies a sound understanding of the education system that enables parents to be involved, to be present, in their children’s education.

BEING PRESENT IN THEIR CHILDREN’S EDUCATION

Being present in their children’s education is a strongly held Korean cultural belief. As the student Jade explained to me, in the Korean context it means physical support such as running the child to the best possible after-school *hagwon* and providing the physical and psychological resources to sustain long periods of study with the aim of the students achieving high marks. However, being present in the New Zealand educational system has very different meanings. East High School’s principal’s championing of the parent’s role in the Vygotskian notion of *learning partnerships* is an example of a different understanding. In a Korean setting the teacher is the significant adult expected to have a closer mentoring role than is expected of teachers in New Zealand. Korean teachers retain these days a view of teaching as a vocation, having a *sacred* view of it, “valorizing their affection for pupils and sacrifices made for their calling”(Ahn & Walsh, 2001, p. 293). This is demonstrated in the strength of Clara’s comment, momentarily outraged that I should think that teaching is ‘a job’. She saw teaching as a service to society.

Trying to understand education in New Zealand in order to support their children

Yeon Ok, as mentioned earlier, came to New Zealand because she thought time would be a more available resource. She visualised herself helping her children with their schoolwork during their teenage years at school. In New Zealand, time was available, but she was

disappointed to find that she was struggling to be present in her children's education. She didn't understand the school system despite her attempts. She attended school meetings wanting to find out more, but she got little out of such meetings:

I actually participate because I don't know well and I want to know, although I haven't been here for long and my English is poor. When my daughter was in Year 9 there was a programme that introduced the school. I went there thinking that surely there would be an interpreter. It lasted about two hours, and there were two Korean mums, me and this other mum. She didn't have good English so she brought her daughter along. Her daughter kept explaining to her beside her. As for me, I was there for two hours without getting anything. When I read books or websites I would get a little bit, but I couldn't get anything there and sat for an hour as the other person was just talking. (c. YO, 102)

Information evenings aimed at English speakers are inaccessible. Yeon Ok explained that she could more successfully process information that is written, and found out some information by using her own initiative to surf the internet. In comparison, attending a school-organised information evening was a lesson in frustration in an unfamiliar education landscape without familiar landmarks. She repeated the key point about learning nothing: "there for two hours without getting anything... but I couldn't get anything there". Another parent had to suffer role reversal, bringing her daughter to explain the talk to her. Yeon Ok expected an interpreter. Despite this experience, Yeon Ok was not giving up, and she felt that if she persevered, resilience would get her there:

I think it is not important whether your English is good or not, or whether there is an interpreter available, but it seems to depend a lot on things like how strong your will is to participate in. (c. YO, 102)

Heon Ju related a similar experience: "for two hours and catching occasional words. It is very difficult even when I want to ask a question to school. I cannot suggest things even when I want to" (c. HJ,158). She disagreed that will power was the answer. She felt the school should think about the Korean community more:

As for parents like me, there are things we really want to know because we haven't been here for long, and also because children find it hard to settle down here. I think there needs to be consideration like that [e.g. interpreter – translator's note] (C 112).

Yeon Ok conceded that she was right about the interpreter: "Then there would be more Korean people participating" (C126). Kyu agreed.

Parents' and children's roles had become topsy turvey. Yeon Ok's children had assumed her parental role, managing their own school affairs, and telling her to keep clear of school. She chose the verb 'hate' to convey her children's feelings about her going to school, suggesting

that her poor English skills were an embarrassment: “My children really hate me visiting their school: ‘Why are you going to school Mum? You can’t even understand English’” (b. YO, 524). She saw her daughter doing school work at home but had no idea what it was: “she sits at her desk and does something”. She was positioned by her children as incompetent in English and lacking in knowledge about school, and they were keen to keep her in the dark. Traditional family roles are reversed as children become more socialised than their parents into new Zealand society (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). Yeon Ok said:

I don’t know very well about [school things] but I want to tell my children about it through the school or from teachers, so I go [to school], write notes and come home. I was like: ‘Hey, mum went to school today and found out there are these things at school’. My son went through my notes and said: ‘Mum, I know them all’. Ha ha ha. (b. YO, 559)

At this point there was general laughter in agreement. Yeon Ok continued:

When I asked him, ‘Hey, but why didn’t you tell me?’, then he said like: ‘Would you understand even if I tell you?’ When I tell him to tell me about it because Mum is curious, my son doesn’t tell me. At least the parents who have good English can go on to things like the school’s homepage, and find out when the exams are, what comes out in the exams, what subjects my child takes, what my child should do. I am really interested [in my children’s education/ school stuff – translator’s note], but the interest by itself doesn’t help my children at all if I don’t know. I don’t want to be a mother who just cooks at home though... Hmmm... um, so I came here [to participate in the research], because I want to find out more. (b. YO, 567).

Despite her suggestion that even finding out what subjects her children were taking was challenging and very debilitating to her role as an agentive parent, Yeon Ok shows resilience, not giving up in her efforts to find out more.

Needing interpreters and bilingual material

For situated learning about school to occur, the group all felt they needed resources. Amy appealed for help demonstrating that even more able users of English didn’t have the confidence to engage. At that stage, Amy had been in New Zealand for eight years and had previously lived in another English speaking country for two years. She attended the English language class and was one of the strongest English language speakers there. Heon Ju, at the other end of the spectrum with English language skills, had had a history of active involvement in parents’ associations in Korea. She said:

Really I can’t come and participate unless there is an interpreter. I think there needs to be some remedy for that, so that every parent can participate in various things (c. HJ, 281)

Heon Ju positions herself as rendered “deaf and mute”. In Korea Heon Ju was accustomed to being involved in a parent support group. She was prepared to do the same here but she would be reliant on a translator. She tried going to school evenings such as one evening when police were talking about crime affecting children, but she was very surprised there were no interpreters there. Heon Ju commented that new arrivals need information in their L1: “there are things that we really want to know because we haven’t been here for long and because our children find it hard to settle down here” (c. HJ, 112). She said: “because I can talk with my children if I know about the system here” (c. HJ, 133). She explained that she missed out because she doesn’t know what is on offer: “I am not even well aware of what the school is offering. . . . I think the school is doing a lot, but we are not able to participate” (c. HJ,157).

Listening with understanding was one thing, participation was another. The challenge for Korean parents to go to school was huge. When I asked the English class group about going to visit the school both Rose and Clara laughed in astonishment that I should even ask if they go to school.

Clara: Never – because I can’t communicate smoothly. Feeling is very scared and depressed.

Rose: Rare – not fluent. We can’t do it bravely. I would have gone to school in Korea. In this style, I don’t know. So [talking to her child]: ‘Your problem. You have to solve yourself’. (a. R and C,183)

The parents wanted systematic provision of interpreters and material in L1: “there needs to be a system within the school” (c. HJ, 96). Of course this means that the burden falls on the teachers from that language group, who already, as the principal commented, work very hard. It is more than language too, it is an educational system based on different concepts arising from a different historical and political context. Heon Ju, talking about the BoT structure described her complete unfamiliarity with the nature of this structure: “I don’t know how to reach that area because it is very different” (c. HJ, 149). Yeon Ok talked of debilitating shyness in the face of language difficulties and an unfamiliar school context: “Even when I want to participate, I don’t know things very well and I become shy and hesitant” (c, YO, 379). The parents were aware that scaffolded provisions were available in some circumstances in some schools. Kyu gave details of a primary school meeting in three languages.

The Korean parents, especially those parents who perceived their children as not being so successful, wanted to learn about the New Zealand school system in order to be more involved in their children's education. Provision of bilingual material was their starting point. Schools reaching out to migrants to engage in talk about schools as cultural worlds assist the process of learning about other worldviews, and help migrants to be influenced by and also to influence their adopted society.

SCHOOL ENGAGEMENT WITH PARENTS

Positioning as outsiders

The parents saw themselves as outsiders positioned on the margins. Reflecting on their experience of school life in New Zealand, a number of members of the school group commented that schools in general didn't seem to be that interested in engaging with parents. No one in the school group contradicted this view. Amy was incredulous when I suggested that schools were interested to find out what Korean parents thought. "Schools want to know what parents from minority groups think, and how they want to get involved? Really?" (c. A, 19). Kyu supported Amy: "They don't seem to be that eager to talk to parents" (c. K, 34). Looking at both sides, as usual, Kyu recognised that Koreans also needed to make an effort to understand the majority culture:

I think that, because we are a minority group, yeah, we may feel that we are treated a bit unfavourably here. So we want Kiwi people to understand us, yeah but I think that we should also try to understand them. (c. K, 396)

Kyu rationalises this lack of understanding, attributing mainstream ignorance to New Zealand's isolation: "You know New Zealand is an island. Quite far from the country. They don't have much experience to meet the other cultures, so . . . not easy for them to get along with other cultures" (b. K, 133). The parents were interested in participation, but found few opportunities and were easily rebuffed. They lacked enabling conditions. Zittoun (2006, p. 19) contends that: "People do not confront ruptures without enabling means or facilitators".

Seven of the twelve Korean participants told stories of failed attempts at participation at their children's schools, including East High School. They tried despite their lack of confidence in their English language skills and the absence of familiar symbolic resources. Amy recalled her initial enthusiasm to participate by responding to a call for volunteers when her daughter first enrolled in a New Zealand secondary school, not East High School. "I really wanted to socialise with them and really get involved in school matters . . . it didn't

last long . . . I became reluctant and felt uncomfortable”. This early experience was negative, her enthusiasm turning into reluctance. But she reassigned blame to herself:

I mean just disappointed in myself. I can go to school and help out, but what do I do once I'm there? I need to associate with other Kiwi parents, talking with them and not shying away from them. My eldest went to . . . College. There was a place called tuck shop, a lunch bar. While the food was made by different people, parents took turns in volunteering to sell the food. I tried then, and I really wanted to socialise with them and really get involved in school matters, but since my English was even worse than now, it didn't last long. . . . What other avenues are there where parents can participate in college? There aren't that many opportunities apart from the meeting... Parents-Teachers meeting or discussing with teachers about some problems, are there? (c. A, 40)

Amy shied away, uninvited to join the friendly tuck shop chat, marginalised and uncomfortable.

Intercultural interaction requires deliberate planning, and at times this happened. While some opportunities were just too scary, as Clara and Rose said, adult social settings perhaps could provide more familiar contexts. Kyu talked of his participation in a golf fund-raising East High School tournament. Through his participation he learned “heaps” about New Zealand culture. He was surprised with the charity auction, that wives would bid against husbands for example. His comments supported the valuable role of interaction: “I learned that people think alike, although they may speak different languages” (c. K, 398).

Some of the parents saw their children positioned as outsiders too. Amy raised this as an issue to be addressed at secondary school level. She felt that college students could be taught the value of intercultural interaction. Currently the participants uniformly thought that interaction and group mixing worked well in primary school, but it didn't happen in secondary school. Heon Ju mentioned that her daughter's Kiwi friends from primary school would interact with her at secondary school on a one-to-one basis but when she met that same students in a group they would not interact. She asked her mother what had changed. Mainstream and minority students as they enter the teenage years and start sorting out identity issues require resources to enable understanding and participation.

The parents also saw their children as positioned on the outside in the classroom context. While valuing Western education for helping students to become independent learners, the parents worried that their children, coming from a more teacher dominated system don't take advantage of their opportunities, or even exploit their freedom to choose, deliberately choosing to disengage, and that this factor combined with their own ignorance of the system

and reticence about going to the school caused problems. Andrew made a heartfelt request here for schools to take more seriously their role in information sharing so that new parents were familiar with what was available and could guide their children in participating.

In Korea, even if you don't do anything, school leads the children, makes them do things whether they like it or not. Things are not in Korean here, and we cannot speak English so there is nowhere to ask about these. It's our problem. There are various things available in school but we weren't ready to take advantage of them. Even if children don't take notice of them, parents should be aware of them, but there is a problem in communication. I found out about the Korean teacher just several months ago. I didn't know things like how to ask. Children like mine start college in the middle, not in the beginning. So I think that maybe the school should do an orientation with the parents as well and I wish the school could take communication (with the parents) into account for minority groups. (b. A, 364)

Andrew talks here both about the content of the message (cultural differences in educational systems) and the form of the message (Korean language). Andrew is keen for the school to take communication with minority groups more seriously in order to bring them in from the cold. He thinks that this should start with an orientation to school for parents from minority groups.

The school's welcoming vision, which encourages the reader 'to explore' and 'to experience' life at the school clearly is not actively working for the Korean community. For these participants written information was more accessible than spoken. More written material in L1 was what was needed however, and the provision of translators at public meetings. Amy positioned the school group as parents who wanted to do something to overcome the language barrier in order to learn more about the New Zealand school system: "we want to get involved in school events getting information and what not. Also we would like something to help overcome the language barrier" (c. A, 391). She specifically asked for resources to help in interacting with the school: "we would like something".

CONCLUSION

The parents remember vividly why they left Korea. New dreams in the host country are struggling to emerge. Imagined possibilities are blankish slates, requiring provision of school resources to take shape. Unable to envisage new dreams for their children, they worried that their children couldn't manage this dreaming on their own. Andrew, for example, complained that his children hadn't been able to change from their accustomed more passive school behaviour to jump in and take their opportunities in the New Zealand classroom. Rose, with deep feeling in her voice and looking straight at me, recounted her

worries over her son and his friends' lack of future plans and what she saw as consequent low levels of motivation.

East High School's vision of its students as "confident, connected and self-managing lifelong learners who will seize our excellent learning opportunities. . . . innovative, creative and enterprising" seems an ill fit with what the parents, especially the newer parents, reported of their children's current positions. The parents were between a rock and a hard place, their children not interacting socially except within the Korean community and some not being as diligent as they would like. The parents didn't have the resources to be present in their children's education in ways they would like to be; they requested resources to help them be present. Their dream of English language learning as creating pathways for the building of international, transportable capital, often second chance pathways, seemed far off. The Korean community's influence on the world of the school seems small currently.

CHAPTER SIX

“NAVIGATE THE FUTURE IN THE SEAS OF OUR IMAGINATION”

And what is the ultimate gift of consciousness to humanity? Perhaps the ability to navigate the future in the seas of our imagination, guiding the self craft into a safe and protective harbor. (Damasio, 2010, p. 296)

This chapter focuses on a major category emerging from the data presented in the two previous chapters: having motivating dreams of future selves. I was alerted first to this issue when Rose, displaying strong emotion, re-enacted her questioning of her son and his friends about their future dreams. I recalled similar cameos in Yeon Ok's and Heon Ju's narratives. I searched the data and found that worries about motivating dreams permeated the Korean data. Motivating dreams of future selves is an issue of current interest in SLA literature (Dörnyei, 2005; Kubanyiova, 2009; Pavlenko, 2002; Ushioda, 2006, for example).

Once in New Zealand, the parents, even those who had been in the country for a considerable length of time, found that neither they, nor their children, could navigate what the neuroscientist Damasio (2010) calls the “seas of the imagination”. While the parents thought there were probably school resources that could support their children in projecting motivating visions of their future selves, they didn't know what they were, or if they were glimpsed, the parents perceived their children as unable to seize their opportunities. The successful interviewed students did have dreams, but they reported reliance on their own traditional Korean resources, not school resources, in developing their visions and in ascertaining the mechanical details of access to these hoped-for futures. They would have preferred greater school provision in planning their futures. Because the students' dreams were constructed from listening to their parents' own memory stores of achieving personal and societal well-being, these students' were hoping to action very traditional Korean career ideals within their adopted homeland. Their academic success had allowed these students those traditional options.

Current SLA research in future selves and their role in motivation draws on Markus and Nurius's (1986, p. 954) psychological theory of possible selves. Markus and Nurius argue that possible future selves have their roots in the past and are influenced by others conspicuous in a person's social context.

Possible selves derive from representations of the self in the past and they include representations of the self in the future. . . . These possible selves are individualized or personalized, but they are also distinctly social. Many of these possible selves are the direct result of previous social comparisons in which the individuals' own thoughts, feelings, characteristics, and behaviours have been contrasted to those of salient others.

Both the students and the parents spoke of the paucity of access, in the host country, to the salient, motivating others whom Markus and Nurius contend are critical. Valsiner (2007, p. 90-91) describes the trajectories of movement of migrant students as “simultaneously striving towards the ‘foreign’ and the ‘home’”. The data show that, for the children of the parent interviewees, salient others were not noticeable, or were absent, in the foreign context. Some of the parents raised concerns about their children feeling that the future selves that they harboured while in Korea were no longer available. Consequently, these students were no longer striving towards home trajectories either. Critical theorists would label such students as disempowered, with insufficient access to mainstream discourse and resulting mainstream opportunities. Supporting the critical theory stance from a neurological perspective, Damasio (2010) would explain the students as having a less than optimal functional layer of life management (“sociocultural homeostasis”), a restricted “as-if loop” that prevents harm and promotes good in the host society.

Imagining possible future selves requires links not only to the past, to the home culture, but also links to the mainstream host society to access the stories of salient, motivating others. Empowering students to effectively participate in mainstream society is one of the aims of the current curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007). The starting point of “The New Zealand Curriculum” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 7) is the “Vision” of young people as “confident, connected, actively involved, lifelong learners”. Such aims are grounded in sociocultural theory, which maintains that interaction with others constructs or constrains motivation and learning (McGroarty, 2001; Pavlenko, 2002; Ushioda, 2006, for example). Consequently I searched the data carefully noting the positioning of both the Korean students and the Korean parents in the school and their reports of interaction opportunities. Ushioda, (2006, p. 158) contends that “we need increasingly to focus critical attention on this social setting in facilitating or constraining the motivation of the individual L2 learner/user”. Interaction opportunities will be explored in greater depth in Chapter 7. Yashima (2002, p. 54) has written of the “international posture” of English learners in EFL settings and I was also interested to see if this orientation might impact on interactive

opportunities in an ESL setting because the Korean community's international orientation was an issue raised by both the students and the parents.

All the participants saw future career self-guides as necessary visionary motivators. Provision of such detailed help with career pathways is implied in East High School's policy documents and embodied in the metaphorical work bags (discussed in Chapter 4) with which the school aims to equip the students by the time they graduate. The first section of this chapter investigates the state of the students' dreams of their future selves. The parents reported that their children didn't have dreams. Some of the interviewed students said that while they successfully accessed Korean networks in the host country, they would have liked more school-based mentoring on future careers. The following section discusses the Korean participants' suggested strategies for building visions of future selves. The last major section examines the positioning of Korean students within the mainstream at school.

BUILDING DREAMS

The parents reported: "They don't know their dreams"

Chapter 5 reported Rose's dismay that her son and his friends had no dreams of their possible future selves in the New Zealand context. Yeon Ok's daughter did have her own vision of her ideal self in Korea, but she felt it was unattainable in a country where she was not a native speaker. She was desolate that she had no replacement dream:

As for my daughter, she wanted to be an announcer. However, her dream disappeared since she came here. She says to me, 'Mum, how can I become an announcer here? My dream's gone'. New Zealand is where you can do what you have liked and wanted to do, but my children came too late, so it seems that they don't know their dreams or what they like. They don't progress much here and it is too late for my older child to go back to Korea, so . . . my husband and I worry a lot these days. (b. YO, 263)

Set against the context of New Zealand as a land of opportunity ("where you can do what you have liked and wanted to do"), Yeon Ok's report of her daughter's grief typifies the parents' worries. Like Rose, Yeon Ok links the absence of a future vision with her children's poor learning motivation, and consequent poor achievement. This observation aligns with Markus and Nurius (1986) contention that the notion of possible selves is integrally connected to motivation and achievement.

There were exceptions. Some were searching the new context and locating alternative, salient others on whom to base their ideas of their future self. Heon Ju specifically discussed

the freedom (from societal censure) that came with living in a host country allowing her children the space for other, non-traditional career choices. For Heon Ju's daughter, who had been in New Zealand for three years, the migrant space was liberating. She was considering making one of her possible career choices on the basis of looks, a very non-traditional take on career choice:

As for my second child, I would want her to do those respectable jobs like lawyer, doctor, judge and so on if she were in Korea. [Original: I would want her to do those respectable jobs with 'sa': the names of those high-paying, respectable jobs like lawyer, doctor, judge, public prosecutor, etc. all ending with 'sa'. For example, doctor = 'uisa', lawyer = 'byunhosa', judge = 'pansa'. Translator] That child really wants to be a police officer after coming here. After she saw police officers, she thought they look really cool, so her dream is a police officer. I would definitely object to it if I were in Korea. I definitely wouldn't want her to be a female police officer or whatever. However, female police officer here? I think it's doable. She says that her dream is not like a lawyer, but police officer, or stewardess. So I said, 'Consider it [stewardess] as another option'. Children notice this kind of change, but I think that I definitely have more freedom as a parent as well. Since I have that freedom, my children can live freely and comfortably, and so I think here [New Zealand] is excellent in terms of education. (b. HJ, 292-295)

Heon Ju weighs up her daughter's career aspirations, encouraging her to consider, if not being a lawyer, then at least an airline steward rather than joining the police force. Words such as *consider*, though, have low modality and Heon Ju says that both generations could live freely and comfortably even if her daughter chose to be a police officer. She sees the choice as "doable", an acceptable career choice outside Korea. Significantly, though, Heon Ju perceives her children as not currently harbouring sufficiently challenging images of their future selves. Her daughter wants to be a police officer because she thought police officers "look really cool". Heon Ju is hopeful that, given the lifelong learning opportunities of the New Zealand system, her children might grow up and be motivated to work towards more challenging futures at a later phase in their lives:

In Korea it is really hard to study again if you miss that period [i.e. once you get old – translator's note], but here I found out that my children and I can study once I make up my mind and once they come to their senses (b. HJ, 603).

Like Heon Ju, Andrew talked in general terms about the sense of freedom living in a different culture where all work was valued, even physical work, as mentioned in Chapter 5. On mentioning this, the others in the focus group murmured "Mmm" in agreement. In research I collected from an earlier East High School Korean parent cohort (Kitchen, 2010), the same comments were made in individual responses to a bilingual questionnaire asking what was valued in the New Zealand education system. A number of parents commented

that they valued the equality in which the professions and trades are held. They wrote of “all legitimate trades being equally honourable”. While Andrew philosophically had always wanted his children to follow their own dreams (he saw himself as out of kilter with practices in Korea), he lamented that his children currently were bereft of the resources to seize their opportunities to participate in the host context. Finding their own voices, under their own steam, was proving too hard.

The students reported: “No-one” at school helped with future self-guides

The interviewed students were successful senior students, consequently they were well down the track of choosing their career pathways, but they didn’t perceive the school as contributing to the process. When I asked the group who helped to give them career advice, Harry said, “No one” (i. H, 33). The successful student group had had most of their schooling in New Zealand so it is perhaps surprising that most of them felt left to their own resources when it came to developing their visions of their future-selves. Their length of time in New Zealand may have led to assumptions about their familiarity with the local context and their access to resources such as salient others. Had they become the “innovative, creative and enterprising” students of the school’s Mission statement? Not so. They were opting for those traditionally respectable jobs ending with *sa* that Heon Ju’s children had rejected. While the interviewed parents complained of their children shutting them out of school matters, the interviewed successful students explicitly mentioned listening to and taking on board their parents’ advice about working hard. Their parents’ storytelling had been effective in developing ought-to self-guides. These students’ hard work and success had put them in a position to adopt, and they had adopted, their cultural ought-to selves. Perhaps migrating as young children they hadn’t been so conscious of their parents finding their feet in a new culture, and consequently family roles were not so topsy turvey. John, for example, whose parents had cautioned him early with an image of a feared self (rubbish collector/unhappiness), had internalised and adopted his ought-to self so that it became his ideal self (top grades giving him wide choices). It is difficult to discern whether John’s ideal self was his own or his parents’ construct. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) raise the relationship between the ideal and ought-to selves as a question that needs further investigation. In John’s case Markus and Nurius’s (1986) salient figures, or Dörnyei and Ushioda’s (2009) “authority figures” were, John reported, solely his parents. Had the school asserted more of a role by actively inviting John to consider other, diverse images, would John have made different choices? Tan (2008) reporting on a Korean school careers evening

in Auckland, suggests that Korean parents tend not to see beyond becoming a doctor or lawyer as a career path for their children, but that stories from Korean students who have forged different paths to success in New Zealand might change their mindsets.

Stories of students forging different pathways are important because research shows Korean ethnic networks have advantages and disadvantages. Zhou and Kim's (2006, p. 20) study of Korean and Chinese students in Los Angeles shows the role of ethnic institutions, notably supplementary education and churches, "as the locus of social support and control, network building and social capital formation" in facilitating Korean students' academic school success. However, in choosing career pathways and in helping secure jobs, they are constraining.

Beyond school, the ethnic resources become constraining. Many go into engineering because not just because their families want them too, but also because their coethnic friends are doing so. After graduating they lack the type of social networks that would help with job placement and occupational mobility. (Zhou & Kim, 2006, p. 24)

At school John was not active in the mainstream unless invited. He had reflected on the benefits and challenges of mainstream interaction, but, being one of those who sat at the Korean table, he participated only on invitation from the teacher or mainstream students. He commented that real engagement with his worldviews required goodwill from mainstream students because processing different ideas took significant time. Interfacing with Other world views, being open to new ways of thinking that challenge existing assumptions and perceptions is a key competency in the 2007 curriculum. John said he was amenable to organised interaction, and, it could be inferred, to consideration of other pathways. He needed just the invitation from the teacher and acts of goodwill from the students. Kostogriz (2009) draws on Derrida's, Levinas's and Bakhtin's ethical ideas of hospitality and responsibility in contending that schools need to shift towards a framework that is more "response-able to strangers". Although John had been in New Zealand for nine years he still saw himself as an outsider.

Jade, the most engaged in mainstream school life of all the interviewed students, had developed her own future self-guide, based on her own experience at East High School, and was pursuing it in a focused way on advice from her mother. Like the Hmong students in Lee's (2001) study, Jade perhaps accepted her parents' authority because they had made significant adjustments to the host culture. She positioned herself as being different from the other interviewed Korean students ("I'm sort of different than those people here", h. 49).

She initially qualified the difference, “sort of”, but then continued, tellingly using the demonstrative adjective “those” [the other Korean students] and the imprecise noun “people” to emphasise the distance between herself and the other Korean students. Jade had got so much satisfaction from her service opportunities at the school that she wanted to pursue a career in helping others. Her mother gave advice when she became concerned that her daughter was developing service career ideas without being prepared to put in the hard work necessary to achieve her goals:

I was just talking having a casual chat with my mum and then she said, ‘Well in order to do that at first you need to do everything like go to uni, get all the academic things. In order to help people’. Like she tells me and I kind of go like, ‘I can’t be bothered doing that kind of thing because I really don’t enjoy doing physics and things like that, but I still do it’. But she goes: ‘How will you become a leader if you can’t even, you know, to do things that are your own thing? How will you manage to help others?’ Yeah, so my parents have a big influence on me to help others. (i. Jade, 69)

Jade’s parents envision her as a leader in the international aid field. East High School, if it had taken an active role in talking with Jade about her visioning process, may have suggested service roles within the New Zealand or Pacific context. After all, the vision in the curriculum document talks about educating students to participate in creating “a sustainable social, cultural, economic, and environmental future for our country” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8), and Jade’s service experience, so far, was in the New Zealand and Pacific region. Jade hadn’t tapped into the school’s pathway planning support systems. Aside from her mother, the only other salient influence Jade mentioned feeding her chosen future-self was the emotional pull of global television images:

I just thought I can’t stand looking at like you know those ads, they have those poor people and like sometimes when you watch they have like ‘American Idol Gives Back’ and like the 40 hour famine and I don’t know when I look at it, it makes me like sick inside [and she used her hand to visually show me, rubbing her stomach] and I know it’s just another ad but when I look at it, it makes me feel sick inside and to me it feels like it affects me. (i. Jade, 69)

Jade talked about the steps she was taking to get practical experience in her chosen field, seeking out and seizing the opportunities that the school provided.

I’m going to Fiji these holidays. I was at a meeting for the service trip. The technology teacher it’s the school he came from. That school it’s quite poor and not as developed as ours. Originally we wanted to take 30 students over and paint the school rooms. Their school has been coming to our school for about three years and I used to guide them. (h. Jade, 48)

Jade's future self vision grew out of East High School's commitment to the value of service, and the development of empathy, core values in the school's policy documents. ("Empathy" is developed through participation, teamwork and service.) Her future orientation was international, not local. Whether significant input of other possibilities by the school's Careers Centre, or other teachers, might have oriented her towards the Pacific region is a moot point.

East High School's Careers Centre

The Korean students had trouble collectively remembering the Careers Centre's name: "Our school has something called a [long pause] a Conference Centre (i. Cindy, 41)". Anna interjected, supplying the name, 'Careers'. The students continued to mix up the names, variously calling the centre 'Conference' or 'Careers'. The students reported that they hadn't made good use of the Careers Centre. Cindy said: "Not many people go to Careers department. Not many have a good knowledge" (i. Cindy, 58). While Jade pointed out that all students were given an interview at the Centre, Cindy countered that it was "only for 5 minutes, and like they don't really listen to us. And it's stuff we already know" (i. Cindy, 46). Cindy who had used her own resources to sort through online information to ensure she had the requirements for entry to medical radiation therapy, was backed up by Min Gue:

To add on to what [Cindy] said, you know how she wanted to do a course in, a first aid certificate. Another one is that, for example, if you wanted to become a doctor and want to go and do biomed there is a test you must do for UMAT. I found out that a lot of my friends who wanted to become a doctor didn't know what UMAT was. (i. MG, 36)

The students felt they had been left in a vacuum and had to rely on traditional Korean networking (godfather's son, older brother) or on more modern self-help methods (Googling) to choose careers or to access required information. Min Gue, for example, said: "I'm getting the information from my godfather's son" (i. MG, 57). Jae said that he got all his information from his brother: "He's at the university right now so I asked him like what should I do and he gave me information about that" (i. Jae, 54). They would have liked more access to Kiwi networking or Kiwi resources in sorting out their goals and in working out the steps to reach these goals. They had a clear message for the school: they, too, required more bridging support from the school in sorting out career pathways. While the students had developed future self-guides, these had not been developed through interaction with their school.

The students had suggestions about what could be done. They were aware that the Careers Centre did organise people to come from the universities and talk to students. Jade felt that students should make better use of it, and that this might open their eyes to other possibilities. She took up Min Gue's suggestion that the regular time currently allocated to Learning 2 Learn (L2L) be used instead for talking about possible futures:

So I think it would be better like a person speaking about the university could use that time so everyone could listen to it, everyone has to listen to it so even if that is not the university you want to go to. It might open a new career for you or it wouldn't hurt to listen. So you can always get more ideas or stuff like that. Instead of having L2L you could use that time to do stuff like that because when you have like courses upstairs like at lunchtime and I heard that, that like not many people go to it. (i. Jade, 38)

The students suggested ongoing regular talk about possible future selves. Bin said that he wanted more advice. He envisaged teachers knowing their students well and mentoring their future trajectories. In his ideal school world he envisaged "teachers getting to know what each student wants to do and helping them find out more about it" (i, Bin, 49). For Bin, mainstream teachers should have close knowledge of their students and use their voices and memory stores to assist the students in creation of futures selves. For these Korean students, having most of their schooling in New Zealand, and being successful academically, did not enable engagement with school resources for future pathway planning in their adopted country.

The interviewed parents wanted their children to develop their own stories in the new culture, but their children lacked the means, their memory stores being unable to navigate the future in the seas of their imagination. The interviewed students had been guided by their parents' stories, but they may have had more diverse stores to choose from had the school played a more active role in storying. These are migrant students who acknowledge that they have more of an international focus than New Zealand born students. If the vision in the 2007 curriculum is to build a healthy, diverse society where all contribute, then East High School would be implementing the national curriculum if it more actively pursued engagement with migrant students regarding their contribution to local, national and international communities.

Damasio (2010) argues that storytelling has created our selves, and that it pervades the entire fabric of human societies and cultures. He uses the term "sociocultural homeostasis" to describe this functional storytelling layer of life management: "The imagined, dreamed-of,

anticipated well-being has become an active motivator of human action” (2010, p. 293). Damasio talks about the “as-if system”, simulation in the brain’s body maps that allows the individual to adopt another’s body state, for example when listening to an inspiring story, so that mirror neurons are created in the listener’s brain that enable later, similar, action. Research in the SLA field, too, endorses the role of storytelling in making adaptive changes in a host country (Choi, 1997, for example). The parents specifically asked for inspirational storytelling, and Rose’s words illustrate this clearly. Her story is told in the following section. For Jade, stories such as those of the poorly resourced Fijian school, or the international television images, are her future self guides. The other students are modelling themselves on salient others within the Korean community. Zhou and Kim’s (2006) research shows the strengths and weaknesses of this. The school’s vision has the students leaving school prepared for their future, carrying their three bags. The important issue, Damasio would contend, is not what is in the students’ hands or on their backs, but what dreams are harboured in their brains. The questions raised are: What role could East High School played in forming the dreams of migrant students? What responsibility do schools have for orienting students toward societal participation for the public good?

ENABLING MEANS

The parents positioned themselves as strangers in their communities, powerless to help with their children’s education, their memory stores set in a different context, their enabling networks disabled in the host society. The parents had suggestions that they wanted me to pass on to the school for changing the situation. They wanted the school to take the initiative in constructing motivating dreams for their children. Rose said “How about? [Telling the school.] Because another school invited ex-pupils” (a.151).

While the parents reported being stranded in an in-between space, separated from their old life, without helping resources to negotiate the new, I noticed that the process of cultural appropriation in the newish context was underway. The English class parents who knew me well would interrogate me, wanting to clarify New Zealanders’ educational beliefs. Clara, for example, said she felt teaching was a very important job and asked me, “Do you think so?” (a. C, 144). Earlier in the same conversation with Rose and me she had asked, “What’s the priority in New Zealand students? Hard work or clever? Or sports? And I mean like, well get on together?” (a. C, 61). Although she had been in New Zealand for seven years, cultural knowledge around education, and presumably much else, still eluded yet interested

her. While the Korean parent and school meetings are hugely valued, the foci are usually the minutiae of the here and now of school subjects, assessments and upcoming school events. There isn't time for discussion around underlying New Zealand's educational philosophy.

Away from the relaxed environment of talking to a very familiar teacher/friend, the parents, like the students, raised the issue of how scary it was to interact in cross-cultural contexts. Clara said she would never go to school to talk to the teachers. Her English skills made her feel "scared and depressed" (a. Clara, 191). Although the principal reiterated at each Korean parent and school meeting that his door was always open to them, the Korean parents weren't in the position to take up his offer. The principal seemed to endorse Kostogriz's (2009) notion of facilitating hospitality. However, the gulf between his offer and the parents' ability to accept it was too wide.

The interviewed students spoke of the struggle for newly arrived migrants to break through their fear. Min Gue, for example, said:

They're afraid of being able to face their fears of interacting with other people. Like English itself is a fear in a foreign country and Korea being a really Korean-based country they don't see much foreigners in their schools and so facing other people who are even in a single room there's like five or six different nations which people come from so if they run away from their fears without facing them so they don't learn much about English as well let alone like other cultures so that's why probably maybe a reason why some students from Korea aren't as successful as others maybe. (h. 12)

Min Gue talks of how fearful Korean students are of speaking English. He uses the noun *foreigners* classifying any non-Koreans as alien, thus emphasising the barriers to interaction that Korean students visualise. Min Gue's analysis is that some can't face the hurdles and give up, relegating themselves to lower achievement. The parents, though, had suggestions they thought might assist the students in tackling what they saw as insurmountable challenges.

The motivational role of others' stories in building future selves: Rose's story

Rose herself had reflected on issues that might help students achieve in the new environment. She was worried by the low levels of motivation of her son and his friends, and she made sense of these worries by thinking about their cause and also by imagining a solution. Rose worried that in New Zealand's welfare society the concept of a back-up safety net (the dole) meant her son and his friends lacked motivation and lacked goals. In her eyes they had developed neither a feared self, nor a concept of their future selves

(Markus & Nurius 1986; Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006). Rose complained: “In this culture, lots of welfare. So not anxious about future. Didn’t have endurance. Didn’t have will. Want to be there. Want to be it. Didn’t have”. Rose visualises the enabling power of storytelling, and asks me to pass on this thought to the school. Oyserman and Fryberg, (2006, p. 21) contend that images of possible selves are triggered by stories from people like ourselves: “When social contexts lack images of possible selves for ‘people like us’ in a particular domain, possible selves in this domain are likely to be missing entirely”. Rose is right, then, to be concerned about the “short history” of the school (a. Rose, 148) and to ask for ex-students to return and tell their inspirational stories, in this way activating Damasio’s (2010) as-if body loop system.

For Rose, the school being new lacked a large pool of ex-students who could be role models. In the vacuum she felt the school needed to go further afield for motivational speakers.

Sometimes inviting famous people and respect peoples. And open speech to all the people. This school has a short story so didn’t have appreciated people so other invited respect people come and give talk about their future. . . . Yes, inspire. And so at that time they have lots of questions to the elder students. It’s good meeting I think. (a. Rose, 148)

Dreams have context and place (Bhabha, 1994; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), and Rose indirectly alludes to this in her imagined storytelling context where the students have lots of questions to ask for purposes of elucidation and elaboration enabling memory stores to be fleshed out and mirror neurons triggered in the host context. Such stories could be the enabling means or facilitators Zittoun (2006) contends are required to construct new meanings in unfamiliar contexts, although Marshall, Young and Domene (2006) claim that the processes by which people construct their repertoire of possible selves remains understudied. It may be that New Zealand born students can be directionless too, but such students don’t experience minority communities’ barriers to access to knowledge, resources, and participation in the mainstream culture.

Rose, like the other parents, believes in the role of the teacher in shaping their children’s future through encouragement and inspirational stories: “[Teachers are] more important than parents. They are heard more. They say ‘I believe teacher’. ‘So I heard carefully’. ‘So I got adventure’. ‘So I can do it’” (a. R, 120). She gives the teacher voice, explaining the teacher’s role as the encourager, her use of a causal conjunction (so) and modal verb (can) signifying the direct link between student and teacher. In Korean culture the word *teacher* (sonsaengnim) is also used in non-school contexts as an honorific title. The Korean parents

hold expectations of teachers that are perhaps different from the expectations of teachers themselves in New Zealand classrooms. These expectations carry a different weighting to the role of school in a family's life. This is a cultural factor that assumes even more importance in an alien context where a migrant family is reliant on the school for resources to help them navigate an unfamiliar education context. The following interchange between Clara and Rose illustrated this:

Clara: Sometimes the teacher thinks is just a job. Is no good. Teacher is not job.

Interviewer: So what is it ?

Clara: I don't know in here, but sometimes my children tell me teachers no good.

Rose: Teaching is a service

Clara: Yes, service. Can change the life.

Rose: Teacher is very important. Teaching is very important job. (a. C & R, 136-142)

Clara's perceptions about the role of the teacher are clear: teachers can change lives. Faced with their own shortage of resources in an unfamiliar environment they hoped for teachers committed to changing their children's lives.

Rose herself was conscious of her own valuable memory stores, and those of the wider Korean adult school community, and she was keen to put these into use in telling Korean stories to Korean and mainstream students:

Parents have got history in this. Parents have got careers in this before such as history teacher or engineer. Lots of good educated people. So you request we go in service to the school and make programme. We do that. (A, Rose, 158)

She felt that teenagers listened in the school context, whereas they wouldn't at home. Rose wants Korean stories brought in from the margins in order to create motivated individuals and a healthy society. Damasio (2010, p. 296) describes the brain's ability to firstly map and self regulate the health of the body and secondly the evolutionary development of this, adding another level of functionality, to map and regulate the health of society, thus moving into the social domain:

Memory, tempered by personal feeling, is what allows humans to imagine both individual well-being and the compounded well-being of a whole society, and to invent the ways and means of achieving and magnifying that well-being.

Being reflexive, Rose knew that both her son and his friends needed to develop their memory stores and to set their sights beyond the here and now. A year after the focus group interviews, Rose was still working on ways to help her son with his future self visions. A friend had given her the book “The Bucket List”, and she was using this to help her son plan his future. Thinking she might be a good role model, she had created for herself, and attached to her wall, three posters each one displaying one of her three most highly ranked future wishes. One was to travel to Japan and learn how to cook Japanese food well. She had encouraged her son to do the same. On that day she told me this he was giving a speech in his Japanese class at school and his chosen topic was *My Bucket List* (field notes, April, 14, 2011).

The changing role of careers education

The successful students used the stories of other Koreans outside the school in putting together their own picture of where they wanted to go and how to get there. They imagined, however, restructuring school input into visioning of possible future selves. They saw the *Learning to Learn* (L2L) time slot as a space where this could happen. One of the national curriculum’s key competencies is “managing self” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 12) which includes establishing goals and making plans. The school’s mission statement, implies a preparation for career pathways (creating opportunities, releasing potential and achieving personal excellence).

The students’ suggestions align with recent research suggestions (Vaughan & Gardiner, 2007) that change is needed in careers and transition advice in New Zealand schools. Vaughan and Gardiner contend that the general tendency is for schools to privilege the provision of career information, often through marketing brochures, over guidance and careers development strategies and skills. Rather, they argue, all teachers should engage students in talk around the kind of lives students want to live, telling stories from their memory stores and planning with the students the resultant learning pathways thus enabling more motivated study at school. Careers teachers are commonly marginalised within schools, having little power, Vaughan and Gardiner report. They claim that this is the wrong conception, that the role of school careers and transition advisers is potentially very significant for the public good of society. Clearly, careers teacher at colleges with large numbers of migrant students have an even bigger role to play for societal good. The interviewed students were united in their dislike of L2L, possibly because they were reasonably metacognitively aware and their internal motivation was already strong. The

L2L timeslot, these Korean students suggested, could have more productively focused on broader issues such as talk about future plans. Such talk would align with the school's vision and with the 2007 curriculum guidelines for the health of both the individual student and society in general.

Schools being hospitable to students and their parents from minority linguistic and cultural backgrounds so that all learn and thrive together in the microcosm of the school community, is a central concept in the national curriculum. Schools and their communities are required to have dialogue to construct shared values and it is only by acting on these values "that we are able to live together and thrive" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 10). The MoE itself uses storytelling to encourage curriculum implementation: "Many New Zealand schools have been reshaping their curricula. In this section, schools and researchers share stories, resources, and information to assist with this" (Retrieved, 10 April, 2010 from: <http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/Curriculum-stories>). The data from East High School suggests a role for storytelling at the individual level: motivating minority students; awakening cross-cultural empathy in mainstream students; and experimental work with broadening talk around future pathways to include contributing to a healthy local and national society. A healthy society involves all sections being positioned equitably so they have access to the resources they need. The next section examines the positioning of the Korean students within the school.

POSITIONING OF THE STUDENTS

Vulnerability transitioning from intermediate school to secondary school

The parents commented on the struggles their children had trying to retain cross-cultural friendships after the transition from intermediate school to college. Heon Ju's daughter couldn't understand why she was no longer wholeheartedly accepted as a friend by those who had been her friends at intermediate school. These former friends would acknowledge her only if they met one to one.

My daughter doesn't get stressed if she meets one Kiwi student, but when she is in a group with them she gets stressed a lot. It is okay when she talks with one Kiwi student. Yeah. So she can hold a conversation well with just one via cell phone or something, but she told me that troubles arise when they form a group. (c. HJ, 340)

June raised the same issue seeing it particularly as an issue for students from Asia:

I think she feels racial things. I think. Several months ago she asked me, 'Mum it's very strange, I cannot get a Kiwi friend in college, I played with Kiwi friends in

intermediate but I cannot, it's very strange'. But other Korean mums the same, even in intermediate. [Name of her daughter's intermediate school] was good but other intermediate schools just Korean student or Asian student but I realise Indian student they can get along with Kiwi student very well but not Asian, it's very strange. But my daughter she thinks too. (f. June, 377)

Changing community practices, in this case students being more self-conscious of otherness in the transitioning space between intermediate and secondary school, position June's daughter, a non-native English speaker, in a lonely place. Her former Kiwi friends unavailable to her, she was vulnerable to pressure put on her from newly arrived Korean students who expected her to hang out with them and to conform to Korean school norms about sharing exam knowledge:

Actually my daughter has that kind of pressure. After she entered college she gets stressed a lot about that. . . . before college she play, just got along with Kiwi friends or almost Kiwi Korean friends so she doesn't realise her attitude is very Kiwi way. The first time she couldn't understand and in exam time they [new Korean students] follow her and sit next to her and then always say, insist, so she just get stressed. But still I talked about my husband about that with him but he said, 'Just leave her alone, she has to decide. Don't interrupt her, just listen because she has to learn Korean society, that is a small Korean society and she has to learn something'. But I think she didn't talk about it again, but I think she inclined to Korean way. (f. June, 419)

June describes her daughter's conflicted thoughts. Her daughter thinks like a Kiwi ("her attitude is very Kiwi way"), and consequently she can't, at first, relate to the newly arrived Korean students' thinking ("she couldn't understand . . . she just get stressed"). She surmises that her daughter has reluctantly reverted to Korean school behaviour norms. In primary school, Korean students were invited by mainstream students to participate in their social practices, at school and outside school, and so they are mystified by marginalising practices at secondary school. They are keen to interact cross-culturally, but are shunted into the category "Korean" or "Asian" no longer welcomed socially. Constrained in mainstream interactions, they find themselves in an uncomfortable place unable also to relate readily to newly-arrived Korean migrants who seek them out. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) contend that interactive practices affect developing student identities, and affect learners' investment in the language and their future engagement in the new society.

Secondary school is "way more segregated"

June and Heon Ju describe the changed school social contexts at the beginning of Year 9. Their daughters struggled to make sense of them. They felt constrained by their limited choices, and were forced into positioning themselves in places that were not of their

choosing. The interviewed students agreed that cross-cultural interaction required huge determination and resilience at secondary school because the standard social practice was to hang out with your own ethnic group. Anna said that it was “Way more segregated in college” (h. Anna, 27). She continued, saying that this was a real difficulty for new migrants, “It’s way harder for students who come later on to join multicultural groups”. They all saw confidence in cross-cultural interaction as hugely challenging for students who migrated as teenagers. Apart from the language there were the cultural differences to deal with. Min Gue saw newly-arrived Korean students as less open-minded: “I find Koreans are like in a box, they are like kind of closed-minded in a box” (h. MG, 35). He saw himself as being different in that he was bicultural, seeing the world through two lenses: “I’m not a Korean based, like culture person, but there’s a difference for people who came recently from Korea and me. . . . I think it’s usually people who came at a later age. . . they still act the same” (h. MG, 9).

Interestingly, by Years 12 and 13 although the interviewed students reported that they saw themselves as quite different from newly arrived Korean students, or different from Korean students who clung to Korean mores, they all, except for Jade, and sometimes Anna, hung out with other Korean students. Their Korean friends were fluent in English, and had adapted to a Kiwi world view to some extent. They saw themselves as having made the effort to mix culturally and learn English. Anna (h. 11) said: “Most of the reason we came here was to learn English and experience a different culture and stuff. . . . If you wanted to hang out with Korean people you could have just stayed in Korea and not come out”. These senior students explicitly mentioned the constraining issue of the school’s social norms of associating with ethnic peers. Cindy reflected on having the confidence to interact, but choosing not to, constrained by the school culture of sticking with your ethnic group: “As well as that there was, I don’t know if it’s the case all the time, but there was like people from the same culture hang out together” (h. Cindy, 15). Anna commented on the effort it took to break from these norms: “It’s harder to get out of that zone, like that group” (h. Anna, 16). If these senior, successful students commented on the difficulty of cross-cultural interaction, then it clearly is an issue worthy of school-wide discussion.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the male students and two of the three female students in the focus group reported sitting at Korean tables, despite having had virtually all of their school life in New Zealand. They positioned themselves as Korean students enjoying being able to socialise in Korean. Min Gue was explicit about sitting by newer migrants to help them with

their learning, although he also sat with his Korean mates, for example in the accelerate maths class. They accepted the status quo, that like associate with like in a secondary school context. Only Jade and Anna reported learning English for integrative purposes (Gardner, 1985). Jade was critical of the Korean students for not trying: “most Koreans don’t try, you have your own group of friends and they just stay there because it’s their comfort zone” (h. Jade, 49). At secondary school the Korean students saw themselves as having different interests, and saw their lack of integration as unproblematic. Jae put this down to cultural ways of thinking: “We grow up in different countries, different cultures and so our developmental whole mind is different” (h. Jae, 30). Even Jade admitted that Korean students were likely to be more interested in the latest computer games rather than sports such as rugby. While all reported that teachers didn’t like them using their L1 in class, they didn’t report significant efforts by teachers to organise interaction. Jade, as has been pointed out, positioned herself with non-Koreans. However, her lack of acknowledgement of her ethnicity may have limited her influence as a role model: “I’m aware that people are Korean and *some people* are aware that I’m Korean but even if they speak Korean to me I always reply in English” (h. Jade, 32). She says that many people don’t identify her as Korean. She “textures” her identity (Fairclough, 2003, p. 166) in her use of the modal adverbial “always” to emphasise her commitment to using English only at school.

Inclusive participation, rather than exclusion, is at the heart of the curriculum, as expressed in its principles and values. The interviewed students and their parents were agreed on the existing barriers to cross-cultural participation. Kostogriz (2009, p. 139) sees the host society as the one that should be making changes, rather than those who have been invited in as migrants. It is “an ethical issue that language educators need to face. . . . [a case of] re-imagining the ‘we-horizon’ as a space that provides a more responsible response to the Other, without attempting to annul or assimilate it altogether”. As in the case of the principal’s open door policy, the overtures need to be accessible to those on the margins.

An international orientation

Korean students arrive with an international orientation, and warm invitations to participate in a community’s social practices may be critical in encouraging long term local and national participation by the students. While the students such as Min Gue saw themselves as open-minded, having a non-ethnocentric attitude, they were oriented towards the international English-speaking community rather than New Zealand in particular. In explaining her family’s decision to migrate to New Zealand, Jade described the family

falling in love with New Zealand when they came on a family holiday. They envisaged New Zealand as a great place particularly for growing up and for learning English. Significantly, her story does not include a vision of long term settlement.

We had never thought of moving here, but I don't know my parents were discussing like they thought that well you know English is a very important thing. It would be a really great environment to grow up in and they were discussing it 'cause they really like the environment. It would be a good environment to grow up in. (i. Jade, 69)

Jade was interested in working overseas after university. Yashima, (2002) calls this an "international posture". Yashima contends that such students show, for example, an interest in foreign or international affairs, and a willingness to go overseas to stay or work. The international orientation of the parents and the students possibly affected their levels of engagement with the local. Jade's international aid posture had been developed through the media.

The students and the parents saw Korean teenagers as more interested in the latest technological and online environments, especially interested in Japanese styles and innovations. Kiwi students they saw as more focused on the outdoor environment. The parents talked about all Koreans having a more international focus. The parents would have preferred a more globally focused curriculum in New Zealand schools. For example, Stephen (b. 374) said:

I think that New Zealand's education system may lack in that aspect in the global era. For example, Korean people know well about other countries in the world, like USA is so and so, Britain is so and so, and Nigeria is so and so. People here don't know the... 'outside' [other countries – translator's note] very well.

The parents lamented New Zealanders' lack of interest in language learning: "New Zealand is very isolated. They don't want to learn another language" (a. Sally, 55). Sally recommended student exchanges so that New Zealand students could "know about the wide world" (a. Sally, 55). The parents saw East High School as making an effort, but in their experience other schools didn't particularly reach out to migrant students:

I really feel that [East High School] has the interest and is working on it, but my experience leads me to think like. . . . Based on my experience, I don't think that the primary or intermediate schools or other colleges have been particularly interested in students of different nationalities. (c. Amy, 28)

Amy's earlier negative experience that she alludes to here, was largely in the private school sector. It is possibly misleading to apply the observations to the state sector.

Being hospitable to migrants, providing appropriate participation opportunities, can assist migrants' investment in the host country (Kanno & Norton, 2003). Such investment is a matter for concern, according to a New Zealand demographer who has recently identified a serious population gap. A significant proportion of young people aged 15 to 19 in 2006 have left the country in the past four years (Jackson, cited in Hickey, 2011). A chunk of the age group that should have flowed through unchanged from one era to the next has simply left. Many of these missing young people are likely to be the children of migrants finishing their secondary schooling in New Zealand and then starting tertiary study in a third country such as Australia or America, or going overseas to find better work opportunities (Asia: NZ, 2008). Hickey titled his article "Lost Generation Time Bomb" because of the worry that the society that has contributed to their upbringing and education won't be getting the benefit of their contribution as adults.

Hospitable schools: "Cultural characteristics would be known"

The more successful students are at school, the more pathways they can choose from. The parents saw their children as struggling to succeed, and they thought schools could do more to support their children's learning. The parents thought that because Korean students have been coming here in significant numbers for more than fifteen years, teachers would surely have engaged with Korean culture and so would understand how Korean cultural behaviour affects the students' classroom behaviour in New Zealand. Kyu said:

Yeah. I agree with [Amy]. . . . So I think that teachers now have the know-how. I guess that there would have been a lot of bewilderment [perplexing things/ confusion/ awkward things, - translator's note] at first, but I think that now the older teacher's experiences would be told and passed on among teachers and that. Especially, in the case of Auckland, every school has Korean students, so things like cultural characteristics would be known. (b. K, 707)

However, the parents frequently told me short stories that clashed with this reported expectation. A recurring example was the clash between the Korean cultural norm of a child/student remaining silent and assuming blame with downcast head when reprimanded, and the teachers' mainstream expectation of full explanation and eye-to-eye contact. The other recurring example of "looseness" in classroom participation opportunities was, they felt, more serious.

The parents were accustomed to more careful guidance of student learning and behaviour and they wanted that here in the New Zealand context.

If there is one disappointing thing in education here, then it would be that the ones who should study may become a bit lazy because they aren't managed a bit more strongly. (b. HJ, 32)

Education was seen as too *loose*. The (translated) word loose was used regularly to describe teaching and student management. Kyu agreed with Heon Ju: "I thought that they taught so little in terms of study. I even thought that maybe the teachers were lazy. . . . they almost let children loose" (b. Kyu, 343). Grace (D, 7) talked about the passive behaviour of Korean classroom life and how students on arrival suffered because teachers didn't explicitly guide students into becoming independent learners in the classroom setting. Rather, new arrivals were ignored. The interviewed students noted that teachers shied away from giving newer migrants interaction opportunities. Bin said: "Teachers prefer to ask those who are fluent in English and omit those who hesitate speaking. This causes Koreans to rarely contribute to class discussions" (l. Bin, 1). The parents were at a loss as to what to do. Andrew felt his children hadn't adjusted to their changed learning environment. He would rather they took the initiative, but finding that this is beyond them, he appealed to the school for help. For Korean parents a teacher's role is also to manage the classroom so that everyone has an equal opportunity to participate.

Writing specifically about research findings on Korean students and education in Australia, Choi (1997 cited in Ho, Holmes & Cooper, 2004) found that Korean students preferred a very structured learning environment. The students wished to participate in class discussion but thought it was up to the teacher to make sure that students had equal participation opportunities. Western rules of turn-taking and interrupting during class time need to be taught deliberately by proficient others (Mills, 1997). Research suggests that creating learning opportunities requires considerable training not only for host teachers but also for mainstream students. Kubota (2001, p. 31) contends that "being reticent in mainstream classrooms may have more to do with an unwelcoming atmosphere, the mainstream members' lack of willingness to take their share of communicative responsibility to interact with L2 speakers". Kubota implies that host students are required to assume roles they are unaccustomed to, that mutuality in learning requires explicit training if newer members of a school community or class group are to benefit from learning ways of participation from more experienced community or group members. Skills of independence and critical thinking are other skills typically associated with a Western education system. Heon Ju philosophically accepted that Korean students did pick up these skills, but it took a long

time without intervention by the teachers: “I like here because the education system here eventually leads them to examine themselves” (b. HJ, 32).

Even Jade, confident and self-reflective, talked about her own role, not the teacher’s role, in coping with school life in New Zealand. She decided not to hang out with Korean students in order to learn the new language:

I had to try my best to learn English in my own way, sign language, without a Korean buddy. . . . I made my choice not to stick with Koreans all the time. It’s just my belief”. (h. Jade, 49)

She said that participation in service activities was something she had to seek out herself. Teachers didn’t guide her there.

The principal was aware that Korean students wanted more guidance, but he believed that facilitating learning was stymied by lack of cultural knowledge about preferred ways of learning.

The Korean kids really want you to guide them a lot more than New Zealand kids. . . so we have to find the best way to deal with our cultures and facilitate their learning. We don’t know that. (d. Tony, 275)

The parents, in fact, are readily accessible and keen to engage with the school. Teachers don’t perceive the trust the Korean community places in them. Because education occupies the central position in a family’s life, the teacher does too. The parents saw the teachers as having a moral role. One of the members of my English class said that the role of the teacher was to be a mirror for the student, to teach them about behaving ethically and morally (field notes, 29/07/10). Teachers “have been expected to show moral behaviour like *Chun-tzu*” (Shin, 2007, p. 81). In Confucianism, *Chun-tzu*, is the ideal person and education is the tool used to attain the ideal in Confucian thought. Consequently, teachers have traditionally been highly respected. The role of school in a child’s life has a different weighting (Bae, 1991). Education is the pathway to success, and the teacher has an important role not only in teaching for academic success, but also in mentoring for future pathways.

CONCLUSION

Markus and Ruvolo (1989) contend that the more vivid students’ possible selves are the more they will motivate and affect realisation. The data show the Korean students’ individual future self-visions to be constrained in the host context by a paucity of shared

mainstream discourse and guided mainstream participation opportunities. Students would normally draw from the pool of possible selves made salient from their sociocultural and historical contexts, the models, symbols and images presented in the media, and their immediate social experiences (Markus and Nurius, 1986). In the new cultural context of a host country, the parents reported that their children's ought-to self had diminished, while the possible selves made salient from their historical sociocultural contexts were no longer within their reach. Yeon Ok's son no longer heard his grandfather's guiding voice. Her daughter couldn't visualise herself working in English language media. She found it difficult to charter the new territory, to locate inspirational students who shared her background and on whom she might model visions of her future self. Without participation invitations from the host culture, students such as Yeon Ok's daughter couldn't draw on mainstream role models. After all, even most of the successful student group positioned themselves as generally sitting outside the mainstream and so they had to resort to networks within the Korean community or global tools such as the internet to source self-guides for their dreams, or even to source their dreams. They suggested that the school re-jig L2L time to focus on construction of such dreams. East High School could take a more deliberate role in facilitating learning spaces and purposeful talk so that through cross-cultural interaction all students redefine their sense of who they are, and in doing so, invest in and define New Zealand society itself.

Listening to stories is the way we learn to create our own dreams. Damasio (2010) contends that the ability to dream, and then put into practice, a good future for self and for society is the major evolutionary benefit of the modern brain. Damasio's healthy society is one with equal participatory rights and justice for all. Globally, governments are finding planning and regulating such a well-functioning multicultural society difficult. The microcosm of the school is a place to start. Currently the contact zones where cultures engage with each other are constrained by the social practice norms of students hanging out with their ethnic peers, by the students' and their parents' conflicted views on the value of intercultural friendships, by the value ascribed to mixed group work in classrooms, and by the limited opportunities to explore other worldviews. The following chapter will focus on what Kostogriz (2009) calls "transculturation" - students interacting with other worldviews and changing as a result.

Transculturation is a challenging concept for a school to come to terms with. As the parents point out, New Zealand has long been an isolated island nation not characterised by its international orientation. Storytelling at East High School could start to change this. It

readies the brain for action. It activates empathetic networks. The as-if body loop system enables the adoption of the body states of others. Storytelling could work by: awakening cross-cultural empathy in mainstream students; motivating minority students; and experimenting with deepening and broadening talk around future pathways to include contributing to a healthy society. Challenging, it will be, too, when the mainstream psyche characteristically ascribes negative associations to dreaming of future selves (*dream on*, or, *in your dreams*). Mainstream New Zealanders typically find the American belief *if you dream it, you can become it* hard to swallow. Telling of real stories, however, might just work in helping migrant students navigate their futures in the seas of their imaginations. They might work, too, in developing cross cultural networks that could tie students to New Zealand and play a small role in reversing the demographer's identified population gap.

CHAPTER SEVEN

KANOHI KI TE KANOHI

The emergence and meaning of the category

Te reo Māori being one of New Zealand's three official languages, this chapter uses the phrase *kanohi ki te kanohi* to more richly encapsulate the category which English would commonly entitle *face-to-face*. Kanohi ki te kanohi encompasses:

aspects of *aroha* (courtesy), *manaaki* (caring), *tautoko* (support), and *whānaungatanga* (building reciprocal relationships). You see, feel and hear the whole being of the person. Kanohi ki te kanohi helps to break down barriers and negates negative assumptions of bringing out the unknown of a person/people and achieving a positive outcome. This is ultimately the empowering attribute of kanohi ki te kanohi. (E. Allen, personal communication, October, 4, 2010).

In the context of this study, kanohi ki te kanohi would involve students, their parents, and teachers confronting their currently under-examined, conflictual, beliefs about investing in the Other, and reflect on the likely consequences for learning. Such a process aligns with curricular principles at both the national and the local level; principles of cultural diversity, inclusion and community engagement. It also aligns with Damasio's (2010) scientific explanation of how hearing others' stories activates empathetic mirror neurons, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Active inter-cultural engagement, or rather, its noticeable absence, emerged from grounded analysis as a significant category when the student John raised this as his one issue noticed on his data gathering day. The topic caused animated, ongoing discussion from the other students. John said (h. 10): "I noticed that in the classrooms since there are so many Koreans in our school, except where there's, with seating plans, there's always a Korean table. And that's for every single classroom". A number of the students, identified as successful by the school, then prefaced their contributions with: "I'm one of those students that sit in the Korean group . . ." (h. Jae, 22, for example). This observation clashes with East High School's aim of students developing strong connections with others. The first aspirational statement in East High School's vision foregrounds the whānau structure as the base of all learning (To be "an exceptional whānau-based learning community"). In a whānau structure the focus is on the welfare of the collective. The concept of whānau is characterised essentially by cohesiveness. As noted in the previous chapter, both the

students and the parents, except for the outlier Jade, commented on the difficulty of minority students maintaining or initiating cross-cultural friendships in secondary school. The associate principal commented on this too, believing the use of L1 to be exclusionary. It was noted also that while the parents felt that East High School did more than most schools in terms of welcoming Korean communities, they themselves felt excluded from mainstream school events because they perceived that they lacked the requisite linguistic and cultural knowledge to approach teachers, while at public school meetings, translators were not available. The following section looks firstly at what the students noticed, in particular the Korean tables, and secondly at participation opportunities and whether the school, the students and the parents valued engagement with others outside their cultural group. Lastly, implications for the school are foreshadowed.

“I’M ONE OF THOSE STUDENTS THAT SIT IN THE KOREAN GROUP”

The students noticed their separate positioning: the seating; newer migrants not being given participation opportunities; and the teacher not knowing their names. These three issues were raised in Chapter 4, but this section will examine additional data and offer interpretations.

The Korean tables

John raised the seating issue, saying that there wasn’t a single classroom without a Korean table, unless there were seating plans. Although I didn’t question the focus group members about where they sat, Cindy and Jae began their next contributions by saying that they were the Korean students who sat at such tables. Anna implied that she did too, at least in some of her classes. Sociocultural theorists such as Pavlenko (2002) argue that language is learned through interaction and that access to interaction opportunities is mediated by issues of ethnicity and simple gatekeeping measures such as classroom seating arrangements. Toohey (2000) also suggests that attention to everyday matters such as seating plans can ease students’ opportunities to hear and use appropriate school language.

The students reported that they liked sitting at Korean tables. Volet (1999) contends that students from Confucian heritage cultures value the social and supportive aspects of working within peer groups. The students felt it was “comfortable” sitting with someone who shared the same world view. Jae said that “comfortable is good because your respect is different to understand” (h. 24). He was talking here of how it takes real effort, time and goodwill to understand someone else’s worldview. Harry expressed a similar opinion as

mentioned in Chapter 4. Harry feels that knowing the other class members well is a pre-requisite to their being willing to engage in cross-cultural interaction. Delpit (1995, p. 151) contends that we all interpret behaviours, information, and situations through our own cultural lenses: “These lenses operate involuntarily, below the level of conscious awareness, making it seem that our own view is simply ‘the way it is’”. Consequently, as Harry explains, it takes real effort to adjust the lens, and both goodwill and an explicit awareness of the benefits of exploring others’ cultural lenses, are needed for students to be prepared to do this. Sitting with those who shared your worldview and cultural values was comfortable.

Using L1 at the tables

John commented that at these tables the students were discouraged from speaking in Korean:

Most of the talk is in Korean, not in English, and teachers really discourage that, they want Korean students to speak more English. Also probably ‘cause they don’t know what we are talking about”. (h. 19)

The students had an immediate connection to John’s last comment, all laughing in agreement. When I suggested that most of the L1 talk would be about curriculum matters, Anna said, “Not really” and John said, “Not always”, although Anna thought the teachers could “definitely” tell when the talk was off topic (h. Anna and John, 10). The students admitted that their talk was off subject at times. John judged the teachers’ disapproval as coming from the teachers’ lack of control – not knowing what the students are saying. John’s conjectural comments on why teachers don’t like Korean talk (“probably ‘cause”), suggest that no one had discussed with him the educational benefits of using English or Korean in particular learning contexts. Harklau, (2000, p.39) observes that “classroom practices both exhibit and generate social structures”. Habits, such as always sticking with one’s own ethnic group and speaking in Korean, were reinforced by the apparent absence of talk about the benefits of learning in cross cultural groups, and the apparent paucity of opportunities for well-structured group tasks.

The continuing reliance on Korean language in academic learning, for most of these successful Korean students, is evidenced in Min Gue’s self-reported language choice over one day. He had lived in New Zealand for eight years and he reported being fluent in both English and Korean. On the day that he kept a noticing diary, he reported thinking and memorising in Korean in the economics class (“I did not use any Korean in this period other than talking to myself when solving a problem, or trying to memorise something” (l. MG, 5).

He also reported using Korean with a peer to talk through problems in the accelerate calculus class. At the other end of the L2 fluency spectrum, Cindy (l. 19) expressed the outrage and frustration that some new arrivals felt on being told not to speak Korean: “Some Koreans that speak poor English find it offensive”. Manguel (2007, p. 58) contends that monolinguals struggle to empathise, to see past their own language: “Most of the time, we demand that our own language prevail. ‘You must understand me, even if I don’t understand you,’ has been for centuries the colonizer’s banner”. It is illustrated in the assistant principal’s use of “New Zealand speaking students” as a synonym for “English speaking students”. She feels uneasy when English is not used in her presence: “but it’s that reverting back to the language and having a conversation that I as a New Zealand born person I don’t understand” (d. C, 53). The associate principal did, however, acknowledge that talking in Korean was useful to clarify understanding: “I really do believe that students work well when they’ve got their buddy alongside them because if they do come across something they’ve got that relationship with that person to ask a question”, (d. C, 81). She made the point that talking in Korean excluded others and prevented interaction opportunities: “They’ll always resort to their own language and this makes it hard for those students to engage with the New Zealand speaking students” (d. C, 48). The associate principal implies, here, that if the Korean students would just use English, cross-cultural interaction would result.

In New Zealand, discourse about multilingualism and the role of L1 and L2 when learning in an L2 context has generally been at low levels, both nationally and locally (Waite, 1992). The successful students saw the value of L1 for supporting newer students, but didn’t articulate arguments for their own use of it, except for Harry who thought, with justification, that it helped keep his L1 alive:

Harry: I found that even if Koreans were good at English they are playing with Korean friends and speaking Korean in like intervals and lunchtime.

Interviewer: Do you think that’s a good idea?

Harry: It depends, ’cause like if you’ve been in New Zealand for like so long you might like forget Korean so you can learn Korean. (h. 8)

Harry’s defence of his playground-use of L1, and Min Gue’s documented unconscious continued reliance on L1 for academic thinking, conflict with the school’s perception of L1 use as problematic. The data shows that L1 use is fundamental to learning in the classroom, not only for the newcomers whose case Cindy espoused, but also, perhaps surprisingly, for

most of the successful Korean students, all of whom had been in New Zealand for at least eight years. This continued reliance on L1 by Korean students who have had most of their schooling in New Zealand, may surprise some teachers, causing them to reassess their beliefs. An associated issue is the culture of classroom seating, and, also, the frequency of teacher-organised mixed-group task work.

The Korean tables: Facing the host community

The students could remember the discomfort of being new in the alien New Zealand context. Min Gue voiced this: “it’s a really unfriendly environment so you feel insecure and unfamiliar” (j. MG, 32). Min Gue stressed the important role Korean buddies played in helping a new student navigate the unfamiliar social territory. Even for longer term students who had negotiated friendships outside their Korean circles, withdrawal back into the safety of the Korean circle was always imminent. Jane told the story of a friend’s daughter invited to a Year 11 boy’s birthday party at a restaurant. She bought him a present but did not take her purse because in Korean custom the person whose birthday it was would pay. She felt most embarrassed then when she discovered everyone was paying for their own meal. The others hadn’t bought a present. Consequently, her mother reported that she perceived venturing into the mainstream as risky and negative and decided not to accept any future invites. Exercising agency, pushing the boundaries, in an unfamiliar context has consequences. In a context where students feel fragile and there is not ongoing talk and reflection, withdrawal may follow.

The outlier, Jade, related how she had forged her own route to mastery of English and integration into mainstream society. She developed her own, independent learning strategies: “I had to try my best to learn English in my own way, sign language, without a Korean buddy. . . . I made that choice not to stick with Koreans” (h. Jade, 49). Jade shared a similar autonomous L2 learning route to Lim in Benson, Chik and Lim’s (2003, p. 39) study of English language learning in contexts both at home and abroad. The authors commented that Lim’s “proficiency was a consequence of [her] own efforts to negotiate the influence of [her] background cultures to create new contexts for learning. . . [she] saw the opportunity to learn English as an opportunity to move beyond the constraints of [her] cultural backgrounds from a relatively early stage”. Lim’s story (2003, p. 40) suggests that a sense of individual autonomy is facilitating:

For Asian learners who succeed in developing a high degree of communicative proficiency in a western language, the language learning process is one in which

questions of cultural identity are inevitably raised. They also suggest that the development of a strong sense of individual autonomy is essential to this process, because it helps such learners establish the critical distance from both the background and the target language cultures that a bilingual identity implies.

Jade had cast off her Korean identity inside and outside the classroom, and she exhibited a strong sense of individual autonomy. The English language learner, Julie, in Toohey and Norton (2003, p. 66), like Jade, was successful in making alliances with a range of students and was adept at participation in school practices. Julie had to struggle for this access in the Toohey and Norton study. Jade also talked about seizing the opportunities to participate in extra curricular activities.

But I think along with that in New Zealand schools I get so much out than just my academic areas since I've been at East High School. I've been involved in a lot of things every area in this college, sports teams, service, just about every thing in this college and I've learned so much, made so many friends. (h. Jade, 40)

Jade was explicit about the depth of her learning resulting from her seizing all her participatory opportunities, illustrating Rogoff's (1994, p. 209) claim that "learning and development occur as people participate in the sociocultural activities of their community". Jade was actively involved in Lave and Wenger's (1991) "community of practice". Cindy, in contrast, chose not to venture into cross-cultural interactions, even though she acknowledged she had the requisite skills. Her aim to master English achieved, she reported seeing no purpose in ongoing interaction with native English speakers. Jade's and Cindy's different participation practices, were, possibly, showing in their oral language accuracy. Research would suggest this: "Longitudinal ethnographic studies constructed in the poststructuralist spirit suggest that no amount of classroom instruction can replace spontaneous interaction in the target language" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 287).

The data presented in this section shows that most of the successful students, perhaps unconsciously, continued to rely on Korean language for academic learning; that teachers were generally disapproving of Korean talk; and that only very determined and focused students, such as Jade who demonstrated considerable independent autonomy, were able to fully participate in mainstream activities. Jade forged her way by using her own resources. The other students perceived the mainstream students to be reluctant to invest the time required to discuss issues with students who had different worldviews. They also were equivocal themselves about the benefits of cross-cultural interaction.

PARTICIPATION OPPORTUNITIES

Opportunities for talk in the classroom

The parents were very concerned about participation opportunities. Andrew, for example, said that while classroom opportunities and extra curricular activities were there for the taking, the students lacked the confidence to participate, and they didn't perceive the teachers to be scaffolding their children's participation. The interviewed students were clear that teachers tended to avoid offering classroom participation opportunities to students weaker in English. Both Bin and Harry raised this as an equity issue, as outlined in Chapter 4. These students who missed out relied on clarification and expansion of knowledge through interaction in L1 with others sitting close by. In fact the successful students specifically commented on strategically placing themselves in the classroom so they could do this. Ushioda (2006, p. 159) contends that teachers can have a central role in classroom talk about factors that enable and constrain learning. Reflection on such issues usually leads teachers to become more critically aware of factors of justice and equity:

An important feature of all classroom settings, however, is the unique capacity invested in the teacher (as an influential member of the classroom social microcosm) to develop her students' critical awareness of the very barriers, constraints and ideologies in the surrounding social context that limit their autonomy and motivation. For the classroom practitioner, taking account of the political dimension of motivation thus leads naturally to adopting a more critical pedagogy.

The paucity of mainstream classroom opportunities for English language output for new learners of English that the interviewed students noticed, and the parents raised, has been noted in research over many years. Wong Fillmore (1982), for example, found that when a mainstream class contains new learners of English, the teacher tends to focus on the native speakers of English and make relatively few demands on new learners of English. These new learners are not called on to respond as frequently and so do not receive the same degree of input or feedback. New learners of English tend to interact more frequently with other minority language students using their L1. Miller's (2004) research in Australian secondary schools, and Taniguchi's (2010) experience as a Japanese student in an American high school, found that native speakers usually did not have sufficient goodwill to afford migrant students "audibility" – native speakers weren't interested in investing time in listening to and trying to understand L2 users. Consequently the newcomers were deprived of the language of their peers, a major source of input in language development. Significantly, Harry and Jae, who commented on this very issue in relation to talking cross-

culturally in group tasks, had been in New Zealand schools for eight and nine years respectively. They were not newcomers yet they also were offered few opportunities for interaction with mainstream peers.

Australian research suggests that stereotypical notions of students from Asian countries as passive learners are erroneous. The students in Nakane and Ellwood's, study (2009, pp. 106-107), carried

urgent desires to become articulate participants in Western classrooms. Australian teachers, often being unaware of the desire and struggle of the Japanese students to speak, and perceiving silence as a lack of competence or commitment, may work counterproductively both in terms of the students' desires and effective pedagogy Our studies demonstrate the struggle of students from non-English speaking backgrounds who desire to speak and express themselves in the face of widespread stereotypical associations of silence and shyness or lack of willingness to participate.

It is possible that the school culture of Korean students helping newcomer Korean students with their learning may inhibit mainstream participation. Min Gue's diary entry for one day shows the newcomers' reliance on him as a teacher. Min Gue expended considerable time helping Korean students. In the first period, biology, he sat next to his cousin to help him with biology. In period 4 he sat close to six Korean students who needed help. In period 5, physics, he again needed to help Korean students. He commented: "I usually sit next to international students [i.e. newish Korean international students] as teacher tells me to help them out" (l. MG, 18). In light of the research it seems that teachers are perhaps being negligent in consistently relying on fluent English speaking Koreans to do peer teaching in mainstream classrooms. Moreover, this practice sends a poor message about cross cultural connections. Participation in classroom tasks is learned through repeated engagement in, and experience with, these tasks in hospitable classroom settings, helped by more experienced others. Such participation would be assisted by deliberate discussion around the benefits both of mainstream interaction with newcomers, and newcomers facing the struggle to participate. Ushioda (2006) points out the role of the teacher as an influential member of the classroom social microcosm who could develop her mainstream students' awareness of their roles as co-participants in the learning process of newcomers. As Anna pointed out, learning the Korean students' names would be a good start.

Newcomers affect Korean students' participation opportunities

The arrival of international students, and teachers' assignment of responsibility for new learners to Koreans who have been in the country longer, possibly compounds peer pressure and causes more severely conflicted identity development. The parents reported pressure to mix with more recent Korean newcomers and to adhere to their group norms. June's story of her daughter's internal struggles over whether to adhere to newly arrived students' expectations about sharing test information was told in Chapter 6. June problematised the issue during an individual interview saying it caused her daughter "pressure" and "stress". While needing to get on with Korean students (her mother says she "has to"), she was finding it difficult to maintain her Kiwi friendships. June said that her friends said the same thing: "other Korean mums the same, even in intermediate" (f. J, 389). For example, June describes her friend's reaction to her sons' wish to become more fluent Korean speakers as one of "shock", the strength of the word illustrated by its common New Zealand collocate *earthquake*.

One of my church members, she's Korean, she has two boys but when they go to college that children want to learn Korean. She says, 'Why?' They say they have to communicate with Korean students so she was shocked. They were in college, so she brought them to Korean school for Korean. It's very strange. (f. June, 535)

June's friend had been very happy with her sons' integration into mainstream school society. She was alarmed when, on entering high school, they requested to go to Korean school. Peer pressure, from other students who accused them of not being real Koreans accounted for this reorientation to all things Korean. Other parents had similar stories. One parent said that her son talked to her about Korean boys who sought out Kiwi friends, instead of Korean friends, and that her son looked down on them. Another talked of bullying behaviour from newcomers to other more integrated Korean students. Secondary schools are sites of struggle for Korean teenagers developing a sense of who they are. They are particularly in need of support if they are to realise the national curriculum vision of becoming "positive in their own identity" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8).

The recruitment of Korean international students, and the teachers' assigning responsibility for newcomers to students who are fluent users of both Korean and English, are perhaps causing unhealthy consequences for the New Zealand-resident Korean students. Their opportunities for interacting with diverse others are constrained.

The value the students and parents place on interaction opportunities with the mainstream

As discussed in Chapter 4, the parents found participation with the school difficult. Kyu's words summarise their feelings: "most Korean parents are reluctant to participate events or something like that because language barriers and different cultures" (c. K, 8). I, too, quickly realised this when I began my English classes. I had planned to focus on the English needed for communicating with the school. I prepared materials for the first lesson, but had to quickly re-think when I met the class members. They reported that they had no opportunities to speak English on a regular basis in New Zealand and consequently they found it hard even to be confident about using a common greeting to open a conversation. Yet the members of my English class reported that they had come to New Zealand wanting an adventure, wanting to experience a different culture. They said that their mid-life crises compelled them to leave. They used education, they reported, as a convenient, and acceptable, public reason to justify leaving their extended families and country. The parents were disappointed that their children, too, found cross-cultural friendships difficult.

The parents were clearly concerned that their children were excluded from mainstream friendship groups at high school. The parents of the Year 9 students reported that their children were confused and upset as intercultural friendship networks were fractured in the transition from intermediate to secondary school. Their children no longer had the taken-for-granted friendships of primary school. Instead of becoming fully fledged school community members, the students become strangers to each other. The parents of older, senior students accepted and rationalised the separation. Perhaps they had grown used to the way things were. Jane (a. 10) saw Korean students as having different, more global, and computer-based, interests: "Korean students are global. Send the email all around the world". Rose (a. 11) agreed: "Yeah. Kiwi people only see in New Zealand". Rose felt that they were not so interested in, or so skilled at, computer games: "New Zealand people didn't enjoy the game. Or not so fast" (a. 11). The parents seemed to think that as the students got older, their interests diverged more. The students were developing their sense of who they were in a very different context to that of Korea, and they were defining who they were in the company of familiar Korean friends. Bhabha (1994, p.2) writes of the *in-between spaces* where identity develops that:

provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself.

In the case of June's daughter, the in-between spaces were possibly diminished by the loss of her Kiwi friends. June justified Korean thinking that had initially disturbed her daughter. Referring to sharing at exam time, she continued: "Western people think it's not rational but I think that kind of treating is not bad, it's kind of friendships" (f. J, 432). L2 users are sometimes portrayed as agents in charge of their own learning, but as June's daughter showed, agencies are co-constructed. Excluded from the company of her former Kiwi friends, and with pressure from newly arrived Korean students, her choices were considerably constrained. June's daughter's probable decision to share her test knowledge illustrates Pavlenko's (2002, p. 293) contention that "individuals may act upon their wishes only if their present environments allow for such agency". Agency is both individual and social. Norton Peirce (1995) showed how the notion of *investment* can capture the complexity of the students' sociocultural histories. June's daughter chose to do an about-turn and invest more in her Korean culture. The notions of agency and investment are very dynamic, and at transition times such as from primary to secondary school, students can feel very vulnerable in their new identities. In the transition these student were surprised to be faced with reduced choices and they felt bereft of strategies to regain territory they previously took for granted.

The parents were interested in social interaction, but perceived "well get on together", as Annie described it, (a. 61), as a separate field from academic achievement. It was not so important. Annie in this case was questioning me about educational priorities, as mentioned in Chapter 6, and she had some awareness of the inter-relatedness of learning and engagement with others. She wanted to know if the two were connected in New Zealand education: "Conjoined? I mean well welded together?" (a. Annie, 64). But, like the students, she saw this as a life skill not so immediately important: "Social skills. But in Korea important thing is academic degree. But then in the whole lifetime very important thing is personality or sociality. [Long pause] And service" (a. Annie, 69). Her speaking partner, Rose, was of a similar opinion:

What is important in school life? In my children, first thing is academic. . . .And then sport. Another, social group. And service, it is also important. But in high school students always important academic I think. (a. Rose, 73)

Rose wanted East High School to increase the focus on academic work, and she focused on this as an individual endeavour that teachers should closely monitor. She explained that then she wouldn't need to pay for after school lessons in maths, science and English: "more

strictly, strongly push this academic” (a. Rose, 82). The value of closely monitoring homework aligns with Hattie’s (2009) New Zealand research. He found that effective teaching and learning required homework at the right developmental level that was short, frequent and closely monitored. In East High School’s Mission statement, the second phrase, *releasing potential* might well be interpreted from a Korean perspective as ensuring the valued cultural attributes of hard work and monitored homework practice (Milner & Quilty, 1996; Volet 1999). An open forum for East High School and its communities to unpack the meaning of terms in the Mission statement, such as *releasing potential*, would be a good opportunity to interface and practise *kanohi ki te kanohi*.

I asked the students the question - *What do you want to get out of school for yourself?* While the students responded that they valued cross cultural interaction (“Getting intercultural interaction skills . . . can be very useful in society as we grow up”, h. M G, 45), they all mentioned it as their second, not their first priority. Jae (h. 42) summed it up: “My first aim is to do, achieve highest that I could get into uni. My second aim is to learn how to become friendly with new people, other cultural people”. John (h. 43) said:

The main purpose is to get good grades and live the rest of your life happily. But apart from that there are other things that come along with it such as the interaction with other people and all the co-curricular things that help your life in some way later on.

Jade’s primary aim was the same: “For now, my aim is to do well at school, to pass NCEA with excellence and then go to a good university, that’s my highest aim for now” (h. 40). Harry (h. 44) said: “Primary goal is to get good grades and go to good university. But develop friendship. We get to meet new people. We have to be like friendly. Be open-minded”. All envisaged their future selves as having skills for interacting with culturally different others, but academic success was their focus, and they perceived this to be an individual endeavour, not related to group work. I had earlier in this focus group session asked the students – *How important is it to have a lot of interaction between Korean students and students from other cultures?* Cindy’s reply was noted at the end of Chapter 4. She didn’t see the need to associate with others different from her and she commented on the school’s culture being one where “people from the same culture hang out together” (h, Cindy, 15). Cindy saw herself as complying with the (unexamined) segregated culture of the school.

While Rose wasn't too keen on her Year 12 son mixing with the mainstream if it meant adopting Kiwi cultural beliefs, such as notions of the welfare state as a safety net, the parents of Year 9 students were concerned about the fracturing of relationships when their children started secondary school. Newly arrived international students exacerbated the situation at the time when the Korean students found themselves excluded from former mainstream friendships. This imposed reorientation towards Korea, diminishing the students' agency. In the classroom students didn't report teachers using their role to raise issues such as how students from minority groups might best learn in an L2 context. The Korean students were focused on achievement through their individual effort.

What the school documents say about interaction opportunities

The school's primary vision is to be a whānau-based learning community. In such a context learning would happen in extended family groups, quite the opposite of Korean tables in every classroom. This first statement in East High School's Vision uses the descriptor *connected* to describe the learners.

To be an exceptional whānau-based learning community. Our students will be confident, connected and self-managing lifelong learners who will seize our excellent learning opportunities. They will be innovative, creative and enterprising.

These descriptors mirror those in the vision in the national document. The principal spoke about the role of the whānau structure in student interaction when I reported to him the comments about the Korean tables:

We have a building structure [whānau] which should allow kids to integrate quite readily. . . . If they start in that group and they go away on camp, they should be able to build that. . . . I think those kids that have come through from Year 9, been on the camp. . .do have a range of friends (d. Tony, 239).

He relied on the whānau structure as an enabling structure that organically, rather than in a deliberate and planned way, developed cross-cultural connections that then transferred to classroom learning opportunities. The school logo, too, embodies this connectedness, it is a nurturing symbol. The logo uses the circles of the Greek letters beta and delta to symbolise these founding (2004) concepts behind the school. The outer shape, for example, envelopes the whole school community and points towards the future.

East High School's icons, the whānau structure and the logo, are powerful symbols of connectedness. They represent key elements of the national curriculum unpacked in the school. While the logo and the whānau concept remain strong school elements, the principal

and associate principal both said that the school, during the time of this study, was still in the process of creating its culture. The data suggest that the school could afford to take bold steps in addressing issues of emerging and conflictual allegiances identified in this project: Korean students to newcomer Korean students; Korean students to mainstream students; role of L1 and L2 in classroom learning and socialising. Research supports learning benefiting from (whānau-based) learning communities. For example, data from Swain's (2000, p. 113) research in the SLA field, "provide evidence that language learning occurs in collaborative dialogue, and that this external speech facilitates the appropriation of both strategic processes and linguistic knowledge". Surveying the SLA field, Sfar (1998) observes that a new metaphor, *participation*, has emerged to complement the existing metaphor of (language) *acquisition*.

What the members of management say about interaction and engagement

When asked about levels of engagement he expected from the Korean community, the principal spoke passionately about drawing on Vygotskyan thinking to engage parents with their children's learning. In a brief excerpt from the longer quotation in Chapter 4, the principal discussed the vital role of communication from school to parents in this process:

We take it really seriously that we want to communicate with every parent because we know it's important for their child to maximise their learning, that whole Vygotsky thing needs a significant adult to help shift the student from where they are to where their potential is. (d. T, 54)

The principal's hope is that ready parental access to online student assessment data will enable Vygotskyan shifts. There is a gulf, however, between the theory and the practical implications in specialised secondary school subjects (Brooking & Roberts, 2007).

Moreover, for minority communities both language and culture are barriers. Korean parents are unaccustomed to the kind of engagement with school and the kind of parent-student relationship the principal outlined. Yeon Ok spoke of her instinctive fear if she were invited to go to the school.

If the school in Korea says, 'Mum is invited', I start to worry. 'Oh no, I should take the envelope again [envelope means bribe - translator]. I was fearful when teachers [in New Zealand] invited parents because of that. (b. 496)

Writing about barriers between schools and their communities, Harker (2007, p. 17) contends that minority communities need to understand the culture of the school:

While it is important (even necessary) for the family and community culture of the students to be understood and supported by schools, it is also important (even

necessary) for the culture of the school to be understood and supported by families and communities.

Such an interchange of educational ideas between school and home aligns well with Wenger's (1998) notion of *communities of practice*, but involves considerable investment to manage real exchange of ideas in the face of linguistic and cultural barriers. The principal's use of the modals *need to* and *could be doing* illustrate his wish to do more to facilitate intercultural communication:

I think there's lots of things we need to do. I really do. We could have a Facebook page for school issues. I think we could create blogs where active discussion about learning and understanding cultural differences (d. T, 275). . . . there are more things that we should and could be doing and I think technology may allow us to do some of that". (d. T, 287)

Korean parents, such as Yeon Ok, reported using the world wide web for finding out information, so the principal's plans, if operationalised would be helpful tools.

The regular school-Korean parent meetings are a significant and appreciated step. While the presence of the management team, especially the principal, at Korean parent meetings is deeply appreciated by the Korean community, the learning is largely within the circle contained by the Korean teachers and Korean parent community. As Claire noted, her inability to read Korean body language excluded her. Widening the learning circle to realise Wenger's inclusive vision would take significant investment by the school: "It is the learning of mature members and of their communities that invites the learning of newcomers" (Wenger, 1998, p. 277). In Wenger's vision, the *mutuality of engagement* can be transported into a *mutuality of learning*. Both the parents and school management are keen to learn. The principal and the BoT had earlier authorised a survey of Korean parent thinking on the national curriculum's vision statement. Findings demonstrated that minority communities' perspectives may not align with national or local consensus visions (Kitchen, 2010). Kitchen's study showed that while the Korean community might, when asked, generally support the national curriculum's vision statement, when asked for their own vision priorities, the Korean participants nominated significant differences such as the teaching of 'Asian' values. Their vision and the national vision overlap more like venn diagrams than concentric circles.

Not surprisingly, the national priorities of the MoE play a significant role. If the MoE's primary focus on raising achievement is not explicitly linked with consultation with minority communities (other than Maori and Pasifika) then incorporation of such

communities' cultural capital, will not be given priority by schools. East High School, in such an environment, may be viewed as a shining star for its work with the Korean community, not perhaps reaching Wenger's vision, but, given the national context, exemplary. McCarthy et al. (2009, p. 93) contend that, internationally, we need to develop a new ecumenical and cosmopolitan ethos in schooling in which all participants have a voice, where there is "a material and moral investment in every school participant – every student, every teacher, every parent, every educator". Such investment depends on deliberately opening channels to hear minority voices. For the parents to have an effect on the world of school it would require hours of action from the school particularly as the welcoming host, but also from the Korean community. It would involve considerable bilingual resources to facilitate exchanges and engagement. Wenger (1998, p. 271) suggests that designing participation opportunities for communities on the margins is challenging, placing importance on the provision of conditions that enable participation. These include: having a place where engagement can happen, and having materials and experiences with which migrant groups can build an image of the host world and themselves in it. If migrants perceive that schools as cultural worlds don't reach out to them, migrants are unlikely to learn other worldviews and learn to adapt their practices to life in NZ, or to influence life in their adopted country (Carreón, Drake & Barton, 2005).

Beyond the Korean parent-school meetings, which are a laudable start, the school's commitment to adapting their practices to the Korean community are more in theory and rhetoric than real. The principal acknowledged that there was much more the school could be doing. The school relies, with unexamined hope, on the whānau structure to enable students to mix cross culturally, without having a focus on making interaction happen, other than at the big picture organisational level of whānau groupings and a Year 9 camp.

CONCLUSION

The national curriculum and its outworking in East High School's Vision, Mission, Core Values and Strategic Intent have a significant emphasis on students connecting with others through empathy and teamwork and students contributing to local and national communities for the good of society. East High School's vision of a whānau-based learning community aligns with national guidelines, but clashes with the reality of classroom segregation (Korean tables) and a school culture of congregating with ethnic peers both inside and outside the classroom. These cultural and ethnic positionings are clearly marked for Korean

students at the time of transition from primary school when Korean students are not welcomed into informal cross-cultural friendship groups. Additionally, there is pressure from newly arrived migrants, often international students, to abandon identities constructed in the safe spaces of primary school and to revert to more traditional Korean cultural norms. Even the students who had been in New Zealand between eight and fourteen years and had been identified by the Korean teachers as being successful associated almost entirely with other Korean students. Jade only stood out as different. The emerging theory developed here is that at the time of transition from intermediate to secondary school the Korean students' taken for granted opportunities for full mainstream participation, inside and outside the classroom, are shaken and the students' networks generally don't recover. Rejected by former mainstream friends they are then subject to pressure from newly arrived Korean students. Only those such as Jade who had a very consciously developed autonomous approach to language and cultural learning and who distanced herself from other Korean students, was able to exercise her own agency to escape these naturally constraining practices. Jade was very reflective and deliberate in exercising her choices. Clearly East High School's concept of learning communities are not realities for many Korean students. The best that could be said is that engagement with the Other is a work in progress, as the principal maintains.

Findings from this research suggest that talk around the school's vision of learning communities would be valuable. The principal emphasised that considerable professional development had already taken place around group work. Perhaps it is the emotional connection that is missing. Story telling might activate the empathetic neurons. McCarthy et al. (2003, p. 457) contend that:

In our era we seem evermore to lack the qualities of empathy, the desire for collaboration, cooperation, and negotiation, or the magnanimity of spirit to engage with the other as a member of our community or even our species.

However, engagement goes beyond the empathy that McCarthy et al. advocate. Currently the whānau aspect is realised in its pastoral structure with teachers caring for the students in their whānau, but not in its hoped-for role as a learning-based community. Ushioda (2006) puts the responsibility on the teacher for creating conducive classroom conditions. In her vision teachers assume authority in alerting their mainstream students to their roles as welcoming co-participants in the learning process of those on the margins.

Moreover, the literature supports teachers creating curriculum-based spaces where students deliberately explore other worldviews, and in the process, forge cross-cultural connections. For example, the provision of spaces for the study of Eastern as well as Western art may encourage real mutuality in cross-cultural engagement and provide a safe place to explore identity (Smith, 2010). Such practices would count as outworkings of the Vision's bullet points. Such practices would also counter the parents' concerns that the New Zealand education system is insular, not focused towards international contexts. Kostogriz (2009) describes cross-cultural encounters as being in the *contact zone*, the space where cultures meet, clash and grapple with power. As mentioned in Chapter 6, he labels the process *transculturation*. Kostogriz contends that transculturation is a *messianic* project *haunting* schools aiming for justice and democracy.

Both the students and the principal immediately talked about the popularity of cultural festivals when asked about ways in which East High School shows that it values its minority communities. However, "issues in multicultural education are much more complex than simple respect for cultural difference, appreciation of ethnic traditions and artefacts, or promotion of cultural sensitivity" (Kubota, 2004, p. 31). A place to start that might elicit more than respect and appreciation might be to hear each others' stories. Initially this could be in the form of brief Korean case studies for the school to hear and then respond to. Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, outlines these in more detail.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Overview

In this study I used participatory research to explore the educational context in which I was working (teaching English to Korean adult migrants who had children at East High School). The school's principal had told me that he was interested in gathering data from the school's communities, richer data than his earlier online questionnaires had provided. His natural interest was bolstered by the national curriculum's requirement that schools engage with their communities. The questions formulated for this research focused on the dreams and realities of the Korean community at East High School. These were significant questions for the school given the national curriculum's principles of *cultural diversity, inclusion, and community engagement*; the national curriculum's value of *community and participation for the common good*; and the national curriculum's key competency of *participating and contributing*.

The research process channeled Korean community voices, their narratives, embedded with both implicit and explicit requests for help, offering the fuller data picture the principal acknowledged would contribute towards building the culture of the school, and could be used to inform policy and planning. The storytelling in itself was a step for the Korean community towards participation in the community of practice at East High School. The telling and the school hearing the stories through this thesis align with frameworks that initially informed the study: Phillion and He's (2004) notion of the power of sensitising narratives, and He et al.'s (2008) notion of a curriculum of shared interests.

These notions that informed the study derive from critical theory. Critical notions have the potential to validate imagination, as well as to claim and retain imagined futures (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). The methods of grounded theory provided clear but flexible processes for building tentative theory; these emerging theories being the noticeable contributions of the researcher to the school community.

This chapter is divided into two major sections. The first major section includes data summaries followed by theory building. The data summaries briefly recap Chapters 4 and 5, whereas the theory building derives from the close data analysis of Chapters 6 and 7. The

second major section includes implications and practical recommendations. In conclusion there are recommendations for further research.

CULTURAL PRESERVATION AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

“Stories lived and told educate the self and others” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. xxvi).

Summary

I borrow the title of this section from Lee’s (2001) study of migrant students in America. The title describes the varied adaptive processes of migrant parents and students. Rose’s request for storytelling to inspire her son is illustrative (Chapter 5). She saw traditional Korean stories of hard work and achievement as educative and motivating for her son and his friends in terms of creating visions of their future selves. She asked me to pass on to the school her suggestion for graduated Korean students to return to tell inspiring stories of how to hold onto these values, and how to find alternative pathways in the host country. Significantly, Rose envisaged the school, rather than more familiar outside Korean networks, such as Korean ethnic centres (as in Zhou and Kim’s, 2006, study of Korean high school students in Los Angeles), as the facilitating locus. These motivating stories, she said, could come from inspirational, well-known others, not just Korean students. In wanting to hook Korean students into the mainstream at school Rose was illustrating cultural transformation, while, in trying to motivate her son to work hard thus nudging him out of the comfort New Zealand’s welfare system offered, she was wanting to inculcate him with traditional Korean values. She said she wasn’t currently brave enough to convey this message to the school herself, her English skill being “not good” (a. Rose, 190).

The other parents were of the same mind, having come to New Zealand so their children could find a career they were passionate about. The parents talked of wanting their children to find their own voices. The parents knew opportunities were available in the mainstream at school, and they were alarmed to see their children positioned, almost in a state of paralysis, on the margins. Like Rose, the other parents requested welcoming and structured invitations from the mainstream to enable their children to participate and engage. The parents were implicitly aware that “adolescents learn about what is possible and what is valued through engagement with their social context” (Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006, p. 21). The parents sought for their children entry into the relational bonds of the mainstream classroom, described in literature as social capital (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995).

The parents' regular raising of the topic of mainstream participation and entry into mainstream networks for their children at secondary school is significant in light of the findings from the interviewed students (Chapter 4). The successful students were strongly embedded in Korean community networks, both within and outside school, the very networks the interviewed Korean parents reported they didn't want their children to rely on. Zhou and Kim (2006) found that, while definitely facilitating high school academic success, reliance on Korean ethnic networks seriously constrained students' career choices and later job prospects. Like Zhou and Kim's (2006) students who tended to choose engineering because their parents wanted them to, and their Korean friends were choosing it, the successful Korean students interviewed for this study used Korean community networks to map out their futures. They were following traditional career options, having tight social structures (Korean social capital) that kept them focused and successful. However, most of them were missing connections to the social capital of the mainstream necessary for consideration of a wide range of career options and necessary for networks used in job placement.

Jade was the outlier, one student who did participate fully in the mainstream, her autonomy enabling her to reach her academic and social goals. Autonomy has consequences, however. In order to integrate, Jade deliberately distanced herself from other Korean students in the school context. Not that she was detached from the cultural norms of her family. She specifically said that her mother had a big influence on her persevering with subjects she didn't naturally warm to, such as physics. Lee (2001) found that migrant parents' willingness and ability to adopt various aspects of the dominant culture seem to be directly related to the students' ability to maintain aspects of their minority culture, the children accepting their parents' authority because they saw their parents making certain adjustments. Jade was emphatic that her parents were very non-traditional in many ways. Hurh and Kim (1984) coined the term *adhesive adaptation* to characterize this acculturative process.

Building theory

This study highlights the Korean parents' dreams that their children, freed from traditional expectations, would find career pathways that they were passionate about (Chapter 6). These findings diverge from international findings of migrant Korean parental adherence to a narrow set of traditional career norms, achievement facilitated by supplementary education. The parents in this study remembered dreaming, while still in Korea, of their children finding their own voices in an environment free from the constraints of long hours

of study and free from traditional Korean perceptions of job hierarchies. These dreams perhaps had their origins in the parents' own, not so quickly acknowledged, dreams. The parents told me, once they knew me well, and at emotional times, such as at a wedding, that their public comments about migration for educational reasons were lies, made for reasons of digestibility in leaving family and leaving Korea. In reality the parents had suffered from mid-life crises in Korea and sought adventure and a new way of life for themselves. These findings differ from the common acceptance of children's education as the propelling factor in Korean migration. While the parents in this study reported that education was a very important factor in migration, for many it was not the instigating factor. These findings also differ from findings that Korean parents adhere in a host country to traditional career norms for their children. The parents in this study wanted their children to find their own voices, to make their own choices, in a culture less constrained by job hierarchies. They perceived jobs to hold more equal status in New Zealand.

The East High School parents maintained these dreams post migration, but couldn't currently see their children forming, let alone claiming, clear visions of their future selves. Like Bhabha (1994) they know that imagining a future self, elaborating identity, requires knowledge of the local context. Unfamiliar with the local context, dreams of future selves were not imaginable and the parents saw their children's cultural commitment to hard work slide away. They were asking for deliberate input from the school to strengthen participative opportunities and networks within the classroom and the school as a whole. They wanted the school to be the locus for cultural transformation (autonomous learners motivated by visions of their future selves) and cultural preservation (while maintaining the values of hard work and perseverance). In visualising their children on the margins, they drew on their own consciousness of their own positioning, their lack of social capital, and their knowledge that they weren't participating in the adventurous way they had hoped for either. If schools do not see themselves as sites where social inclusion is an active focus, and society at large ignores its bridging and linking roles for migrants, it is likely that narratives shared in the future will feature more resignation and the community will accept retreat to within ethnic borders, as in Zhou and Kim's (2006) study. The students reported that this was the state of affairs at school: Korean students mixing with Korean students, Korean students using Korean networks to plan their futures. Jade forged her own way, but at the cost of not publicly acknowledging her Korean identity. This position, she said, was a choice she made in order to get ahead. The parents' comments suggest it was also a position that was likely

awarded her because mainstream students were unenthusiastic about friendships with Korean students at high school.

At the school level, change will require enactment of *kanohi ki te kanohi* and *whanāu*-based learning communities. It will require implementation of the national curriculum's participatory focus that is a key part of its vision, its principles, its values and its key competencies. It will require a deliberate exploration of, and fostering of, tools that build bridging and linking social capital.

KANOHI KI TE KANOHI AND WHANĀU-BASED LEARNING COMMUNITIES

Summary

East High School's written policies have a socially inclusive agenda. However, the stative verbs in the documents do not encourage action ("We *are* contributing members of our local, national and global community. . . . Our school *recognises* and *values* our . . . multi-cultural society"). The language implies satisfaction with the status quo, that there is no need for examination of the status quo, no need for intervention. Empathy is one of the school's four core values. In empathy's case strategies to achieve this are outlined in the school documents: through participation, teamwork and service. However, while the senior students did characterise the school as encouraging service in the local community, significant participation and teamwork within the classroom were not characteristic. The interviewed Korean students, except for Jade who expressly discussed relying on her own autonomy, reported socialising with, and working in learning communities with, other Korean students only.

When questioned, members of management said the school relied on its *whanāu*-based structures, and in particular the Year 9 camps, to bring about social integration (principal's comments, Chapter 4). The school's policy documents describe these as *whanāu*-based learning communities. The members of management also talked of their roles in running teacher professional development around group work (the principal, Chapter 4) and incorporation of minority students' cultural capital (deputy principal, Chapter 4).

The school structures set up to implement social inclusion do not achieve it. Possibly this is because implementation stops outside the classroom door. For example, East High School states that the *whanāu*-based learning communities are one of its key distinctives, and the principal raised this structure as an integrative tool. In reality, the Korean students' *whanāu*-

based learning communities were not the extended school community, but, rather, other Korean students. The learning benefits of cross-cultural groups were not familiar topics. The successful Korean students felt that they were getting a very satisfactory education and that the school treated them well, no differently from anyone else. They viewed the cultural celebrations as evidence of this valuing. When they reflected on classroom learning, they realised that they weren't treated equally – some teachers hadn't learnt their names, even though they were Year 13 students and had adopted English names. They were surprised, on collecting data, to find out the extent to which Korean students sat together in all classrooms. Teachers' classroom practices reinforced this status quo: teachers relied on Korean students to teach new (often international) Korean students; cross cultural classroom learning communities were not routine in the senior school; and Korean cultural capital was celebrated not inside the classroom, but outside the classroom in cultural festivals.

There was an absence of discourse around the use of L1 and L2. Management members, and Jade, saw the use of Korean language as excluding mainstream students and teachers. The interviewed students couldn't articulate reasons for using L1 or L2. They hadn't given the issue much thought. While the students did admit to using Korean to hide their off-topic talk, the data show that even the successful students who had had most of their schooling in New Zealand still relied on Korean language for academic thinking. The school seemed blind to the benefits that might accrue to all students in discussing the roles of L1 and L2 in learning.

Given that the vision in the national curriculum and in East High School's local version (Chapter 4) is for learners who are confident and actively involved, a focus in East High School's strategic planning on the role of proficient others, including the teacher, in teaching newcomers ways of participating in classroom learning opportunities would be beneficial. The agenda of hospitality is not just in the interests of social cohesiveness, but also of new knowledge creation for the mainstream students (Gilbert, 2005). Ushioda (2006) puts the responsibility on the teacher, not the minority students, for creating classroom conditions that are conducive to investing in the other, or *kanohi ki te kanohi*. Well-structured group work with task roles at appropriate levels would enable migrant students to more readily develop different, less fearful, as-if loops (Damasio, 2010).

Building theory

The argument proposed is that writing an inclusive agenda into the heart of national and local educational policy documents is laudatory but hollow when there is an absence of

shared teacher and learner discourse about what this might look like in classroom practice, an absence of national research, a paucity of exemplars of effective inclusive practice in similar contexts, and it is not prioritised in the influential government auditing processes (ERO reviews). There are likely to be long term, important societal outcomes such as in employment and settlement (Piller & Takahashi, 2011). Although Piller and Takahashi contend that there is a general noticeable coyness in specifying what the excluded are supposed to be included into, this is not the case in school classroom settings, nor in cross-cultural friendship groups.

A low interest in monitoring participation practices results in a blindness to the real rates of cross-cultural interaction in secondary school classrooms. It also fosters blindness to the serious, negative, long-term, consequences of students not interacting in classroom communities. The successful, fluent English and Korean speaking students who see no need to mix with the mainstream at school are likely to have difficulty finding employment once they have completed their university qualifications (as previously mentioned). The argument proposed here is that the recently uncovered, unexpected hole in demographic statistics for 21 to 26 year olds (Hickey, 2011) is the result of migrant students leaving for overseas. These are the students who have not been welcomed into mainstream networks, have not valued being part of mainstream networks, and consequently have not been able to find satisfactory work. In such a climate, mainstream monolingual students are less likely to be interested in developing the linguistic and cultural skills the business sector claim are necessary for New Zealand's economic wellbeing.

There is a real need for close noticing of cross-cultural interaction, or exclusion, and of the students' multicultural and multilingual academic practices. Once gathered such data could be used as a school-wide discussion. Piller and Takahashi (2011) contend that research shows that social inclusion schemes that aim to benefit all students are more effective than schemes that target the excluded. They possibly have an important role in encouraging mainstream students' acceptance of accents and non-standard ways of speaking English, sensitivities that may be significant for students who later become employers. Interventions are certainly critical in order to help find ways of ensuring that all individuals have access to full participation and with it the opportunity to develop to their fullest potential (Lantolf, 2001). Bauman (2001, p. 142, pp. 149-150) contends that the more migrants feel welcomed in their new home, the more willingly they open up and adapt to the culture of the new country.

If there is to be a community in the world of individuals, it can only be (and it needs to be) a community woven together from mutual sharing and mutual care; a community of concern and responsibility for the equal right to be human and the equal ability to act on that right.

As this study shows, inclusive policy is the first step only, without being prioritised in national educational reviews it will realise Bauman's conditions. It is practice that counts. Kanohi ki te kanohi, meeting face to face, requires shared discourse, and active pedagogical intervention for the benefit of all. Requisite teacher strategies grounded in notions of communities of practice are outlined in studies such as that of Morita (2004) and Leki (2001).

CONTESTED IDENTITIES

Summary

Educators need to encourage learners to develop an awareness about how different perspectives of ethnicity are inter-related with their own language learning process and how these views of ethnicity position themselves differently (Jeon, 2010, p. 54).

New Zealand secondary schools are sites of struggle for Korean teenagers developing a sense of who they are while they study in an adopted country. Both the parent and the student participants raised conflicted identity as an issue, particularly noticeable on transitioning into secondary school from primary school (Chapters 4 and 5). At primary school the students had been fully-fledged school community members, but at secondary school the Korean students were positioned outside their former mainstream friends' social groups. The parents told small narratives of their children's confusion and disappointment, and how rejection constrained their choices. Some, influenced by the newly-arrived international students, agonised over (re)learning more traditional Korean ways, and sometimes turned their backs on their learned Kiwi mindsets.

As mentioned earlier, Jade also raised the issue of participation in the mainstream, repeatedly distancing herself from the usual Korean student practices of living on the margins. She had consciously and resiliently developed a facilitating sense of individual autonomy in her quest for mainstream participation. She reported, too, that having only a few Korean students at her first school had been helpful in this respect. It meant that she had no choice but to rely on her own resources to communicate. Jade was participating fully in the sociocultural activities of East High School, reflectively pointing out that she learned so much in this way. A consequence, however, was that many Korean students didn't

recognise her as Korean. In responding to spoken Korean she acknowledged her shared language, but she also put distance between herself and her co-ethnic speakers by choosing to reply in English. Jade's views of Korean ethnicity she sees around her at East High School are implicated in such exchanges. She distances herself. Delanty (2003, p. 135) writes of the postmodern sensibility being one of uncertainty in the sense of self: "The contemporary understanding of the self is that of a social self formed in relations of difference rather than that of unity and coherence". Like Dr Shee-Jeong Park (New Zealand's first Korean-born diplomat) who spoke of her secondary school rejection of her Korean identity (2008 inaugural *Kimchi and Marmite Conference*), Jade didn't publicly acknowledge her Korean identity in the school context. Dr Park reported that there were no guidelines, or mentors, for her and consequently it wasn't till long after she had finished school that she was able to work out how to construct and hold both Korean and Kiwi identities in the mainstream, public context.

Building theory

The argument is that at high school the positioning of many Korean students who have been resident in their adopted country for a considerable time constrains variations in identity construction. These constraints are confronted particularly on transition to secondary school, a time the students find conflictive. Hesitant to return to previous cultural norms of school behaviour, they talked about their distress with their parents. As Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) contend, students confront conflict when pressured to return to their past while living in a different, present context. These East High School students sought recognition, affiliation, security and safety, desires that Norton (1997) views as integral to identity, finding this sense of belonging in friendships with other (often more recently arrived) Korean students. As Kanno (2003) found, teenagers find it easier to resolve conflicting cultural allegiances by choosing one culture over the other. The parents were taken aback when their children wanted to relearn previous constructions of their selves. They wanted to relearn Korean language (to communicate) and culture (to relearn Korean school norms). Their parents were unhappy perceiving their children to be abandoning their selves constructed in the New Zealand school context.

Transitioning to secondary school is clearly a critical time when students are experiencing Bhabha's (1994) in-between spaces and are clearly vulnerable. To initiate new forms of identity (rather than regressing) students will require scaffolded support into new communities of practice. Contributing constraining practices that require addressing

include: the Korean students' sense of responsibility for newcomer (often international) Korean students; teachers' reliance on Korean students for learning support for new Korean students; the absence of reflective discussion for Korean students on the critical role of mainstream participation; the absence of reflective discussion for Korean students around tools facilitating participation; teachers not sensitised to Korean students' experiences; and teachers not asserting their authority to alert mainstream students to their roles as welcoming co-participants in the learning process.

These factors have real consequences. The consequences are that the spaces in which the Korean students construct their identities are less dynamic, and become entrenched. Where they had been, at primary school, admitted to mainstream communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), using both English and Korean in their interactions, they now rely on Korean. In associating with their co-ethnic peers, they are perceived negatively by teachers, blamed as a group for excluding others. Entrenchment means that entry into the communities of practice their parents desired in migrating becomes less likely, and long term contributions to the economy of their host country are also less likely. This is because the relatively fewer opportunities to act according to, and use the language of, the mainstream community results in diminished networking opportunities.

IMPLICATIONS AND PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

The implications and practical recommendations are organised under three headings: expanding existing participatory steps; enabling means to mutual sharing and mutual care; and contested identities.

Expanding existing participatory steps

East High School has made a significant start towards empowering dialogue with the parent-school meetings. These first participatory steps, however, could be expanded, and deliberately move towards assisted participation in mainstream networks. The principal is committed to parent access to comprehensive student data on the school's intranet, thus helping parents to become involved in their children's education. The intranet could be expanded to include pages, open also to the mainstream stakeholders, that target the Korean community, mirror pages in Korean and English. Korean parents are digitally very competent. Education is an important subject in their lives, and they have prior knowledge. Moreover, Korean parents' reading skills, too, are more advanced than their oral skills and

the written word is less transitory, allowing processing time. Possible topics include a general discussion of the differences between education in Korea and New Zealand, with pod casts of stories from students of strategies they used to help them to adapt to the different environment. Opportunities for parents to ask questions, or to blog sharing facilitating experiences and knowledge, possibly in a pre-moderated site, could be available. For older students there could be links to motivating stories about alternative career pathways. For example, young Korean-born New Zealanders who are doing well in the creative arts (e.g. film maker Stephen Kang with his short film “Blue”, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/CU1104/S00361/nz-short-film-global-bonanza.htm>; artist Jeena Shin, <http://www.listener.co.nz/culture/art/jeena-shin-stairwell-project/>; inter-media artist Hye Rim Lee, <http://www.listener.co.nz/culture/super-bunny-super-beauty/>). There could be links to mainstream career sites such as the award-winning Digital Pathways Development site (<http://www.digitalpathways.org.nz/>) that aims to ensure the students’ learning is meaningful for the future, with exploration of the relationship between curriculum learning areas and career education. Teachers could consider using secure groups on social networking sites such as Facebook to implement curriculum related tasks, thus facilitating cross-cultural interactions in cyberspace, interactions that don’t take place in the classroom. Wilson (in Cavanagh, Maguiness, Wilson, & Kiely, 2011) found that his media studies Facebook group offered a more level playing field for participation for Korean students at his Auckland high school.

Members of mainstream groups committed to leadership roles within the school, such as East High School’s *Family and Friends* group, could take on a liaison role with the Korean parent group, coaching the Korean parents into participation in mainstream groups. It is possible that were such hospitality extended from the host community, in this case the school, and initiatives put in place to begin, deliberately, the process of engagement with the Korean community, the welcoming hospitality might be repaid with increasing participation in school life, and a commitment to contributing to New Zealand society in the long term. The mainstream, too, would benefit from hearing stories of the challenges new migrants face. In this way mainstream students’ empathetic mirror neurons, their “as-if loop systems” (Damasio, 2010), might activate a more welcoming, hospitable context. This is *kanohi ki te kanohi*.

Enabling Means to Mutual Sharing and Mutual Care

Parents such as Rose call for motivating stories for their children. The neuroscientist, Damasio (2010), uses psychology and physiology to explain the benefits of such storytelling. I thought, too, that the Korean community's stories were very powerful and illustrative and would enable teachers to understand the challenges faced by Korean migrants. I was very interested to find that Phillion and He (2004) recommend using literature that includes storytelling from minority cultures to enable trainee teachers to build emotional connections and empathy for the students they will teach. They contend that work needs to be done with teachers and students not only at a cognitive level, but also at an emotional level, because enabling ongoing facilitating empathy for the other, especially when obstacles occur, is challenging. They draw on critical theory in asserting that: "bringing our [teacher training] students into the lives of their learners in diverse classrooms, schools, and communities that they are unable to encounter in other ways is a political act" (p. 8). Johnson and Golombek (2011) also endorse narratives as cultural artefacts for local knowledge building in professional development. They suggest such use as an important area for future research. Barkhuizen (2011b, p. 391) calls this "narrative knowledging". Confirmed in my thinking by such recommendations, I have developed the parents' and the students' stories into texts for teacher discussion. Samples are included in the text here, and others are in the appendices. See Table 12 for Yeon Ok's story, and Appendix H for Rose's story that might be used for professional development for teachers. The current emphasis with narrative research is increasingly on the context and the performance aspect (Barkhuizen, 2011a). These stories, for best effect, should be read by their owners (possibly stored as a pod cast). The participants' consent would need to be gained before such stories were used. The extracts would then need a note added stating that the extracts are used with permission.

Table 12: Yeon Ok's Story

Yeon Ok's story

Yeon Ok (pseudonym) has two children at the school. She had been in New Zealand for three years at the time of data collection.

Helping her children with their studies

Yeon Ok explained that she left Korea for two reasons. She worked long hours in Korea, and wanted to take some time out to spend with her children helping them through their teenage years, especially helping them with study. Secondly, she wanted her children to escape the stress and pressure of the Korean education system. However, she is currently not so sure that she has made the right decision. The children haven't settled in that well and are not working hard. She is unhappy that she cannot help her children with their work because her poor English skills prevent her from learning about the education system here. Roles have become topsy turvey, her children taking charge of their education and excluding her. Here are her translated and abridged words.

Here the country itself is so peaceful and good but I think it might be hard for my children to settle down here. Now my children are in a bit of a slump. My children are not working hard. I question whether it was a good thing to come here or not. I don't know much about school things but I want to tell my children about school, so I go to school, write notes and come home. I was like: "Hey, Mum went to school today and found out there are these things at school". My son went through my notes and said: "Mum, I know all this". When I said, "Hey, but why didn't you tell me?", he said like: "Would you understand even if I tell you?" When I tell him to tell me about it because I am curious, my son doesn't tell me. My children really hate me visiting their school. "Why are you going to school Mum? You can't even understand English". At least the parents who have good English can go on to things like the school's homepage, and find out when the exams are, what comes out in the exams, what subjects their child takes, what their child should do. I am really interested in my children's education/ school stuff, but the interest by itself doesn't help my children at all if I don't know. I don't want to be a mother who just cooks at home though. I want to find out more.

As a migrant in an unfamiliar context, Yeon Ok is trying to use her resources to support her children's education. She attends school Korean parent meetings, and other school meetings, she searches the school website. She volunteered to be part of the research because she wanted to learn more about New Zealand's education system.

A possible discussion question

What are some ways the school could help Yeon Ok participate more in her children's school life?

Having dreams of a career pathway

Yeon Ok also raised the issue of her children lacking motivating goals or dreams. In Korea, in contrast, goals were clear. They are determined by examination grades. In New Zealand, the hoped-for land of opportunity, her children have not been mentored to find replacement dreams.

New Zealand is where you can do what you like and wish to do, but my children came too late, so it seems that they don't know their dreams or what they like.

A possible discussion question

What are some ways the school could help Yeon Ok's children develop dreams of their future selves that would motivate them to study well at school?

Alternatively, the discussion focus could be on issues arising from the data. See Table 13 for a possible teacher discussion document that includes student and parent voice on the issue of Korean students congregating in ethnic groups. (See Appendix I for another discussion document on the use of L1.)

Table 13: Teacher Discussion Card

Topic: A school culture where students interact largely within their own ethnic groups: Issues of identity and learning.

Note: The school's Vision is for strong cross-cultural ties that are the foundation of learning. The schools' Vision: "To be an exceptional whanāu-based learning community".

Eight senior "successful" students were interviewed during April and May 2010. One of the students I would classify as an outlier, having very different views from the others. Twelve parents were interviewed over two years.

Discussion starters:

1. The voices of the senior "successful" Korean students on sticking together

The senior students reported that the school has a culture of ethnic groups hanging out together. Senior Korean students who had had almost all their education in New Zealand (yet they had mixed widely in primary schools), sat at Korean tables.

I noticed that in the classrooms, except where there's seating plans, there's always a Korean table. And that's for every single classroom.

I'm one of them, those Koreans who speak Korean all the time. Like in primary and intermediate initially I joined other cultural groups so I could improve my English but when I came to college, I didn't feel the need, but as well there was, I don't know if it's the case all the time, but there was like, people from the same culture hang out together.

I'm one of those students that sit in the Koreans' group and in certain subjects we don't have any Korean friends so in those classes we get to speak English. With the classes with other Koreans we sit together and most of the time we only speak Korean. So when we discuss certain topics in class that's like the only chance we get to speak in English.

The outlier:

I'm sort of different. I don't really interact with Koreans. I don't have any Korean friends at school. I can still speak Korean. When you're in a multicultural country you should try to interact but most Koreans don't try, you have your own group of friends and they just stay there because it's their comfort zone. I made that choice not to stick with Koreans all the time. It's just my belief. When you interact with others you learn so much.

2. Pressure from newly arrived (often international) students to revert to traditional ways of behaving

The interviewed students (except the outlier), and the parents, said that intercultural friendship networks that happened so naturally in primary/intermediate school were fractured in the transition to secondary school. Newly arrived Korean students (possibly international) exacerbate identity confusion by putting pressure on students to conform to more traditional Korean norms. Here is June's story of the dilemma her daughter faced in Year 9 when newly arrived Korean students wanted her to share exam information.

Several months ago [my daughter] said to me, "Mum I cannot get a Kiwi friend in college. I played with Kiwi friends in intermediate, but I cannot. It's very strange". After she entered college, she gets stressed a lot about that. She has to get along with Korean children but she is quite a lot used to her Kiwi friends. Before college she played, just got along with Kiwi friends so she doesn't realise her attitude is very Kiwi. The first time [the Korean international students asked her to share test information] she couldn't understand and in exam time they [new Korean students] follow her and sit next to her and then always say, insist, so she just

gets stressed. But still I talked to my husband about that , but he said, “Just leave her alone, she has to decide”.

3. Newcomers don’t get opportunities to participate in English in mainstream classes.

Teachers rely on Korean students who are bilingual to explain class work. One of the successful students said:

Sometimes, during class, I feel the teachers prefer to ask those who are fluent in English and omit those who hesitate speaking. This causes Koreans to rarely contribute to class discussions.

I think teachers should also like support like getting out of comfort zones and supporting group work.

Some possible discussion questions

What do you see as your role as a classroom teacher in promoting interaction amongst different ethnic groups?

What are ways you might enable new learners of English to participate in mainstream classrooms?

Relevant research findings

Ushioda (2006) puts the responsibility on the teacher for creating classroom conditions that are conducive to opportunities for participation for all.

Pavlenko (2002) argues that language is learned through interaction and that access to interaction opportunities is mediated by issues of ethnicity and simple measures such as classroom seating arrangements.

Miller’s (2004) Australian study of secondary school life found mainstream students reluctant to invest time in talking to ESOL students.

Reference List

Miller, J. (2004). Identity and language use: The politics of speaking ESL in schools. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 290-315). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). Poststructuralist approaches to the study of social factors in second language learning and use. In V. Cook (Ed.), *Portraits of the L2 user* (pp. 277-304). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Ushioda, E. (2006). Language motivation in a reconfigured Europe: Access, identity, autonomy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(2), 148-161.

If tools such as these story and discussion cards enable emotional connections and the exercise of the imagination, then possibilities, currently untapped, can be considered.

Contested Identities

Ways of helping the Korean students to reflect on issues of identity and language use would seem to be helpful. A possibility is to use discussion cards, such as those in Table 14. Such (translated) cards could be part of an orientation package for Korean students. The students could talk about which scenario they identify with now and which they see themselves identifying with in the future. They could discuss questions such as: *In what situations do I see myself using Korean at school? In what situations do I see myself using English at school?*

Table 14: Student Discussion Cards

Mixing with English speakers

I'm one of them, those Koreans who speak Korean all the time. I don't feel the need [to speak with English speakers] but as well people from the same culture hang out together.

Mixing with English speakers

College environment is more segregated than primary and intermediate, so new Koreans may find harder to hang out with non-Koreans. The Korean grouping is discouraging Koreans from being able to communicate with anyone else.

Mixing with English speakers

I don't sit next to any Koreans in my class. I don't speak Korean at school. It's not like I can't speak Korean it's just that when other people are around I think it's kind of rude when everyone else is around listening to speak in Korean. It's just my opinion.

Mixing with English speakers

I believe it is important to try to make friends with other people who are not Korean and who may be a bit different from you. This way you learn to understand others a lot better and hence get an understanding of the world, as a whole.

When you interact with others you get so much a wider view of everything else because different cultural backgrounds. I find that really interesting. It's good you have friends but when you interact with others you learn so much. . . . It's just my belief. I love hearing stories from other cultures and everyone has a different way of looking at things especially in NZ because there are so many different cultures, it's a really good chance, good opportunity. I think it is a really good chance to learn. That's just my opinion, not everyone will agree with me.

Mixing with English speakers

I think some people aren't as successful as others who have interacted, it's because they're afraid to face their fears of interacting with other people.

Mixing with English speakers

I think you have to create the environment yourself and push yourself to interact with other people. I know it is not the easiest thing to do and it may be horrifying but I think it is just one of the challenges you have to face when you move to a foreign country. The students will be much more helpful and friendly towards you if you make the effort to talk to them

Such cards may also be one way of asking mainstream students to reflect on the welcome they give newcomers.

Table 15: Mainstream Students' Discussion Card

One Korean student's thoughts on how hard it is for Korean students to face their fears and talk to English speakers

Interacting with others is something you can't like learn off books. You have to interact to know what they're feeling and how they're thinking. Some people who actually come here to study they're afraid of being able to face their fears. Like using English itself is a fear in a foreign country. In Korea students don't see many foreigners in their schools and so they run away from their fears without facing them so they don't learn much about English as well, let alone like other cultures. So that's why some students from Korea aren't as successful as others maybe.

Note: Australasian research shows that native English speakers in secondary schools aren't usually prepared to make the effort to talk to new learners of English. Yet new learners of English need to talk with native speakers in order to learn English.

A possible discussion question

What are some ways you could help new learners of English face their fears and talk with you?

Jeon (2010, p. 54) suggests that it is instructive for mainstream learners to develop an awareness of sociopolitical constraints. Learning about others' experiences and feelings may assist students "to develop an understanding of the reality of a multiethnic society and the experiences of members of other ethnic groups". A site for reflection on these issues is the Social Sciences curriculum. Unfortunately, there are no exemplars modelling how the cultural capital of local migrant students might be used as input in planning and implementing lesson sequences. The deputy principal told micro stories of his inclusion of weather maps from migrant students' countries of birth when teaching those students how to read weather maps. It would take little imagination to build on this and bring the students' knowledge to central stage in curriculum planning. The Social Sciences curriculum Level five, for example, includes relevant outcomes such as: understand how cultural interaction impacts on cultures and societies; understand how people move between places and this has consequences for the people and the places; understand how people define and seek human rights (Ministry of Education, 2007). It is about *kanohi ki te kanohi*: "Social transformation involves a two-way process; that is, not only should the people on the periphery generate insurgent voices, but the centre should also attend to such voices" (Kubota, 2004, p. 47).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

My study has cast some light on sections of the Korean community's hopes and dreams for secondary school education in New Zealand. Some of these issues are imperatives in national and local curricular policies, but remain largely at policy level because nationally implementation is not awarded priority. Exploratory studies of how to enact participatory

policy, for example, would be very valuable, for East High School, and other high schools. Lantolf (2001, p. 155) calls for robust and detailed case studies documenting the activities of people on the periphery of linguistic communities of practice and how they gain or are denied (full) participation in these communities. The parents in this study came as migrants, looking for adventure through experiencing life in a different culture. In the absence of deliberately welcoming acts, it is possible for migrants to remain on the margins of their host community. Valsiner (2007, pp. 89, 124) explains the transformational role participation can have:

Human living thus involves boundaries, crossing and then remaking the boundaries. . . . Human beings are . . . active participants in the reconstruction of the social orders. Most social orders are in an unfinished state, and as a result some people are making them in one form, while others are attempting to resist these emerging forms, or even to actively demolish those. By constantly working on the social orders, persons, by assuming their different social roles, actually transform these orders.

Expanding the context of my English classes, I am keen to explore ways our local mainstream communities can set up participatory opportunities.

In sharing the parent and student findings with the school, my hope is that the school will pick up on, and further explore, issues that appear salient to them. For example, the Korean students, and all migrant students in all schools, would benefit from teachers sharing, with passion, stories of career opportunities within their curriculum areas so that visions of their future selves in a new context can be imagined; and data gathering on migrant students' choices and opportunities post high school might be illuminating.

This study is participatory in approach. I am keen to pick up and continue an ongoing relationship with the school, one that has been largely on the backburner during the write-up of this thesis. Directly arising from this research, I would like to further investigate ways of first-hand telling of their stories to the school.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The picture I paint in this write-up is partial. Two significant limitations of the study are the absence of classroom and playground observations to follow up the participants' comments, and the limited number of participants. Firstly, I spent considerable time listening to parents talk about their children's school experiences. I didn't observe the students in their classroom and outside classroom environments, however. The study spent considerable time

listening to the students talk about issues such as patterns of use of L1 and L2 and patterns of interaction. I didn't carry out any observations of these patterns. Secondly, it would have been interesting to interview other stakeholders, for example, the parents of the successful students, and a representative group of teachers.

CONCLUSION

My hope is that this critical ethnographic study has provided, and will continue to provide, encounters among East High School's multiple communities. Dialogue and increasing negotiation and networking will assist Korean community members to adapt, to reinvent and to sustain themselves individually and communally in ways that fit their particular local New Zealand context. Where *kanohi ki te kanohi* is practised, discourses of encounters and belonging are opened up. A curriculum of shared interests in which all members of the school community, including policymakers, have shared common interests might be realistically imagined, implementing Greene's (2007) hope for communities in the making.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Glossary

I endorse Bruthiaux's (2009, p. 121) contention that "definitions have a bad name, and (for the most part) rightly so. They constrict exploration by predefining meaning, constructing categories and erecting firewalls between them". However, as Bruthiaux concedes, they are a convenient shorthand, and a starting point for mutual understanding.

Asia: NZ	A non-profit, apolitical organisation dedicated to building New Zealand's links with Asia, founded in 1994.
Asian	<i>Asian</i> is commonly used as a pan-ethnic label in data gathering in New Zealand. However I support Vasil and Yoon's (1996) argument that diversity within the population is far too great for its peoples to be able to have a sense of belonging to an Asian collectivity. Besides, it is also used in racist discourse and is not acceptable amongst students as nomenclature (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). People "from Asian backgrounds" suggests plurality, and is a convenient phrase.
BES	Best Evidence Synthesis "BES is a collaborative knowledge building strategy designed to strengthen the evidence base that informs education policy and practice in new Zealand." Retrieved, May 12, 2011 from http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/themes/BES .
BoT	Board of Trustees The Board of Trustees is a group of elected people who are responsible for the governance, control and management of the school. The process involves a great deal of consultation with parents, staff and students of the school.
CHC	Confucian Heritage Culture
College	Used interchangeably with "secondary school" and "high school" in New Zealand.
Critical multicultural education	"Aims for social transformation by seeking social justice and equality among all people rather than merely celebrating difference or assuming a priori that all people are equal" (Kubota, 2004, p.37)
ERO	Education Review Office
Ethnicity	Ethnicity is not a static category. "Rather, it is enacted in ever-changing positions and is thus constantly constructed" (Jeon, 2010, p. 53).
High School	Used interchangeably with "college" and "secondary school" in New Zealand.

Identity	<p>“Our sense of who we are and our relationship to the world” (Kanno, 2003, p. 3). Identity is constantly changing and is thus constantly constructed.</p> <p>“Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and differentiates you from others” (Weeks, 1990, p. 88).</p>
Imagination	<p>“A creative way of producing new images of possibility and new ways of understanding one’s relation to the world that transcends more immediate acts of engagement. At the same time, however, imagination does not necessarily result in the coordination of action” (Norton, 2001, pp. 163 -164)</p>
Curriculum imagination	<p>“A process proposing reform where curriculum could be reconceptualised/reimagined in ways that are more responsive to . . . multiplicity/difference, and identity affirmation” (Kanu, 2006, p. 7)</p>
Investment	<p>“Attempts to capture the relationship of the language learner to the changing social world. It conceives of the language learner as having a complex social identity and multiple desires” (Norton Peirce, 1995, pp. 17-18)</p>
International students	<p>International students are students who do not have New Zealand residency, and pay study fees. While international students are not part of this research project, international student studies form part of the literature review because there are few Aotearoa New Zealand studies of domestic migrant students, whereas research has been commissioned in the international field. Within secondary school education, international students are called “foreign fee-paying students” (FFPs)</p>
L1	First language, Korean in this case
L2	Second language, English in this case.
L2L	Learning to Learn
Linking social capital	<p>Connections between individuals with different amounts of power who meet in new contexts (Smyth, McBride, Paton & Sheridan, 2010).</p>
MoE	Ministry of Education, New Zealand
Minority	<p>This term is used in this study, often collated with <i>group</i> or <i>voice</i>, to describe ethnic groups of students within schools who are not the majority group. I concur with Pavlenko and Blackledge’s (2004, p. 4) comments that the terms <i>minority</i> and <i>majority</i> are “somewhat problematic and dichotomizing” and the two authors reference Grillo (1989) and May (2001) in explaining their use of the terms “to refer to situational differences in power, rights, and privileges”.</p>
NEGs	National Education Guidelines

Other	Other is a classifying term used by those in power gathering demographic statistics don't see the need to attend to the details of what they view as small groups of people. Other with a capital O is used in the literature to denote being part of a minority ethnic group, usually being raised with a worldview other than Western (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Madison (2005) contends that the Other is fundamentally about an ethics of responsibility. The Other is outside of me demanding a response.
Pākehā	Non- Māori New Zealanders
Secondary school	Used interchangeably with “college” and “high school” in New Zealand.
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
Social capital	Social networks that enable participants to work together effectively to promote cooperative behaviour in pursuing shared objectives (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1995)
Social inclusion	Originally used in the promotion of economic well-being. In this study I use its wider meaning of community participation and belonging (Piller & Takahashi, 2011).
Tomorrow's Schools	School administration went through major changes with the inception of Tomorrow's Schools based on the Picot Report. These reforms shifted substantial financial and administrative responsibilities for managing schools to boards of trustees elected from the community for each school.
Whānau	Extended Māori family - in the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members. Certain responsibilities and obligations are maintained. (Māori Dictionary Online)

Appendix C: Parent Participants (full table)

Pseudonym (choose a new name – to be used in this research to keep anonymity)	Male or female	Age group 35 – 45 45 – 55 55 - 65	Number of years you have lived in New Zealand	Educational qualifications Secondary Tertiary	Age of children	What important groups do you belong to in NZ? e.g. church school work	Are you able to have a conversation about a lot of everyday things in English? Yes No **	What do you know about Korean curriculum?	What do you know about NZ curriculum? A lot Quite a bit A bit A little Not much Nothing
Andrew	M	45-55	½	Tertiary	15	Church	No	A lot	Not much
Anna	F	35-45	8	Tertiary	17, 20	Church Uni alumni association	No	A lot	Quite a bit
Heon Ju	F	45-55	3	Tertiary	14, 20	Church Work English school	No	A lot	A bit
June	F	45-55	3	Masters	14		No	A bit	A bit
Kyu	Male	35-45	9 years	Bachelor of Economics	18, 16, 6	Work	Yes	Quite a bit	Quite a bit
Sera	F	35-45	1	Tertiary	14, 15	Church	No	A lot	Not much
Simon	M	45-55	10		17	Church school	A little	A lot	Not much
Yeon Ok	F	35-45	3		18, 14	Church work	No	A bit	Nothing
*Clara	F	45-55	7	Tertiary	17	Friendship group, English class	No	Some	Not much
*Daniel	M	35-45	4 ½	Tertiary	13	English class	Yes	A lot	A bit
*Jane	F	35-45	½	Tertiary	15, 14	Church English class	Yes	Quite a bit	Not much
*Rose	F	45-55	8	Tertiary	16, 14	English class		Quite a bit	Not much
* Sally	F	35-45	7	Tertiary	15	English class		Quite a bit	Not much

Note. * The English class group.

Appendix D: Samples of Student Research Notes

05/05/10 Wed Min Gue

Period 1 - Bio

Spoke Korean 12 times to my cousin who is from Korea and has been here for a while (10 months - 1 yr)

Although he can communicate nature of Biology being very English-based and has many of jargon, the teacher allowed him to go to board means to allow me

5th May 2010 Jade

During the whole day at school,

I didn't sit next to any Koreans in any of my classes.

I didn't speak any Korean at all throughout the whole day. I talked to a Korean guy in my History class but we spoke in English.

Cindy

→ Koreans tend to be in groups and basically speak Korean all the time

→ but depends on who you are talking to e.g. Amy & I only talk in English: we find it more comfortable

→ teachers discourage speaking Korean.

e.g. My Japanese class consists of 10 people of which and 7 of them are Korean so basically the whole class speaks in Korean

How teachers treat us Anna

are all

* ~~Biology~~ - My teachers' definitely very inclusive of everyone, makes sure everyone understands. There is no difference in how they treat students however, they expect the same level of work from an 'English-challenged' student to a good English speaker.

* ~~Physics~~ - interesting

* One observation is that I have realised that some of my teachers find it hard to learn the

Appendix E: Questions Sent to Students Prior to the Last Interview

Idea/Issue of concern	What happens now		Other ways it could be done
School to parent communication. (<i>Jade said that not many Koreans came to the East High School seminar at which her brother spoke about learning in NZ schools. She suggested parents didn't know about it.</i>) Question: Are there ways the school could communicate better with your parents?			
Teachers knowing Korean students well. <i>(Anna commented that some teachers have a hard time remembering Korean students' names.)</i> Question: Why is it important that teachers know you well? Are close teacher-student relationships helpful for learning?			
Idea/Issue of concern	What happens now		Other ways it could be done
Difficulties newly arrived Korean students have interacting with native English speakers. <i>(Both Cindy and Min Gue talked about newly arrived Korean students having difficulty interacting with native English speakers. Min Gue talked about some Korean students not being able to face their fear of interacting and so not being successful language learners)</i> Question: What could be done to provide an environment where students could be supported to interact?			
The time burden of teachers and weaker Korean students relying on you as successful students to explain. (<i>Min Gue documented using Korean 31 times in 1 day to help other students</i>) Question: How can weaker students be supported by the school?			
Using Korean language in class.	Advantages	Disadvantages	Suggestions
<i>(Bin said that some teachers discourage this)</i> Question: Advantages and disadvantages? In what ways could classroom environments be created where use of Korean language was accepted.			

Idea/Issue of concern	What happens now		Other ways it could be done
	Advantages	Disadvantages	Other suggestions
Koreans sticking together at interval and lunchtimes <i>(Harry said that even Korean students with excellent English skills stick with Koreans and speak Korean at interval and lunchtime.)</i> Question: Advantages and disadvantages? School organised activities that Korean students (and others) enjoy			
Korean tables <i>(John said that there is a Korean table in every classroom.)</i> Question: Advantages and disadvantages? Other suggestions?			
Teachers organising group work with mixed groups <i>(Jae said that sometimes the teacher put you in mixed groups.)</i> Question: Advantages and disadvantages? Other suggestions?			
Stricter rules at school One of you said that you would like to have stricter rules at school. Question: Advantages and disadvantages? Stricter rules about what?			
Compulsory service event One of you said that you would like to make it compulsory for all students to make one service event compulsory. Question: Advantages and disadvantages? Other comments?			
You have had very useful suggestions for change. Are their processes at school for hearing student voices?	What happens now	Other ways it could be done	

Appendix F: Questions and Notes for the Principal

1 Main question

What concerns you most about the education of Korean permanent resident students at your school? What are your hopes and dreams for how things might be different?

Sub questions for school

1. (a) In what ways is the school encouraging community engagement at the school?
(2007 NZ curriculum document principles: *The curriculum has meaning for students, connects with their wider lives, and engages support of their families*).
1. (b) What do you expect in terms of engagement from the Korean community?

NOTES

(a) Reference to literature. See the Australian model of levels of community engagement that has been used in NZ to analyse where schools are at:

Inform; consult; involve; collaborate; empower. Cited in Cowie, Hipkins, Boyd, Bull, Keown, McGee, et al. (2009) (Available:

<http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/curriculum/57760/1>).

(b) My findings.

- Korean do have a different worldview. For example, Korean parents assign real status to teachers and see their role in a student's life as not only the one who can explain subject matter well so that the students are successful, but also as inspirational mentors, guiding their children. "Teaching is NOT job!" Living in an alien culture, they are even more reliant on the teacher to carry out this role.

One or two of the Korean parents are interested in school and community politics. For example, G said she would consider standing for the BOTs, because she has some expertise in this field, but would need a translator. What are ways you could envisage and support Korean representation on the BOTs? (The issue of representation is somewhat like the issue of Maori representation on the AK city council.) The same G attended a community policing talk at the school but could not participate because there was no translator and no other means of enabling understanding of the message.

2 Main question

What concerns you most about the education of Korean permanent resident students at your school? What are your hopes and dreams for how things might be different?

Sub questions for school

2. (a) In what ways is the school encouraging community engagement at the school?
(2007 NZ curriculum document principles: *The curriculum has meaning for students, connects with their wider lives, and engages support of their families*).
1. (b) What do you expect in terms of engagement from the Korean community?

NOTES

(a) Reference to literature. See the Australian model of levels of community engagement that has been used in NZ to analyse where schools are at:

Inform; consult; involve; collaborate; empower. Cited in Cowie, Hipkins, Boyd, Bull, Keown, McGee, et al. (2009) (Available: <http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/curriculum/57760/1>).

(b) My findings.

- Korean do have a different worldview. For example, Korean parents assign real status to teachers and see their role in a student's life as not only the one who can explain subject matter well so that the students are successful, but also as inspirational mentors, guiding their children. "Teaching is NOT job!" Living in an alien culture, they are even more reliant on the teacher to carry out this role.
- One or two of the Korean parents are interested in school and community politics. For example, G said she would consider standing for the BOTs, because she has some expertise in this field, but would need a translator. What are ways you could envisage and support Korean representation on the BOTs? (The issue of representation is somewhat like the issue of Maori representation on the AK city council.) The same G attended a community policing talk at the school but could not participate because there was no translator and no other means of enabling understanding of the message.

3. In what ways is the school encouraging cultural diversity in school curricula? (2007 NZ curriculum document principles: *The curriculum reflects New Zealand's cultural diversity and values the histories and traditions of all its people*)

NOTES

(a) My findings.

Some Korean parents said:

- Would the school consider offering Chinese language? Would the school consider having a more international focus to curriculum? Would the school consider broadening the curriculum?
- All teachers should understand significant cultural differences – for example, when told off Korean students are taught not to explain even when there is a reasonable explanation, but to hang their head, keep quiet and accept the blame. NZ teachers, in comparison, expect to be looked in the eye and given an explanation.

Some students said:

- the way the school celebrated differences was with cultural festivals and performance items.

Note that the literature is quite negative about such things. For example, Schoorman, D., & Bogotch, I. (2010, p. 80)- calls these “‘business as usual’ or tokenistic approaches, variously described as ‘surface culture’, ‘food and flags’ or ‘tourist’ curriculum emphasizing cultural contributions, ‘compensatory’ ...efforts aimed at the ‘culturally different’ or fragmented ‘additives’ to the curriculum”.

- the students felt they came to NZ for a western education and didn’t worry about this issue at all. They liked the support given through ESOL classes and the buddy system.
4. In what ways is the school encouraging inclusion at the school? (*i.e. the curriculum is non-sexist and non-discriminatory; it ensures that students’ identities, languages, abilities, and talents are recognised and affirmed and that their learning needs are addressed*)

NOTES

(a) My findings.

Issue - how do you ensure that Korean students are awarded equal status at school? See cultural mismatch – Korean students don’t explain when being told off. How do you ensure that Korean priorities are addressed? The Korean parents would like a very academic focus, they want their children pushed, extended, hwk checked, and they want their children to be inspired. Students and parents want more Career advice. I said in Korea your job choice is dependent on your grades, whereas in NZ nothing has replaced this system. Consequently the children have “no hope, no vision” re future possibilities. Both parents and students said that students with only very basic English skills would benefit from more support – teachers

don't ask them to answer questions, they are ignored in mainstream class settings. Korean students participate only passively, the parents said.

5. How do you ensure that positive inter-group relationships develop at school? (2007 NZ curriculum document key competencies: *relating to others*).

NOTES

(a) My findings.

One of the 8 students I interviewed was an outlier – her school friends are all non-Korean. Otherwise, both students and parents say that not much interaction between Korean students and native English speakers happens at (any) secondary school. Some students see the value of being assigned seating plans in class in order to get to know others. All students I interviewed see social advantages in well-structured mixed group work. The students say there are Korean tables in all classrooms – and even Korean students who have been in NZ for 10 or more years sit at these.

6. What is a possible process for hearing and incorporating Korean community voices in schooling, for engaging in dialogue?

Korean parent meetings?

Appendix G: Example of an Initial Memo (24/09/10)

Participating and achieving opportunities (employment opportunities)

Teaching is not a job! This heartfelt quote from Clara sums up (implicitly) the role Korean parents expect of teachers and schools. Teachers are called to intervene in children's lives, in Clara's view. Expectations of teachers are perhaps different from the expectations of teachers in New Zealand classrooms. It also perhaps implies a different weighting to the role of school in a child's life. Most parents left because they sought alternative career pathways for themselves and their children. They came prepared to engage and be changed as a result. For some parents such as Rose and Yeon Ok these are worries because they can't now envisage the way forward for their children. Symbolic resources would be useful to help think through such issues. Bhabu's space? But where are the helping tools? New Zealand based Korean alumna associations are not useful. Migrants need to be able to visualise needs potential pathways.

How the category emerged

The importance of education for children is all engulfing. I haven't met one parent who is not concerned, who did not state it as a reason for the upheaval of shifting countries. Comparing data, both the school group and the English language group were worried about their children not participating. Some thought some teachers were lazy.

Beliefs and assumptions that support it

- Confucian thinking.
- Traditional role of teacher in Korean education system – the parents said that the teachers act like mentors to teenaged students.
- Sacrifice made to migrate is about children's educational opportunities.
- Equality of jobs. *What I thought was the biggest difference between here and Korea is that, in Korea, if you don't do well academically, people consider it as a bad thing (*original: people talk in a bad way), like 'Would you be able to earn enough to eat? What are you going to do? Work in a factory?' You do what we call 'physical work', but people here don't think that there is a world of difference between them [jobs] whereas in Korea people do, right? (Andrew B114)*
- What they all say
- Han (2010) "parents are ready to sacrifice their lives for the education of their children".

- They participate in school passively although there are a lot of opportunities to jump in (A, B 351)

See ‘coding combined focus groups’ for more data.

Practical significance – mutual sharing of information

- Parents need to meet teachers so teachers hear their stories and a professional caring relationship is deepened. When the parents don’t tend to go to school and so the teachers don’t connect with them in the same way– see Rose and Clara’s strong reactions when I asked them about going to the school. The teachers don’t perceive the trust the Korean community places in them. The nature of Confucian heritage cultures needs to be emphasised to teachers. This and the hopes and dreams (competitive culture). Some adapt and become resigned: See Annie – NZ education ‘nice’ (after criticising it)
- Teachers need to be apprised of cultural norms re education
- Parents need to learn about New Zealand educational norms (Korean language material needed on the school intranet): students as lifelong learners, not just about immediate marks; range of opportunities (career pathways). Some Korean parents talk about these issues, especially critical thinking. But they need more info re the NZ school system: *Even I didn’t know about high school system last year. My daughter was Year 9, I didn’t know it at all. I’m the same Korean parent. . . .He said always Korean student asked him which subject teacher give good mark, better mark, like that. He said not important. The mark is not important, the subject itself is important. The subject can help when you go to university in future but Korean student cannot understand* June, C213
- Sits within the argument of *What were your hopes and dreams in coming here?* The parents talk about these issues with great depth of feeling and are in agreement, even the outliers.

Contrary evidence

Tension between why you came (too much pressure and stress) and the acceptance of lack of urgency. Heon Ju’s son who has dropped out and even Heon Ju’s daughter?

- Even when thinking like this, parents are still filled with regret that their children are not achieving.
- Clara and her sad story about her friends’ son who came here for his education and worked hard at integrating, so much so that he is now marrying a Kiwi. His mother cries all the time.

Eventually this memo became *kanohi ki te kanohi*

Appendix H: Rose's Story

Rose (pseudonym) has two children at the school. She and her husband and children had been in New Zealand for six years at the time of data collection. Rose and her husband came to New Zealand for mid life crisis reasons. They came, primarily, seeking an adventure. She ranked her children's education as her third (but still important) reason for migrating. Her main concern with schooling is that her children have no dreams of who they might become in the future. She hopes that the school will offer more inspirational storytelling to fire her children's sense of adventure encouraging them to build dreams of their future selves.

Rose was worried by the low levels of motivation of her children and their friends, and she made sense of these worries by thinking about their cause and also by imagining a solution. She worried that in New Zealand's welfare society the concept of a back-up safety net (the dole) meant the students lacked motivation and lacked goals. Here are her words as she talks about one of her children and that child's friends:

In this culture, lots of welfare. So not anxious about future. Didn't have endurance. Didn't have will. Want to be there. Want to be it. Didn't have. NZ is very comfortable. Didn't have adventure. Didn't have hope. So that –

What to do?

I don't know.

What do you want?

I don't know

Which is good?

I don't know

Didn't have hope

Rose visualised the enabling power of storytelling. For Rose, the best thing would be for ex students (Korean) to return and inspire students with stories of what they were doing. However, she thought that the school, being new, lacked a large pool of ex-students who could be role models. In the vacuum she felt the school needed to go further a field for motivational speakers.

Sometimes inviting famous people and respect peoples. And open speech to all the people. This school has a short story so didn't have appreciated people so other invited respect

people come and give talk about their future. . . . Yes, inspire. And so at that time they have lots of questions to the elder students. It's good meeting I think.

Rose imagined the principal and senior teachers giving encouraging talks to students about taking on challenging futures.

And then I hope to the principal. . . I hope they got lots of promotion or adventure. So that elder teacher and principal say lots of things about future and hope and adventure. And then they got a good chance. Promotion. Adventure. Have to do this speaking.

Rose saw coming to New Zealand as giving her children another chance. (It is necessary thing to speak English. And then we moved in NZ. NZ or America or Australia it's ok we got another chance or opportunity). She didn't want to give her children the experience her generation had who needed English for their work roles and so had to study English early in the morning or late at night.

She was worried about the narrow range of subjects her children study at school (College students choose about 5 or 6 subjects but in Korea college student choose about 10 or 13 subjects. . . . So some don't know about science or science student don't know about history. So it is a little bit problem. I think so). She thinks that a perfect system would be half way between the depth of the NZ system and the breadth of the Korean system.

Appendix I: Teacher Discussion Document: Use of Korean (L1) or English (L2) in class

Topic: Use of Korean (L1) or English (L2) in class

Successful Korean senior Korean students who had had almost all their education in New Zealand reported that they still thought in Korean when thinking through academic problems.

Discussion starters

Data from interviews with members of management.

I really do believe that students work well when they've got their buddy alongside them because if they do come across something they've got that relationship with that person to ask a question.

They'll always resort to their own language and this makes it hard for those students to engage with the New Zealand speaking students.

Data from the successful senior Korean students.

[At the Korean tables] most of the talk is in Korean, not in English, and teachers really discourage that, they want Korean students to speak more English. Also probably cause they don't know what we are talking about.

Some Koreans that speak poor English find it [being told not to use Korean language] offensive.

If you've been in New Zealand for like so long you might like forget Korean so you can learn Korean [in the playground].

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