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“Going Global” at Home: International Branch Campuses, Im/Mobilities, and the Tensions of Class and Language

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by

Jenny Jong-Hwa Lee

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

"Going Global" at Home: International Branch Campuses,
Im/Mobilities, and the Tensions of Class and Language

by

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In 2014, South Korea launched Incheon Global Campus (IGC), a shared campus where multiple international branch campuses operate together as a consortium of colleges. English is the medium of instruction at IGC, and each member university has autonomous control over the curriculum, staffing, faculty, and admissions of their individual branch campus. The aim of IGC is to provide Korean students with an affordable alternative to traditional study abroad sojourns by allowing students to essentially study abroad *in situ.* This goal is particularly notable given how South Korea has long served as a primary source country for international students studying abroad in other countries.

The South Korean students who attend IGC are uniquely involved in a grand social experiment which complicates our understanding of international education. What does it mean

when higher education institutions cross borders, circumventing the need for students to do so? Unfortunately, there has been a lack of attention to this phenomenon, not only in terms of empirical studies, but also in terms of critical theorizing regarding this novel type of international/transnational education and its impact on the student experience. IGC students are clearly different from the rest of the native student population since they are not attending a South Korean university, yet they are not quite "international" either since they do not travel overseas and instead remain immersed in their home environments. In short, they occupy a third space that is simultaneously international and domestic since they are essentially "going global at home".

This study explores the nature of student experiences in this liminal space, and the extent to which this transnational context symbolizes education's potential to be a either a tool for social reproduction or social mobility. In these unique transnational spaces, students mobilize capital, especially linguistic capital, in ways that highlight a global dimension to Bourdieu's theory of social fields and social reproduction.

The dissertation of Jenny Jong-Hwa Lee is approved.

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DEDICATION

To Emo, Emobu, and Rob.

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Lee, J.J. (2019, November). *Language as Contested Ground: English Usage at American International Branch Campuses in South Korea*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Portland, OR.

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Du Cros, F., Chin, C., Lee, J.J., Yuen, N.W., Deo, M.E., & Milman, N. (2018). Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders on TV. *Contexts,* Fall.

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Lee, J.J. (2016, November). *Invisible Dreamers? Undocumented Asian American Students Navigating their Way to College.* Paper presented at the meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Columbus, OH.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

On February 9, 2020, the South Korean film *Parasite* by director Bong Joon-Ho made history as the first non-English language film to win the Best Picture category in the 92-year history of the Academy Awards. This black comedy about a poor con-artist family insinuating themselves into the lives of an extremely wealthy family transcended linguistic, cultural, and national boundaries to garner critical acclaim around the world. The film has been described as an "allegory of class rage" between "two families on warring sides of the class divide" (Chang, 2019) where severe income inequality is increasingly becoming entrenched in South Korean society. Although *Parasite* indulges in narrative extremes and showcases many nuances of Korean culture, the core subject matter of class inequality and the arduous struggle for social mobility were clearly universal and relatable themes for audiences.

In addition, *Parasite* highlights the inextricable link between globalization, education, and social inequality, albeit in far subtler tones. In fact, an examination of the first ten minutes of Parasite introduces a broad spectrum of issues that succinctly highlights the hegemony of Western education and English as a global language, as well as the close ties that exist between education and social inequality in South Korea.[1] The catalyst for the movie's plot is the hiring of the poor son, Ki-Woo/Kevin, as an English tutor for the wealthy Park family's teen daughter; the tutoring position becomes available because the Parks' current tutor is leaving Korea to study abroad in the United States. While these may seem like simple storytelling decisions to set up the film's narrative, each plot point speaks directly to major trends in Korea's class structure, education system, and immigration patterns. The use of private tutors to supplement student

1. Hereafter referred to as Korea.

learning outside of school is a form of shadow education, the quality of which is intimately tied to class status. For example, the Park family is utilizing private tutors to ensure personalized attention for their children, which is far costlier than sending their children to *hagwons* (학원, or cram schools/academies), the common shadow education choice of middle-class families. The former tutor's departure to study abroad speaks to Korea's long history of outbound academic migration (with the United States as the preferred destination), as well as his own privileged position to afford this sojourn. Ki-woo's use of the English name "Kevin" speaks to the cachet of English language because of its power to signify prestige and culture in Korean society.

Ki-woo initially hesitates to take the tutoring position because he is not a college student despite having taken the *suneung* (수능, or College Scholastic Ability Test/CSAT) four times. This is a subtle nod to the extreme hierarchy that exists for Korean universities, which is why many students choose to repeat the exam the following year rather than attend a lower-ranked university or open access college. It is unclear if Ki-woo has not matriculated simply because he cannot afford college or if it is because he keeps scoring poorly and is holding out for admission to an elite university through higher test scores. However, when he departs for his job interview with a forged diploma from one of Korea's top schools, Yonsei University, he earnestly tells his father, "I don't think of this as forgery or crime. I'll go to this university next year. I just printed out the document a bit early." Ki-woo's insistence that he will eventually attend Yonsei University illustrates a persistent, yet ultimately detrimental, belief that a successful future in Korea is only possible with admission to one of Korea's top universities. Given the over-saturation of college graduates and the stagnation of the Korean labor market in recent years, Ki-woo's beliefs are not unfounded, which problematizes our understanding of education as a means of social mobility. In short, reviewing *Parasite's* narrative premise serves as a useful

introduction to issues of class inequality and the role of education in a globalized context, which is the primary focus of this study.

Statement of the Problem

Contrary to its historic English nickname of "The Land of the Morning Calm," the modern history of Korea has been characterized by a veritable frenzy of economic, political, and social development and growth. In fact, Korea experienced an average real GDP growth of 7.3% annually between 1960 and 2019 (World Bank, 2020), thereby making it one of the four Tiger economies of Asia and updating its nickname to the "Korean Miracle." Korea's education indicators have also been especially high, resulting in much global attention on Korea's education system, and widespread praise for the "education fever" of Korean parents (S. Choi, 2008, p. 7). By 1999, the rate of high school completion was nearly 100% despite secondary education not being compulsory (Grubb et al., 2009), and Korea continues to rank first worldwide in this regard by a large margin (OECD, 2017). Korea also had the highest proportion of 25- to 34-year-olds enrolled in higher education among 36 OECD countries (Hultberg et al., 2017).

Hell Joseon and "Spoon Class Theory"

However, in recent years, Koreans are far more likely to refer to their homeland as "Hell Joseon," which alludes to the Joseon dynasty, Korea's last dynastic kingdom before colonization by the Japanese in 1910 (Fifield, 2016). Many young Koreans in particular feel that they are trapped in a hellish feudal system much like their ancestors during the Joseon dynasty. Unlike previous generations of Koreans who benefited from Korea's rapid economic development and expansion of education in the 1960s and 1970s, Koreans today are living through a period of sluggish economic growth, rising unemployment, an oversupply of college graduates, and even

more cutthroat competition to get ahead (S. G. Chung, 2016). In the face of nearly universal college attendance, the higher education system itself has become increasingly stratified as only admittance into a small number of elite institutions will likely result in future success (Fischer, 2016). In this sense, Koreans are literally reaching for the "SKY" and a few additional elite universities to secure their futures. The acronym "SKY" refers to the top three elite universities in the country—Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University—and graduating from one of these prestigious institutions presumably ensures access to valuable social capital and lifetime employment with the government or one of the country's powerful *jaebeols* (재벌, or conglomerates). Given these high stakes, preparation for the *suneung* (수능, or College Scholastic Ability Test/CSAT) is of the utmost concern for parents and students. However, the unbridled growth of the shadow education industry in Korea has undermined the supposedly egalitarian nature of the college entrance exam. Shadow education refers to "a set of educational activities outside formal schooling that are designed to improve a student's chance of successfully moving through the allocation process" (Stevenson & Baker, 1992), and most commonly takes the form of *hagwons* (학원, or cram schools/academies) or private tutors. Since wealthier parents can invest more in shadow education than poorer ones, they are able to secure a competitive edge thereby reinforcing their privilege in society across generations. Consequently, Korea is facing an increasingly untenable situation in which education is exacerbating social inequality more than it is creating opportunities for social mobility.

As a result of this, Koreans have coined a new term, *sujeogyegeumnon* (수저계급론, or "Spoon Class Theory"). *Sujeogyegeumnon* is based on the English expression "born with a silver spoon in his mouth" and is used to describe how a person's standing in society is defined by inherited parental wealth rather than individual effort, ability, and savings. Thus, the generational

transfer of capital determines whether a person is born with a gold, silver, bronze or dirt spoon, which directly impacts their educational trajectory and reinforces their current socioeconomic standing. While inherited assets contributed approximately 27% to one's wealth accumulation in the 1980s, by the 2000s this percentage had grown to 42% (금수저·흙수저는 현실 [Gold spoon and dirt spoon are reality], 2015), thereby contributing to a rising sense of futility for young Koreans who are unable to climb the social ladder in the context of "Hell Joseon." Furthermore, Koreans find themselves caught in a higher education access trap. As described by Hultberg and Calonge (2017), one family's decision to invest in shadow education compels surrounding families to also invest in shadow education of similar or better quality to ensure their child is a competitive college applicant. However, as more families engage in this educational "arms race," the net effect is to decrease the probability of attending a prestigious university while also saddling each household with a financial burden which ultimately may not pay off. In fact, according to a 2013 study by the McKinsey Global Institute, the lifetime earnings for Korean college graduates was less than for workers who graduated from vocational high schools (Fischer, 2016). Despite this, the social stigma associated with vocational education remains strong, and although the promise of upward social mobility via traditional higher education institutions is becoming increasingly tenuous for those not already born into a privileged class, Koreans still cling to this promise with fierce determination and have turned to international education as a means of getting ahead.

Global Inequalities

The globalized higher education landscape is itself characterized by a highly unequal core-periphery divide (Altbach, 2004), with power primarily concentrated in research intensive institutions in English speaking nations such as the United States. It is against this larger

backdrop that inequality in Korean society is further complicated since students' proximity to the education traditions of core countries confers prestige and privilege. Thus, the effects of globalization and neoliberalism add an international dimension to social inequality in Korea. For example, the importance of English language fluency in Korea lies in its ability to serve as a marker of social distinction rather than its practical communicative function, since English is not widely spoken within Korean society itself. Furthermore, students who have studied abroad and, even better, have obtained foreign education credentials, are able to effectively utilize the global landscape to access additional capital that will ultimately serve to raise their standing in an increasingly stratified Korean society. However, this opportunity for social mobility is clearly not accessible to all since a significant investment of capital is initially needed to engage in English language shadow education and/or overseas education.

Neoliberal policy reforms have also taken place on a global scale in concert with the rising significance of English and western education credentials. The commodification of education through General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) has been especially relevant since it opened the doors for countries like the United States and the United Kingdom to export their education systems to other countries as a tradable service (Altbach, 2004). This has sparked an increase in "provider mobility" (Knight, 2013) through the establishment of international branch campuses. That is, higher education institutions (i.e. the education "providers") are crossing borders to establish satellite locations across the world in place of traditional forms of education mobility in which students travel overseas to study abroad. These actions enable institutions to increase their name brand recognition and to diversify their revenue streams as they position themselves as a desirable and affordable alternative to studying abroad. For countries hosting international branch campuses, this presumably provides a means of keeping

students (and their precious capital) "at home," a high priority for countries concerned about the outflow of students and their tuition dollars. In 2011, Korea had an annual education-trade deficit of $4 billion USD (Mergner, 2011), and the Ministry of Education even classified the ongoing student drain as a crisis (McNeill, 2008). As a result, various state-led higher education internationalization efforts were implemented, the most ambitious of which was the debut of Incheon Global Campus (IGC) in 2014. IGC is a massive university complex which currently houses four international branch campuses that operate as an international consortium of colleges, or "education hub": State University New York (SUNY), Stony Brook; University of Utah; George Mason University; and Ghent University of Belgium. The stated mission of IGC is to enable students to find "infinite potential and possibilities to become global elites" through a "cost-effective education" (*IGC Incheon Global Campus*, n.d.). Given this new evolution in Korea's higher education landscape, it is unclear to what extent IGC simply reinforces existing privileges and inequalities or extends opportunities for capital accumulation to a more diverse set of Korean students, thereby allowing students to rise above their inherited "spoon" class.

Purpose and Scope of Study

The Korean students who choose to attend Incheon Global Campus (IGC) are a unique student population involved in a grand social experiment which complicates our understanding of international education. What does it mean when higher education institutions cross borders, circumventing the need for students to do so? Unfortunately, there has been a lack of attention to this phenomenon, not only in terms of empirical studies, but also in terms of critical theorizing regarding this novel type of international/transnational education and its impact on the student experience. Instead, studies on international branch campuses and transnational education tend to focus on the macro-level and institutional stakeholders involved, such as the host and home

countries, government entities and policymakers, and the administrators of the foreign universities. Foreign university recruitment, policies and regulations pertaining to the establishment of international branch campuses, student enrollment numbers and demographics, the sustainability of IGC and the likelihood of it becoming the leading global education hub in Asia—these issues tend to take center stage in discussions of IGC. What has been notably absent in these discussions is the perspectives of the actual students themselves although they are the most important element of IGC. After all, without the students, there can be no schools in operation. IGC students are clearly different from the rest of the native student population since they are not attending a Korean university, yet they are not quite "international" either since they do not travel overseas and instead remain immersed in their home environments. In short, they occupy a third space that is simultaneously international and domestic since they are essentially "going global at home."

Thus, this study explores the nature of student experiences in this liminal space, and the extent to which this transnational context symbolizes education's potential to be either a tool for social reproduction or social mobility. The following research questions guide this study:

1. What characterizes the Korean students who choose to attend IGC, particularly in terms of their prior international experience and English language ability?
2. Why do students attend IGC?
    a. What motivates students to attend this novel type of institution?
    b. How do their perceptions of their educational opportunities affect their decision to attend IGC?
3. What is it like to be a student at IGC?
    a. What is the everyday experience of students in American international branch

campuses situated within their home country of Korea?

b. How do students make sense of their experiences as students engaged in this unique form of transnational education?

To answer these questions, I utilize a constructivist and interpretivist approach to capture the perspectives of the students and the meanings they attach to their higher education goals and experiences in this "global setting." Constructivism posits that reality (and therefore knowledge) is multiple because it is constructed through the interaction of an individual's experiences and her ideas (Piaget, 1972). Furthermore, an individual has the power to interpret this interaction—thus an interpretivist approach prioritizes the participant's understanding of their lived reality. The findings in this study are primarily drawn from an analysis of interview data with 25 IGC student participants. Additional sources of data include field notes from participant observation during my three-month research residence at the IGC campus during the 2019 spring semester, informal interviews with staff and faculty, and document analysis of IGC promotional materials. Bourdieu's theory of capital, habitus and field proved useful as a conceptual framework to guide both my methodological decisions and data analysis. According to Bourdieu, students mobilize their capital in various fields as they jockey for a better position in hierarchical fields. The way they mobilize their capital is also largely influenced by their habitus, thereby illustrating the interplay between individual agency and the constraints of social structures. Furthermore, I explore how broader concepts related to social mobility/inequality and the role of education are mediated through the everyday lived experiences of students.

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to the current research on transnational higher education in several key ways. First, by focusing on Korean students who are "studying abroad" *in situ* at an

education hub, this study problematizes the simplistic "domestic/international" binary that exists in much of education research. These students occupy a hybridized "third space" that is at once local/domestic and foreign/international and is ostensibly supposed to better equip them to seize opportunities in an increasingly globalized world. Given the growing trend of transnational education projects such as international branch campuses, it is important to gain an understanding of the student experience in these unique environments, particularly since sufficient student recruitment is an ongoing issues at most international branch campuses (Altbach, 2010).

Secondly, this study utilizes an integrative conceptual approach based upon Bourdieu's theory of social fields. While previous studies on educational inequality has referenced Bourdieu's work, concepts such as cultural capital or habitus are too narrowly defined or utilized in isolation (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). In contrast, this study incorporates the key concepts from field theory and social reproduction theory—social fields, capital, and habitus—for a more complete understanding of student experiences at IGC. Moreover, this study expands upon our understanding of Bourdieu's theory of social fields by highlighting the global dimension of education inequality and social reproduction, particularly as it relates to language. As an international branch campus hub, IGC is situated in a broader context in which the United States dominates the geopolitics of knowledge production/consumption in an ever-globalizing world. Thus, it is important to understand how Bordieuan concepts such as capital, field, and habitus are mediated through global power structures that directly impact the everyday lived experiences of Korean students as they interact with each other, the staff/faculty, and their environment.

Lastly, this study centers the voices of Korean students at IGC and highlights how they make meaning of this alternative higher education option. As Knight (2011) observes, "most of

the information on education hubs is grey literature, such as policy reports, business plans, and media articles" (p. 222). In addition, international branch campuses add to this grey literature through their marketing and recruitment materials. Unfortunately, there is a lack of empirical data on actual student experiences within education hub settings that delves into their own thought processes and interpretations. Rather, student data tends to focus on more "objective" measures such as student satisfaction with college choice and branch campus facilities. This study provides a deeper understanding of how students navigate complicated transnational fields in the context of pursuing their own educational aspirations.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review is divided into three parts to fully contextualize this study. Part 1 provides an overview of the Korean higher education system to highlight the domestic issues that have led to the development of Incheon Global Campus and how and why it may serve as a desirable higher education option for Korean students. Part 2 discusses the evolution of transnational education to better situate how Incheon Global Campus fits into the global education landscape and to provide a frame of reference for how to understand student experiences in transnational social fields. Part 3 explains the theoretical framework which guides this study by first reviewing the core principles of Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and its links to social reproduction and then discussing the application of field theory to education in general, and the transnational space of IGC in particular.

PART I: A Brief Overview of Korea's Education System

Korea has a highly developed education system as well as internationally renowned education indicators for student enrollment, attainment, and performance on internationally standardized exams. As a result, there has been a great deal of global attention on Korea's education system as well as widespread praise for the "education fever" of Korean parents (Choi, 2008, p. 7). However, the state's role in implementing "step-by-step" educational development cannot be understated (H. Lee, 2009). In the aftermath of Japanese colonization and the Korean War, the Korean government made very deliberate efforts to achieve universal education as part of its postcolonial reconstruction and nation-building objectives (K. Byun & Kim, 2011; J.-K. Lee, 2006). Consequently, the Rhee administration developed Korea's primary education system immediately following the Korean War, and Korea attained universal primary education in the 1960s. When General Park took control of the government through a *coup d'etat* in 1961, he set

rapid economic growth as a primary objective—and saw universal education as the crucial means of obtaining this goal. The rapid expansion of the secondary school system coincided with the surge in demand from primary school graduates. Thus, a number of education policies[2] were implemented in response to the high demand for education; as part of the new regulations, entrance exams for middle and high schools were eliminated, curricula across schools became more standardized, students were randomly assigned to high schools in their district, and public-school teachers were rotated among schools in an effort to ensure equality of educational resources and wider access. Universal middle school education was achieved in 1985, and although compulsory education is only through middle school, universal high school education was attained in the late 1990s (S. Kim & Lee, 2006), and even in the present day, Korea continues to rank first worldwide in this regard (Grubb et al., 2009).

However, while the Korean government was focusing resources on the step-by-step development of primary and secondary education, the expansion of higher education was largely left to private entities (S. Kim & Lee, 2006); thus, higher education was largely privatized from the beginning. The current landscape of the Korean education system continues to reflect this pattern: in Korea, 75% of all Korean students are enrolled in private higher education institutions (HEIs), which is five times as high as the OECD average of 15% of students enrolled in private HEIs (OECD, 2013). Furthermore, the share of private funds for higher education is 38% (which is significantly higher than the OECD average of 16%), and the majority of these funds come from private households (H. Park, 2003). In 2018, Korea ranked first among all OECD nations for the percentage of 25- to 34-year-olds who had completed tertiary education (OECD, 2019).

[2] See S. Kim & Lee, 2010, for an overview of major education policies in Korea since the 1960s.

Higher Education

For college admissions, Korea primarily makes use of a national entrance examination known as the *suneung* (수능, or College Scholastic Ability Test/CSAT). This grueling nine-hour exam is administered each fall during senior year, and covers various topics including Korean language, English language, math, science, history, and Chinese characters or another foreign language. It is notable that English-language, along with Korean language, comprise the largest sections of the exam. Since the Korean education system is highly centralized and standardized through the Ministry of Education, the high school curriculum primarily teaches to the *suneung*. Critics of the Korean education system have decried this overemphasis on testing, whereas others have countered that the *suneung* provides an egalitarian playing field for students applying to college since all students are preparing for the *suneung* in high school. On exam day, the entire country comes to a temporary standstill; offices open later to keep the roads clear for students, air traffic is halted during the listening sections of the exam, public transportation is increased in the mornings to ensure students get to school on time, and sirens can even be heard prior to the exam as police escort students who might be running late. Since *suneung* scores also determine what majors students are eligible for (and because changing majors in Korea is generally a difficult process), students who do not perform well on the exam are often tempted to take a gap year and retake the *suneung* the following fall rather than attend a less prestigious university or major in an undesirable discipline. The process of taking the *suneung* again is known as *jaesu* (재수, or "repeat *suneung"*).

The higher education landscape in Korea is highly stratified and features only a few elite institutions among the nation's 200+ universities. As a result, admission into one of these few

institutions is extremely competitive. Unfortunately, the extreme competition is warranted since *hakbeol* (학벌, or education credentials) has far-reaching consequences in Korean society. For example, alumni networks are an important means of accessing employment opportunities at major Korean corporations and elite government ministries (S. Byun & Park, 2012); in 2000, 57% of the National Assembly were graduates of the top three Korean universities, and 59% of the people listed in the Who's Who list across four major Korean newspapers were alumni of the top six universities (S. Kim & Lee, 2006). Also, Jang's 2002 study (as cited in Kim & Lee, 2006) on the economics of higher education found that graduates from the top five Korean universities earned a wage premium of about 42% whereas graduates from the next top five university earned a wage premium less than 10%. Many Koreans believe that *hakbeol* can even have an impact on a person's marriage prospects (J.-K. Lee, 2006).

The college application process is divided into two main periods: *susi* (수시, or early admissions) and *jeongsi* (정시, or regular admissions); students can apply to up to six schools for *susi* and only three schools for *jeongsi*. Whereas regular admission is primarily based on a student's *suneung* score and/or school records, early admission relies on other criteria since the process begins before the administration of the *suneung* exam. As such, the importance of *suneung* test scores is either minimal or completely unnecessary for *susi* applicants. Instead, factors such as letters of recommendation, essays, interviews, awards, and extracurricular activities are examined to get a holistic sense of a student's abilities and skills.

In theory, this holistic review should benefit all students who utilizes this option; in practice, however, holistic review has come under intense scrutiny because of the widespread perception that it largely extends additional privileges to the already privileged. Since Korean education is primarily defined by testing and academic grades, students often struggle to find

ways to distinguish themselves amongst the competition. This has led parents to "invest private resources in qualitatively distinguishing their children from others as early as possible, even prior to secondary school in many cases" (D. H. Kim & Kim, 2013, p. 43). For example, parents may pay for costly extracurricular activities such as horseback riding or tap into their social network resources to gain internship opportunities for their children. In some cases, affluent families have even resorted to outright bribes and undue influence, as was the case in the Cho Kuk scandal when it was discovered that the politician's daughter had used falsified academic achievements to gain university admission and scholarships. The scandal, which sparked a series of protests and Cho Kuk's eventual resignation as the Minister of Justice, confirmed the suspicion many Koreans had that college admissions was increasingly a matter of wealth, influence, and connections rather than merit (Reuters, 2019). Given that the proportion of *susi* students compared to *jeongsi* students has slowly been increasing across the elite universities over the past several years, students are understandably concerned that society's elites are abusing their privileges by decreasing the number of spots available for students who apply through regular admission with their *suneung* scores. Consequently, President Moon's administration has moved for the proportion of regular admissions to increase, and many in the general population are also calling for a returned emphasis on *suneung* scores and GPA as a more egalitarian approach to college admissions.

Shadow Education in Korea

The fierce competition to get ahead in Korean education – and by extension Korean society – has given rise to a thriving shadow education industry in Korea. Shadow education refers to "a set of educational activities outside formal schooling that are designed to improve a student's chance of successfully moving through the allocation process" (Stevenson & Baker,

1992). In Korea, shadow education most often takes the form of *hagwons* (학원, or cram schools/academies), which students may attend after school and on the weekends. Other forms of shadow education also include private one-on-one tutoring (more expensive than *hagwons*), and correspondence lessons via mail or the Internet (the most affordable option) (S. Kim & Lee, 2010; C. J. Lee et al., 2010).

Korea boasts the largest shadow education system in the world, and it comprises a share of the economy even greater than what the government spends on the mainstream education system (Linker, 2017). In 2010, families routinely spent 10-30% of their household incomes on *hagwons*, and collectively spent a staggering 20.9 billion USD on this for-profit industry (Dawson, 2010; Statistics Korea, 2010; The Economist, 2015). Remarkably, families across the class spectrum participate in shadow education to varying degrees, although students from wealthier families engage in shadow education more extensively than less affluent families. In contrast, less affluent families end up spending a considerably larger *proportion* of their monthly income on shadow education compared to wealthier families (Koo, 2007), which highlights how shadow education has exacerbated educational inequality in Korea. Students who do not engage in shadow education face even greater disadvantages since schoolteachers often presume *hagwon* attendance and therefore provide only cursory instruction of the curriculum in school, causing some students to fall behind their peers.

Shadow education also exacts a heavy toll on students' well-being. It is not uncommon for students to spend thirteen hours a day studying and to leave *hagwons* close to midnight (Rubin, 2014). Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Korea holds the dubious distinction of having the unhappiest students among OECD countries, as evidence by its dismal happiness index score of 82, well below the OECD average of 100 (Yun, 2014). Even more

concerning is the fact that suicide is the leading cause of death for Koreans age 9-24 and educational pressure is a leading contributing factor ("S. Korean Children Unhappiest among OECD Countries: Survey," 2011). Despite this, Korean parents are not likely to give up on shadow education because they are caught in what Hultberg and Calonge (2017) describes as an "education trap". When a parent invests in shadow education to gain a competitive edge for their child, other parents are incentivized to invest the same amount or more for their children which subsequently reduces the probability of anyone gaining a competitive edge. If all families reduced or eliminated their investment in shadow education, the probabilities of success would remain essentially unchanged while enabling each family to accumulate greater wealth from the savings. However, since it is unlikely or possible that families would coordinate their educational plans in this way, each family finds themselves caught in this education trap.

Impact of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis

Korea was hit particularly hard by the 1997 Asian financial crisis, and although the country has ultimately managed to rebound in a relatively short period of time in terms of economic indicators, the impact on individual Koreans has been traumatic and ongoing. It is telling that the crisis is known colloquially among Koreans simply as "IMF." After all, the tremendous bailout provided at the time by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) required Korea to implement extensive neoliberal restructuring such as increasing the flexibilization of the labor market (Koo, 2007). As a result, a whole host of societal woes ensued: massive unemployment and job insecurity, financial instability and loss of capital, the shrinking of the middle class, and a hypercompetitive atmosphere for limited resources. Koo (2007) provides the following summation of the impact of the financial crisis and IMF bailout:

The world of work that Koreans used to know has quickly disintegrated around them.

> Until recently, the Korean industrial structure had been highly hierarchical and rigid, but it used to be based on an implicit understanding of life-time employment. But all these implied expectations suddenly became archaic after the financial crisis (p.6).

Thus, a “new pattern of social inequality has emerged in the context of globalization" (Koo, 2007, p.2). In fact, as conditions became less secure and hypercompetitive, Koreans began to refer to their homeland by a new moniker, “Hell Joseon” (E. Kim & Ko, 2016). The name reflects the widespread sentiment among Koreans that they are trapped in a hellish feudal system much like their ancestors during the Joseon dynasty, Korea's last dynastic kingdom before Japanese colonization (Fifield, 2016). Unlike previous generations of Koreans who lived through, and benefited from, Korea's rapid economic development in the 1960s and 1970s, Koreans today are living through a period of sluggish economic growth, rising unemployment, an oversupply of college graduates, and even more cutthroat competition to get ahead (A. Chung, 2017). Since, Koreans are increasingly beginning to feel as though their life chances are predetermined by their inherited wealth, this situation has popularized another term: *sujeogyegeupnon* (수저계급론, or “Spoon Class Theory"). Based upon the English expression "born with a silver spoon in his mouth" (“금수저·흙수저는 현실 [Gold spoon and dirt spoon are reality],” 2015), this expression reflects the widespread belief that social mobility is no longer a possibility in Korean society. Instead, Koreans are relegated to a particular caste, with wealthier families able to transfer wealth to their children like gold and silver spoons, whereas poorer families are stuck with bronze, or even worse, dirt spoons.

The International and English Advantage

The impact of these societal shifts on education has been profound. Shaken by the fallout and overcome by deep anxieties about the future, parents allayed their fears by investing more

and more into their children's education. Moreover, in a post-IMF society rife with insecurity and competition, families increasingly turned to the international dimensions of education to gain social distinction in Korea (A. H. Kim, 2013; Koo, 2007). Given Korea's closely enmeshed history with the United States as a result of military occupation post-World War II, during the Korean War, and to the present day, as well as the U.S.'s active role in Korea's nation-building, the establishment of primary schools, and economic development efforts, it is not surprising that this international dimension has primarily referred to American education credentials and American English language ability (i.e. American accented English) as a key avenue to attain success. This is in line with Juan, Jr.'s (2004) observation that "the mode of US domination (supplemented over coercion) used the educational apparatus" (p. 102) to inculcate attitudes premised on English-language and American superiority.

Consequently, the cachet of education credentials from the United States has historically reaped significant rewards in Korean society. For example, in 2005, 80% of social sciences faculty at Korea's top three universities held US doctoral degrees, and over 70% of faculty at Korea's top science and engineering universities graduated from US doctoral programs (J. Kim, 2011). Koreans have also gone overseas in droves for their college education as well; since 2002, Korea has consistently ranked 3rd behind China and India in terms of the numbers of international students studying in the United States (Institute of International Education, 2014). However, given Korea's tiny population relative to China and India, it actually surpasses the others in terms of the proportion of its population that is studying abroad. Not surprisingly, Korea has long been considered "one of the world's most important source countries for international students" ("Taking the Long View on Korean Study Abroad Trends," 2014).

There have also been tangible rewards in Korean society for English language

proficiency, regardless of whether overseas travel takes place. For example, it is not uncommon for employers to ask for Test of English for International Communication (TOIEC) and Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) scores from job applicants, even when English is not a necessary part of the job. In this way, English is positioned in Korean society more as "a tool for social inclusion in a broad sense: a conduit for economic and social development" (J. S.-Y. Park, 2011) than a signifier of actual linguistic ability. In other words, "under the yoke of neoliberalism, English plays a more crucial role in boosting intra-national competitiveness for local competition in Korea than it does inter-national competitiveness for global competition worldwide" (Byean, 2015, p. 875).

Despite the enormous investments in English education by both the state and individual families, English proficiency is still not widespread in Korean society (Y. Choi, 2015). Since English education in Korea is still largely focused on improving test scores for the *suneung* or specific language exams such as TOIEC and TOEFL, students focus more on grammar and reading comprehension rather than speaking and grasping the nuances of communication in various contexts (B. Cho, 2004; Y. Choi, 2015; S. J. Park & Abelmann, 2004). Furthermore, since Korea is primarily a monolingual society that has never been a colonial subject of an English-speaking imperial nation such as Great Britain or the United States (as is the case for Singapore, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and India), most Koreans have rarely had the opportunity to practice English regularly with native speakers. Consequently, "any kind of overseas educational experience is highly valued, as it demonstrates that the [individual] has experienced a level of English education that is not generally available in Korea (Y. Choi, 2015, p.13). Similarly, in her study of Filipina domestics working in Taiwan, Lan (2003) notes that the relative value of English's linguistic capital is higher for Taiwanese speakers than Filipina

speakers precisely because English has never been a dominant language in Taiwan as it has been in the Philippines.

Jogiyuhak

Parental ideologies regarding the necessity of starting English language acquisition as early as possible has given rise to a unique study abroad strategy that has become popular in Korea, *jogiyuhak* (조기유학, or early study abroad), in which children immerse themselves in English-speaking environments overseas during their K-12 years. Unaccompanied children may be placed with relatives or in a homestay arrangement, although in some cases the entire family may sojourn together. However, another common *jogiyuhak* arrangement entails the creation of a *gireogi gajok* (기러기 가족, or goose family) where mothers will accompany their young children overseas while fathers remain in Korea to financially support them. Fathers may occasionally fly over to visit their families, hence the reference to geese and their seasonal migration patterns. According to Waters (2005), this represents a "child-centered familial strategy of capital accumulation involving migration and transnational household arrangements" (p.360). Park and Bae (2009) also note the following regarding *gireogi gajoks:*

> the family is transformed into a spatially flexible unit, with its members distributed in different national locations, so that different forms of capital may be acquired and accumulated at different geographical sites—i.e. maintaining established economic bases in the home country, while allowing the children to obtain valued overseas educational credentials—thereby reproducing the family's middle-class status" (p. 368).

In the context of Korea's hypercompetitive environment, *jogiyuhak* is a logical extension of Korea's ongoing class and education war and the desire to get ahead in the education landscape. Consequently, there was a sharp rise in the number of children studying overseas once

government restrictions on the practice were lifted in 2000 (Kang & Abelmann, 2011). While there were 1,562 Koreans students from 1st - 12th grade studying abroad in 1998, by 2004 that number had risen more than tenfold to 16,446, with elementary school students comprising the greatest increase (Y.-J. Lee & Koo, 2006).

Since parents engage in *jogiyuhak* to improve their children's status and opportunities within the Korean context, returning to the home country is the intended end goal. Thus, *jogiyuhak* serves as an extension of Korea's high stratified education market and the shadow-education system even though it entails the crossing of national borders (Ihm & Choi, 2015; Kang & Abelmann, 2011). Kang and Abelmann (2011) refer to this phenomenon as the "domestication" of *jogiyuhak* to signify how the boundaries of Korea's education field has expanded to also incorporate overseas locations. Far from serving as an exit strategy from the Korean education system, *jogiyuhak* symbolizes more of a detour or shortcut for increased capital and prestige. Aside from improved English language skills, *jogiyuhak* returnees also have the potential to access special college admissions pathways during the early admissions period. As previously noted, students can opt for holistic review during the early admissions process. There is a separate admissions category called Special Talent Screening where students with exceptional talents in areas such as art, math, sciences, and foreign languages are accepted into a school. Interestingly, there is an additional pathway known as the 2% option because it allows universities to accept an additional 2% of applicants above their admissions quota (which is determined by the Ministry of Education) from a separate pool of students who have engaged in *jogiyuhak* for three or more years. This final category reflects how "the conjuncture of English and neoliberal globalization has triggered a class-based English divide among students" (Byean, 2015, p. 875) which can directly impact higher education trajectories.

PART 2: International/Transnational Education Research

Now that an overview of Korean higher education and the dynamics of Korean society have been discussed in Part 1, Part 2 will examine how Korea's Incheon Global Campus fits into the transnational education landscape by first defining transnational education and the evolution of education hubs, and then discussing the existing literature on international and transnational education, particularly as it relates to student experiences.

A Shifting Educational Landscape

The pressures exerted by globalization have had a profound influence across the world. According to Held and McGrew (2003), globalization is characterized by the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social interaction" (p.4), and these interactions relate to all aspects of human activity, such as trade and commerce, cultural production, politics, and education. With respect to higher education in particular, Altbach and Knight (2007) further refine the concept of globalization by making note of how it has resulted in "the use of English as the lingua franca for scientific communication, the growing international labor market for scholars and scientists, the growth of communications firms and of multinational and technology publishing, and the use of information technology (IT)" (p.291). While the terms "globalization" and "internationalization" are related and sometimes used interchangeably, Altbach and Knight make a clear distinction by defining internationalization as the various policies and practices employed by various actors (whether states, institutions, or individuals) in response to the forces of globalization. Thus, internationalization could refer to a large range of topics such as global university rankings, English-medium instruction (EMI), distance learning programs, international branch campuses and education hubs, and of course, students engaging in study abroad, which is arguably the

oldest form of higher education internationalization.

According to Knight (2013) the various forms of internationalization can roughly be divided into three categories of mobility. *People* mobility refers to the movement of individuals across borders for the purposes of education such as international students and scholars studying abroad. *Program* mobility refers to individual programs crossing borders as is the case with distance learning, franchises, twinning programs, and university partnerships. Lastly, there has been a significant increase in *provider* mobility as universities seek to expand their presence beyond the borders of their home countries through the establishment of international branch campuses. The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education defines an international branch campus as "an off-shore entity of a higher education institution operated by the institution" in which students "are awarded a degree from the foreign institution" upon successful completion of the program (Merola, 2019).

Studying Abroad at Home: International Branch Campuses

Altbach (2010) has likened the proliferation of international branch campuses over the past decade to the sprouting of “mushrooms after a heavy rain” (p.2). In the three year period from 2006 to 2009, the number of international branch campuses worldwide increased dramatically by 46%, and as of January 2017, there were 311 international branch campuses worldwide (*Branch Campus Listing*, 2017). It is estimated that these institutions will account for 44% of the total demand for international education by 2025 (Wilkins & Balakrishnan, 2013). Previous studies have examined these institutions in greater depth in countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, China, and Japan (Cheng et al., 2013; Cribbin, 2010; Crist, 2015; Ennew & Fujia, 2009; Knight, 2011a, 2013; Knight & Morshidi, 2011; Mok, 2011; R. Sidhu et al., 2011).

However, the nature of these campuses can vary widely. According to Wilkins & Rumbley (2019), "to be recognized as a branch campus, the institution's infrastructure should fit with the definition of a campus. The word 'campus' refers to the grounds and buildings of an educational institution and suggests that students receive a certain study experience" (p.4). Wilkins, Balakrishnan, and Huisman (2012) further add that home campuses generally feature a wide range of physical facilities such as libraries, sports facilities, and student housing accommodations, as well as services such as student support and extracurricular activities. Given these examples, Altbach (2010) observes:

> With a few notable exceptions, [international branch campuses] are not really campuses. They are, rather, small, specialized, and limited academic programs offered offshore to take advantage of a perceived market. Except where generous hosts—such as in the Arabian Gulf, Singapore, and a few other places—provide facilities and infrastructure, branch campuses become rather spartan places, resembling office complexes rather than academic institutions (p.2).

Furthermore, it is difficult for international branch campuses to provide an environment that mirrors the home campuses[3] because universities are more than just physical spaces; the student body also lends character to an institution, and in in most cases, student populations at international branch campuses are mostly comprised of local students. Also, international branch campuses may be tempted to reduce standards of selectivity and quality during the admissions process to boost enrollment numbers, further differentiating the branch campus student body from that of the home campus (Wilkins & Balakrishnan, 2013).

3. *Home campus* refers to the main campus of the foreign university. At IGC, *home campus* thus refers to campuses in either the US or Belgium, which are the *home countries* of their international branch campuses. In contrast, Korea is known as a *host country* because it hosts the international branch campuses of foreign universities.

As a result of this practice, it is not surprising that there is a lingering perception that an education at an international branch campuses is of lower quality than it would be at the home campus (Shams & Huisman, 2012). In their study of Hong Kong students in British branch campus programs, Waters and Leung (2013) found that most participants clearly preferred to pursue their degree from a domestic university or overseas at a foreign university, but were unable to do so because they were not competitive candidates for the local system, and they lacked the funds to study abroad. However, it is important to note a few caveats: international branch campuses in China must be partnered with a domestic institution, and therefore are not fully autonomous. For Hong Kong undergraduate students, this means first attending a local institution for an Associate Degree or Higher Diploma, and then "topping up" their degree with an additional year or two at the British international branch campus for a bachelor's degree. In other countries, the international branch campus may operate without a domestic partner, and or administer the entirety of the undergraduate degree. This illustrates how international branch campuses can vary widely in their format, which can make it difficult for students to evaluate the relative quality of a program.

The closures of international branch campuses, largely from an inability to sustain necessary enrollments for operations, have also engendered a sense of wariness regarding their quality. Notable failures include the closing of NYU Singapore, Johns Hopkins University Singapore, University of New South Wales Singapore, University of Nevada Las Vegas-Singapore, George Mason University Ras al-Khaimah, University of Queensland Dubai, and Michigan State University Dubai. Also, despite Japan's initial boom of international branch campuses in the 1980s when more than a dozen American branch campuses were established (Altbach, 2004), only *one* of these campuses remains in operation today (J. E. Lane, 2011;

Marcus, 2011; Tan, 2016). Some scholars question the sustainability of international branch campus ventures and have noted the great financial and reputational costs that are incurred by both host and home countries when these projects fail (Altbach, 2011; Redden, 2010; R. Sidhu, 2009; Weinman, 2014). Despite this, the international branch campus landscape is not only increasing, but also *evolving* as evidenced by the recent development of education hubs.

New and Improved? The Education Hub

Knight (2011b) defines an education hub as "a concerted and planned effort by a country (or zone, city) to build a critical mass of education/knowledge actors and strengthen its efforts to exert more influence in the new marketplace of education" (p. 225) within the broader context of globalization in general and higher education in particular. The development of education hubs builds upon all three types of academic mobility and represents a new generation of cross-border education that is intended to generate income, modernize and expand the domestic tertiary sector, build up the host country's regional profile and soft power, and provide trained human capital that will drive economic development as the host country transitions from a resource-based to knowledge-based economy (Knight & Morshidi, 2011). Thus, in the context of an education hub, international branch campuses do not operate in higher education silos; education hubs eschew an "archipelago" approach (J. E. Lane & Kinser, 2011) to international branch campuses in which the institutions are scattered throughout a country, operating in relative isolation to each other. Instead, they take an "acropolis approach"; several international branch campuses operate in close proximity to each other, often with shared physical space, curriculum, and student services thereby creating an international consortium of universities in a specially designated, custom-built environment that blurs the lines between metropolis and campus as well as industry and university. An education hub can also be referred to as a “cluster model” of

international branch campuses (Crist, 2015).

As of 2010, Knight stated that only six countries worldwide were seriously positioned as education hubs: Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Bahrain. In some cases, the efforts to become an education hub took place over a significant amount of time: Singapore's Global Schoolhouse project was established over 15 years ago, and the United Arab Emirates' Dubai International Academic City (DIAC) and Qatar's Education City have been in operation for over a decade. Although Knight references Korea, she excludes it because the education hub is located in a Free Economic Zone. However, Korea should be included since IGC is clearly a concerted and planned effort to create an education hub regardless of, or especially *because* of, its location in a Free Economic Zone which facilitates university-industry linkages. Furthermore, Malaysia's EduCity Iskandar education hub is also part of a larger Free Economic Zone project, yet is not excluded from Knight's analysis, thereby weakening the justification to not include Korea in a discussion of education hubs.

Crist (2015) provides a more inclusive definition of an education hub by defining it as a) a group of formally decoupled, but loosely affiliated, international branch campuses that b) exercise complete autonomy over curriculum, hiring, and admissions, c) provide equivalence in curriculum and degrees between home and branch campuses, and d) are supported by a host country that provides an integrative structure and administrative support. Crist's definition was developed in reference to Qatar's Education City—the pioneering example of an autonomous education hub—and therefore includes an additional qualification: complete funding by the host country for all personnel, building and operating expenses. However, Crist also acknowledges that Qatar's model is not sustainable for other countries that do not have the benefit of immense wealth from natural resources like oil.

While Korea is a latecomer to the field of international branch campuses (SUNY-Korea opened in 2012, and the rest of IGC only opened in 2014), it is taking advantage of hindsight to learn from the experiences of other transnational endeavors to apply best practices and novel solutions. In addition, it is known that Korean higher education officials visited Qatar regularly prior to IGC's creation for consultations on the Education City model. As such, there are several conditions in place that could help ensure IGC's long-term success. For example, the Korean government has been proactive about absorbing initial costs and financial risks for the partner universities in IGC since this would otherwise deter most universities from even considering this type of endeavor (Altbach, 2010). Member universities of IGC are also granted generous subsidies to assist with the cost of operations, and once these institutions become self-sustaining, they are expected to reinvest their earnings back into their programs rather than remitting funds to the home campus. Through this arrangement, Korea aims to avoid the semblance of hosting foreign universities that act as diploma mills— "selling" foreign credentials for profit. Unfortunately, this is a known problem that has plagued other countries when there is little effort made to ensure the provision of quality overseas education.

On the subject of quality, Korea also requires member institutions to include a one-to-two semester period of study abroad at the home campus for students in all degree programs. The benefits of such a model are twofold: 1) it reinforces the notion of educational equivalence between the two campuses, thereby strengthening the perception that the international branch campus possesses the same high standard of quality as the home campus (Crist, 2015; Ennew & Fujia, 2009) and 2) it ensures that students "studying abroad at home" are still subject to an "international" experience, but at less expense. Most international branch campus endeavors do not require time in the home campus, or only provide a cursory visit as was the case for the Hong

Kong students in the Waters and Leung (2013) study. One student described how he only had a one week visit to the home campus because he won a scholarship, and that it was more of a sightseeing tour rather than an actual study abroad experience. In contrast, IGC students spend time at the home campus as if they were admitted there as an international student from the beginning of their undergraduate career, but with the benefit of only spending one or two semesters' worth of international student tuition fees and associated living expenses. Some students have even timed their study abroad in such a way that they can graduate overseas at the home campus.

Another condition is the level of autonomy granted to IGC's member universities; the international branch universities operate as standalone enterprises rather than being partnered with local universities. As a result, they are not subject to the same degree of local regulatory control or restriction that other branch campuses around the world (e.g. China, United Arab Emirates, and Malaysia) often face (Healey, 2016). For example, issues of academic freedom have been a concern for administrators when considering whether or not to establish an international branch campus, particularly since a number of these institutions are located in countries with authoritarian governments (Redden, 2010). At IGC, the home universities maintain control of the branch campus' academic programs, faculty hiring, and admissions, and these allowances help ensure the academic quality of these programs. Moreover, IGC's international branch campuses can offer more "excellent opportunities for deep cross-cultural engagement" because of their "small classrooms and intimate settings" (Crist, 2017, p. 44), unlike most research universities in the US.

IGC also has the potential to better simulate the home campus environment compared to individual international branch campuses because the hub model allows for larger, more diverse

student populations as well as facilities that are typical of a traditional university environment. While each campus has its own designated building on campus, other facilities such as the dormitories, cafeteria, auditorium, sports facilities, and library are shared. IGC's member universities have also begun cooperating with each other to allow students to take elective courses across branch campuses; outside of the classroom, students also engage in extracurricular activities and organizations that similarly take place across the various branches of IGC.

Lastly, IGC's location within Songdo Free Economic Zone is also significant since there is the potential for research and entrepreneurial partnerships with foreign and local industries housed in the area. For example, undergraduate programs available at IGC include the sciences, communications, urban ecology, global affairs, conflict management, technology and society, and business—and these programs all map well onto the future career possibilities that exist in a newly constructed city that is striving to be a biohub, techno-utopia, financial hub and home to supranational organizations like the United Nations and World Bank. Whether these components are enough to ensure the success of IGC in the face of regional competition, however, remains to be seen. In the meantime, there is a critical lack of understanding regarding the lived realities of the IGC experience, and how the Korean students who have opted for this novel educational product feel about their choice.

Research on International and Transnational Education

With respect to the literature on students and international education, much of it is centered on the notion of "study abroad," and revolves around two common areas of inquiry: the gains students make when they study abroad, and the challenges they face as international students. Research that centers on the positive aspects of study abroad highlight gains in human

capital, better employment opportunities, increased cultural competency and global literacy, and improved linguistic ability for individuals (L. Brown, 2009; Kuo, 2012; Y.-J. Lee & Koo, 2006; OECD, 2017; Rhoads & Szelenyi, 2011) as well as nation-building and profits in educational trade for the home and host countries (K. Byun & Kim, 2011; Mok & Yu, 2015).

There is also a great deal of research, however, that is deficit oriented and centered on the difficulties and challenges of studying abroad. These studies focus on issues of coping, cultural adjustment, social isolation/lack of integration, linguistic hurdles, emotional instability and even potential depression (Kuo, 2012; Marginson, 2012; Tran, 2012). Furthermore, the burden of responsibility for successful adjustment resides largely upon the individual efforts of the international students themselves (J. J. Lee & Rice, 2007). Similar to traditional (and normative) notions of immigrant assimilation into a dominant "mainstream", the international student experience is largely framed as an asymmetrical relationship between outsiders from an "inferior pedagogical tradition" (Marginson, 2012, p. 5) who must conform to the Western university mainstream to succeed. In short, international students in the U.S. are largely viewed from a "deficit" approach in which seemingly "weak" students are "remade into the objects of paternalistic pastoral care" (Marginson, 2012, p. 9). Such a perspective denies agency on the part of international students, casts them as "victims" (Leonard et al., 2003) and provides a limited understanding of the identity development process that these students experience.

The common denominator in both of these fields of study is *mobility*. However, the Korean students who choose to attend IGC represent a unique student population that complicates our notion of mobility. Exploring the evolving nature of mobility and the domestic/ international binary is critical given that the population of students involved in transnational education is bound to increase as more international branch campuses and education hubs open

across the globe. However, there has been a lack of attention to this phenomenon, not only in terms of empirical studies, but also in terms of critical imagination and theorizing of this novel type of *transnational* education. What does it mean when higher education institutions cross borders, circumventing the need for students to do so? A new type of "international student" emerges. These students are fundamentally different from the rest of the native student population since they are not attending a domestic university, yet they also differ from traditional "international" students since they do not travel to a foreign environment for the whole of their studies. Instead, they occupy a third space that is simultaneously international, transnational, and domestic, and the nuances of this experience have yet to be studied and understood in the Korean context.

As for other locations with cross-border education projects, numerous studies have examined the development rationale, decision making processes, marketing strategies, impact of globalization and the implementation of internationalization policies, perspectives of administrators and managers, ethical issues, and overall sustainability and structure of transnational education endeavors (Critchley & Saudelli, 2015; Ennew & Fujia, 2009; Feng, 2013; Franklin & Alzouebi, 2014; He & Wilkins, 2018; Healey, 2016; Knight, 2013; Knight & Morshidi, 2011; Kosmützky, forthcoming; J. E. Lane, 2011; J. E. Lane & Kinser, 2013; Magagula, 2005; Mahani & Molki, 2011; McBurnie & Ziguras, 2001; Miller-Idriss & Hanauer, 2011; Shams & Huisman, 2012; R. Sidhu, 2009; R. Sidhu et al., 2011; R. K. Sidhu & Christie, 2015; Tierney & Lanford, 2015; Umakoshi, 1997; Wilkins, 2017; Wilkins & Huisman, 2012), which is understandable given the tremendous financial investment and international and inter-organizational coordination involved. However, less attention has been focused on the lived experiences of domestic students engaged in these unique higher education institutions.

Perspectives from Within

Several scholars have examined student satisfaction and the perception of quality at international branch campuses through survey research: Wilkins, Balakrishnan, and Huisman (2012) in the United Arab Emirates; Ahmad (2015) in Malaysia; and Chee, Butt, Wilkins, and Ong in (2016), also in Malaysia. Wilkins, Balakrishnan, and Huisman conducted additional survey research on student motivations for choosing an international branch campus. These studies emphasize an academic capitalist perspective by drawing attention to specific aspects of the international branch campus experience that cause dis/satisfaction and perceptions of high or low quality, as well as the factors that lead to a particular product choice (i.e. a specific international branch campus). However, the very nature of survey design cannot not prioritize an understanding of students' subjective experiences and meaning-making processes at an international branch campus.

In contrast, studies by Waters and Leung (2013), Hoare (2012), and Pyvis and Chapman (2005) employ qualitative methods to illustrate the myriad ways that students make sense of their educational experience. Waters and Leung frame Hong Kong students at a joint Hong Kong-British transnational program as "immobile" because they are studying abroad *in situ.* The students' narratives highlight a sense that they are socially disadvantaged when compared to Hong Kong students who study at domestic institutions or foreign institutions that are located overseas; their stories emphasize how there are limits to the quality of their "international education." However, it is important to note the restricted nature of the "international branch campus setting" in this study; the Hong Kong undergraduate students had to first attend a local institution for an Associate Degree or Higher Diploma, and *then* attend a British international branch campus program for another year or two to "top up" their education credentials for a

bachelor's degree.

Hoare's (2012) study of Singaporean students is notable for its longitudinal nature; a follow up ethnographic study was conducted five years after Singaporean students had graduated from a joint Australian-Singaporean transnational education program. These students described their experiences as providing a much appreciated "second chance" in situations where other options were limited; thus, they reflected on their undergraduate education as a positive and transformative experience. Again, it is important to note several caveats: Hoare describes the students in her study as "mature students" or "late bloomers" (although she does not specify an age range). In addition, the program the students attended was a "twinning arrangement" rather than an international branch campus; the curriculum was provided by an Australian university and primarily taught by Australian faculty but at a Singaporean education institute (not a university).

Lastly, Pyvis and Chapman (2005) also conducted a study of Singaporean students in a joint Australian-Singaporean transnational education program, although it was a master's degree program. Moreover, while the curriculum was from an Australian university and taught by Australian faculty members, it was taught at the partnering Singaporean university. The curriculum was also modular; it was comprised of six separate units with flexible points of entry so students could begin their study with any of the modules. This particular type of transnational education hardly allows for the same kind of immersive student experience that IGC attempts to provide through its education hub model. However, Pyvis and Chapman's study makes an important contribution because it introduced the notion that students engaging in transnational education within their own country's borders can still experience "culture shock." Their work expands upon Oberg's (1960) original work on "culture shock," which is founded on the idea

that it is an "occupational disease of people who have been suddenly transplanted abroad" (p.177). By focusing on the foreignness of the classroom environment in transnational education settings (i.e. Western pedagogical methods and English medium instruction), Pyvis and Chapman provide a useful conceptual lens that can be applied to the experiences of Korean students in Songdo.

With respect to the Korean context in particular, Oh (2018) provides insight on how students interpret their transnational education as a means to "escape obsolesce" because of the market volatility created by globalization. However, her study focuses on Korean students who attended the international branch campus of an American secondary school in Songdo. Cho, Haines and Rosenblum (2016) conducted a recent study of Korean students at George Mason University Korea who had completed their first year. Their study revealed interesting findings regarding students' backgrounds, language acquisition and usage, and their interpretations of the term "international." The team coined the term "already international" to refer to the fact that most of these students had previous study abroad experiences through *jogiyuhak.* This, in combination with the higher-than-average socioeconomic wealth of their families, enabled them to have proficient English language skills and the means to attend IGC (which is approximately two to three times more expensive than domestic universities).

Unfortunately, there is still a critical lack of attention paid to student experiences in the newer generation of international branch campuses and education hubs which feature more extensive physical facilities, programming, and infrastructure to better simulate the home campus environment. However, an increasing number of unpublished dissertations on international branch campuses and education hubs (e.g. IGC in Korea, Education City in Qatar, Dubai International Academic City in the United Arab Emirates) may portend a shift in the

research landscape (Bakken, 2013; Cicchetti, 2017; Corbeil, 2006; Jordan, 2011; Marsh, 2018; Mason, 2015; Stephenson, 2016). This study will also contribute to this growing area of research by interviewing students from across the different member universities at IGC.

PART 3: Theoretical Framework

Part 3 of this chapter explains the theoretical framework which guides this study. I draw heavily on the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, whose theory of fields and social reproduction provides an invaluable conceptual framework to guide the data analysis and interpretation of this study. In field theory, Bourdieu defines a trilogy of core concepts (fields, capital, habitus) to explain the fundamentally relational nature of our social reality, which consists of an endless process of negotiating one's position in relation to others. While there has been considerable discussion of, and research applying, Bourdieu's work, it has often taken a piecemeal approach by only utilizing certain concepts in isolation, such as cultural capital or habitus. However, as Hilgers and Mangez (2014) note, this relative silence on Bourdieu's overall theory of fields is strange since "it lies at the heart of his work" (p.1). An integrative conceptual approach which uses field theory as a whole is critical to understand complex social systems such as transnational education sites, which are simultaneously sites of social reproduction and mobility. Although an extensive review of Bourdieu's theoretical work is beyond the scope of this study,[4] this chapter will briefly explain field theory by defining its core concepts, discuss the connections between field theory and education, and expand upon field theory by considering the global dimension of social inequality that serves as the backdrop for international branch campuses.

Field Theory

In their overview of Bourdieu's theory of social fields, Hilger and Mengez (2014) first clarify the following epistemological basis: "*social reality is conceived as fundamentally*

4. See Calhoun, LiPuma & Postone (1993), Fowler (1997), J. F. Lane (2000), and Robbins (2004) for an in-depth overview of Bourdieu's work on social fields and social reproduction.

relational — it is therefore the relationships among the elements, and not the elements themselves, that must be at the heart of the analysis" (p.2, authors' original emphasis). As such, we must reject notions of absolute space-time; that is, individuals do not exist as absolute, isolated objects, but are instead always embedded in a system of relations. This relational space constitutes a *field*—a bounded social setting where social agents are hierarchically positioned and in competition with each other. Each field is defined by formal and informal norms which represent the domination of a set of ideas that become taken-for-granted, unquestioned truths (what Bourdieu referred to as *doxa).* Despite their social construction, doxa are perceived by agents in the field as part of the natural order and as such they circumscribe what agents believe is in "the universe of possible discourse" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 167) for their aspirations and actions.

Fields are themselves relational in nature, and all fields are subsumed under an overarching field of power which is structured by the distribution of various forms of capital in society. Subsequently, an agent's trajectory and position in the field varies "by virtue of their endowment (volume and structure) in capital" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 108). Bourdieu (1986) defines capital as accumulated labor and power which can be amassed and converted to material and symbolic resources. Capital consists of three fundamental forms: *economic capital* (e.g. financial resources), *social capital* (e.g. social connections and networks), and *cultural capital*—a more abstract concept which Bourdieu explored extensively throughout his career. Cultural capital can exist in an objectified state in the form of cultural objects (e.g. books or instruments), an institutionalized state in the form of credentials which certify and rank capital (e.g. college diploma or a job title), or an embodied state as the "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 17) such as a person's manner of speaking or aesthetic

tastes. Broadly speaking, cultural capital encompasses a cultural repertoire that is rewarded in particular fields, as well as an adaptive set of cognitive and behavioral skills (i.e. competencies) that gives individuals "a keen sense of the rules of relevance of which kind of culture to use in which situation" (Erickson, 2008, p. 198).

Underlying cultural capital is *habitus*—a system of dispositions, tendencies and inclinations "functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 13). In other words, it is "the learned set of preferences or dispositions by which a person orients to the social world" (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014, p. 195). Habitus encompasses the durable and transposable tendencies and inclinations a person accumulates throughout their life which shapes how they perceive and react to the social world. Thus, Bourdieu (1977) described habitus as a structured and structuring structure. As a *structured* structure, habitus is rooted in socialization and therefore encompasses "the whole collective history of family and class that the individual is a member of" (Reay, 2004, p. 434) and reflects "the immanent structures of the social world" (Bourdieu, 1986a, p. 154). As a *structuring* structure, habitus serves as an internalized logic regarding a sense of agency and possibilities "given that individual's particular position in a stratified society" (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014, p. 195).

Criticism has been levied against Bourdieu's concept of habitus as being overly deterministic (Giroux, 1982; King, 2000; McNay, 1999); however, Bourdieu did not intend for habitus to be interpreted as "a mechanistic translation of objective structures into action" (Atkinson, 2010, p. 4) which robs individuals of agency. I take a more favorable interpretation of habitus by recognizing Bourdieu's intention to imbue "habitus" with conceptual flexibility. Although habitus is largely formed by one's inherited circumstances, it is continually

restructured by an individual's experiences. Thus, habitus captures both continuity and change since it is the embodiment of the complex interplay between an individual's past and present. Consequently, Bourdieu (1990) likened habitus to a "generative grammar" (p.9) which is capable of "myriad manifestations" (Reay, 2004, p. 435) that are still bounded by certain parameters. That is, Bourdieu eschewed theoretical approaches that were not grounded in a recognition of the restrictive influences of social structures upon an individual's actions (i.e. it is not possible for human action to result entirely from an individual's rational choice).

The interplay of an individual's habitus and the cultural capital they mobilize in a particular field results in particular actions, or what Bourdieu referred to as *practice.* Bourdieu maps out the interconnected nature of the key concepts of field theory in the following formula: "(Habitus x Capital) + Field = Practice" (Bourdieu, 1986a, p. 101). The value of this equation varies in terms of the prestige, or *symbolic capital* generated by an individual's practice; that is, an individual's relative position in a hierarchical field depends on the symbolic capital generated through their habitus and the mobilization of their forms of capital.

Edgerton and Roberts (2014) describe a poker card game as an illustrative analogy to also illustrate how the various elements of Bourdieu's field theory relate to each other. The card game itself is the field of interaction, an individual's hand of cards (as well as their knowledge of the game) represents their stock of cultural capital, and an individual's approach (i.e. their skill and playing preferences) signifies their habitus. The value of the cards is not static in that it depends on the context of a particular game as well as an individual's skill and style (e.g. are they risk-averse and likely to fold their hand or risk-tolerant and willing to play aggressively, raise the stakes, and/or bluff). In addition, an individual must also consider "the dynamic context of other players' positions and their respective hands, skills, knowledge, and preferences" (Edgerton &

Roberts, 2014, p. 207). Through their game play (i.e. practice), the players vie for symbolic capital which affects their position in the field. In short, this analogy demonstrates the interdependent and interrelated nature of field, capital, and habitus. Next, I will examine the field of education in more detail.

Field Theory and Education

There is an inherent tension between the dual roles of education. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1979), education could be "the royal road to the democratization of culture if it did not consecrate the initial cultural inequalities by ignoring them" (p. 21). Their observation takes issue with simplistic notions of meritocracy in education since access to education is fundamentally unequal as a result of an individual's differing levels of access to economic, social, and political resources. Bourdieu likens the myth of meritocracy to the game of roulette where every spin of the wheel has the same probability of providing life-changing winnings to improve one's social status; by this same logic, schools reflect an "imaginary universe of perfect competition" (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 15). In reality, however, we know this is not the case. As Harker (1990) observed, "Just as our dominant economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to favour those who already possess cultural capital, in the form of the habitus of the dominant cultural fraction" (p. 87). In other words, possessing a habitus that aligns with the dominant class has a multiplier effect on one's educational capital (Harker, 1990), thereby enabling already privileged students to enjoy a competitive advantage in school that is misrecognized as individual merit. Furthermore, by naturalizing the culture of dominant groups in society, schools disadvantage all other children whose habitus is not embodied in the school (Harker, 1990). However, Bourdieu's theorizing of schools as sites of social reproduction does not preclude the

possibility of social mobility, particularly since habitus is continually shaped by ongoing experiences. That is, "the controlled mobility of a limited category of individuals, carefully selected and modified by and for individual ascent, is not incompatible with the permanence of structures (of relations) between classes" (Bourdieu, 1973, p. 71). Thus, it is possible for a student with a natural aptitude for school or a special talent to still advance in Korean society, hence the rationale for the Special Talent Admissions category in the college application system; however, this does not address the overall structure of opportunities that disadvantages students from less affluent backgrounds.

In Korea, the dominant class has characterized the educational field as one in which success and prestige are contingent on a willingness to spend significant private household income on shadow and higher education as well as a "cultural tradition to despise manual work…and vocational education" (H. Park, 2003, p. 6). English language ability, which is amplified by overseas experiences, is an additional marker of elite status, which draws attention to the significant ways in which the global field of power directly influences the educational inequalities that exist in Korean society since "unequal access to English across the class spectrum restricts the prospects of disadvantaged students in the neoliberal education market" (Byean, 2015, p. 867). This confirms Bourdieu's observation that language practices cannot be separated from an understanding of the broader sociocultural and politico-economic milieu they are embedded in (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999). For Koreans, "the field of English thus becomes the theater of conflict, of class and ethnic struggle" (Juan, Jr., 2004, p. 107). It is necessary, then, to elaborate on Bourdieu's original theorizing on social fields by examining this global context to better understand how students navigate transnational social fields like IGC.

The Global Context and Linguistic Capital

Bourdieu's work on the social field of education is highly specific to the French context; in fact, Bourdieu preferred to characterize his work on field theory as a method of inquiry rather than a grand theory that could be universally applied to other contexts. This is not to say that his work is not relevant to the analysis of education systems in other countries. Rather, his method demands that empirical realities be faced in ethnographic detail. That is,

> Those who would invoke Bourdieu's method must put it up against the evidence of their own educational reality—reconstruct their own field and try to discern the precise forms of capital, and the kinds of strategies operative within it (Harker, 1990, p. 98).

In the case of Korea, it is imperative to consider the following contextual realities: as Korea's rapid rate of growth has lessened, the promise of upward social mobility via education has also become increasingly tenuous for those not already born into a privileged class. Despite this, Koreans still cling to this promise with fierce determination, and Koreans continue to regard higher education as the critical means to increase one's social standing. According to Park & Weidman (2000):

> the Korean context cannot be described adequately by the terms "struggle" or "competition," rather it characterizes the Korean people as actually being involved in a war for survival due to insufficient natural resources, high population density, inadequate job opportunities, and conflict over government policies aimed at various types of social and economic control. This war for survival has spilled over to the education sector, pushing people into increasingly intense battles over education (p.278).

In the face of extreme educational competition, English language skills, overseas experiences, and foreign education credentials have become important marks of social distinction (A. H. Kim,

2013; Koo, 2007), and these symbols of prestige are closely tied to Anglophone countries (the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). Drawing upon P. Brown's (2000) work on positional competition and Marginson's (2006) work on US hegemony in the global system of higher education, J. Kim (2011) puts forth the concept of "global cultural capital" to explain this orientation. Brown highlights how positional competition (i.e. the struggle for higher social status) has become globalized as individuals mobilize assets that extend beyond national boundaries. Marginson differentiates the positional competition between universities (i.e. knowledge-degree producers) and students (i.e. knowledge-degree consumers), and further argues that US hegemony manifests as research concentration in the US, the global dominance of English, and the widely held perception that US universities exemplify ideal practices. From these concepts, J. Kim "interpret[s] Korean students' aspirations to a US degree as the pursuit of global cultural capital to outsmart others in the stratified domain of global higher education" (p. 113).

Furthermore, since "regimes of language [are] organized by relations of power and inequality" (J. S.-Y. Park, 2011, p. 443), global cultural capital accrues the most for speakers of "American English," as opposed to other Anglophone varieties (i.e. British, Australian, or New Zealand English), and certainly above Englishes from non-Anglophone nations (such as Singaporean English, i.e. "Singlish", or English from the Philippines). Moreover, the value of this global cultural capital is amplified by the pervasiveness of "native-speakerism" in Korean society—the belief that native speakers of English are the legitimate owners of English as property, and therefore the true arbiters of "good English." Such a belief system reinforces the desirability of "native-like" fluency and "American accent," which falls in line with Bourdieu's (1991) observation that "the efficacy of an utterance, the power of conviction which is granted to

it, depends upon the pronunciation (and secondarily vocabulary) of the person who utters it" (p. 70). As a result, learning from native speakers in overseas settings is seen as crucial to shape one's habitus by inculcating a familiarity with English idioms, slang, and pronunciations/accents.

There has been a growing movement to promote new, pluricentric attitudes towards English language which are not centered on the presumed superiority of native speakers of English. "English as a lingua franca" (ELF) has been promoted as a new term to supplant "English as a Foreign Language" (EFL) or "English as a Second Language" (ESL) since ELF refers to English communication between speakers of different first languages (Seidlhofer, 2005). Such a distinction can allow for all speakers of English to feel legitimate ownership of the language in the spirit of Crystal's (2003) assertion that "Language is an immensely democratizing institution. To have learned a language is immediately to have rights in it" (p. 172). If Koreans could adopt more of an "English as a lingua franca attitude," it could significantly shift and alter the ways in which linguistic capital is accrued and translated into prestige in Korean society. This would have a significant impact on the everyday lived experiences of Korean students at IGC, who must constantly grapple with the anxiety and tension that can arise from their use of English language in circumstances where they feel evaluated, judged, or resented for speaking in a non-native language.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The Korean students who choose to attend IGC represent a unique student population that is redefining how we understand cross-border, or transnational, education. Their educational pathway raises the question, "What is it like to obtain a foreign higher education degree in an environment that is not quite foreign?" This study answers this question by examining the experiences of Korean students "studying abroad" at IGC. Korean students comprise the majority of the IGC student population, and a stated aim by the Korean government has been to discourage Korean students from going overseas for a foreign education through internationalization policies like the creation of IGC (S. Kim, 2015).

There is a great deal of "grey literature" (Knight, 2011b) on international branch campuses (e.g. policy reports, business plans, news articles, promotional videos and websites); this material provides important insight on the impact of globalization and academic capitalism on higher education, as well as the aspirational hopes of various stakeholders such as national governments and [mostly] Western higher education institutions. However, what is missing is an understanding of the student experience. As such, this study centers the student experience; the following research questions guided this study:

1. What characterizes the Korean students who choose to attend IGC, particularly in terms of their prior international experience and English language ability?
2. Why do students attend IGC?
    a. What motivates students to attend this novel type of institution?
    b. How do their perceptions of their educational opportunities affect their decision to attend IGC?
3. What is it like to be a student at IGC?

a. What is the everyday experience of students in American international branch campuses situated within their home country of Korea?
b. How do students make sense of their experiences as students engaged in this unique form of transnational education?

Methodological Approach

The methodological approach of this study is influenced by Bourdieu's recommendation that his theory of social fields be understood as a method of inquiry rather than as a grand theory in the sociological tradition. With this approach, "Through self-reflexivity and genealogy, researchers construct the properties of fields, understand how they emerged, and name how they affect agents' relational positions, actions and interests" (Albright et al., 2017, p. 3). For data collection, this study utilizes qualitative methods so as to "obtain the intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions that are difficult to extract or learn about" through other methods (e.g. survey research) (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 11). Thus, the research design is guided by a constructivist and interpretivist approach to capture the perspectives of the students and the meanings they attach to their higher education goals as well as the broader notion about what it means to be in a transnational education setting. Constructivism posits that reality (and therefore knowledge) is multiple because it is constructed through the interaction of an individual's experiences and her ideas (Piaget, 1972). In other words, knowledge arises from understanding the lived worldview of others. By employing an interpretivist approach as a researcher, I prioritize the *participant's* understanding of their lived reality, and how they make sense of their experiences as Korean students attending IGC.

The importance of centering student voices in this study has important methodological implications with respect to language and translation as well. With regards to research, Bourdieu

(1988) warned against the expectation "of the enquiring subject…negat[ing] himself as an empirical subject, to disappear behind the anonymous record of his operations and his results" (p.25). Similarly, Wong and Poon (2010) note in their study of translation work in cross-cultural qualitative research that there is a widespread assumption that translation work is objective, neutral, and invisible. However, they argue that "translation is a practice mediated by social relations of power" (p. 152) since it entails more than a one-to-one substitution of one word for another. Instead, the translator *assigns meanings* to the words in both languages, and this process takes place in a context marked by differential power relations. Consequently, translation work must be brought "out of the shadows" (p. 151) for the sake of methodological rigor, and to truly honor the intention behind the participants' words. As such, I present the original Korean content from my participant interviews in *Hangeul* (한글) when Korean is spoken, followed by my translation in English.

The Setting: Incheon Global Campus

The site of the study was Incheon Global Campus, an education hub located in the newly constructed city of Songdo. Songdo is located in the Incheon Free Economic Zone and is a joint venture between the Incheon metropolitan government, Korean steel giant POSCO E & C, and Gale International (a US real estate developer that holds a majority share of Songdo real estate). The overall objective of Songdo is to become a new global hub in Asia by creating an ideal environment for industry, commerce, research, and leisure. IGC is seen as a critical component of this plan—a nexus between global human resource development, technological advances, and economic growth. Furthermore, IGC is seen as a key policy initiative to combat the historic outflow of students (and their and financial and human capital) to foreign universities; Korea has long been a top provider country in terms of international students. By "importing" foreign

universities to IGC, the Korean government is essentially providing a means for Korean students to study abroad at home.

IGC utilizes a consortium format, or "cluster model" (Crist, 2015) of international branch campuses where several foreign universities administer their undergraduate programs separately but within a shared physical campus in a host country (i.e. Korea). Currently, there are four foreign universities operating an international branch campus out of IGC: State University New York (SUNY) Stony Brook, University of Utah, George Mason University, and Ghent University of Belgium. Their branch campuses are known as SUNY-Korea (SUNY-K), University of Utah Asia Campus (UAC), George Mason University Korea (GMUK), and Ghent University Global Campus (GUGC), respectively. SUNY-Korea opened its doors in Spring 2012, George Mason University Korea opened in Spring 2014, and the remaining two universities began operations in Fall 2014. The initial conception of IGC called for a total of ten international branch campuses and 10,000 students, but various factors such as the 2008 global economic recession have instead resulted in a modest debut. At this point, it is unclear to what extent IGC will develop beyond these four institutions.

The constituent universities of IGC operate autonomously with respect to admissions, staffing, faculty selection and curriculum, and provide credentials to IGC graduates that are indistinguishable from their main campus student counterparts (i.e. diplomas issued from the branch and main campuses are identical). Furthermore, IGC students are required to spend anywhere from a semester to a full year at the main campus (i.e. in the US or Belgium) as part of their undergraduate program.

IGC primarily focuses on undergraduate education, although there is currently a handful of graduate programs also available. Major disciplines span the humanities, social sciences, and

STEM fields across the four campuses, although Ghent only offers undergraduate STEM programs. As of Spring 2018, there were approximately 2000 students at IGC across the four campuses (Kang, 2018), and 2018 marked the first year that undergraduates graduated from the various campuses at IGC.

Data Collection

Interviews

In-depth, semi-structured interviews comprise the primary data source for this study. The semi-structured format ensured that specific topics were discussed while allowing participants to narrate a life history account with minimal interruptions from myself. This approach enabled me to gain an intimate qualitative sense of "how individual people experience and make sense of their own lives" (Flowerdew & Martin, 1997, p. 111) by also reflecting which aspects of their life history they deem most salient to their current education pursuits at IGC. My interview protocol adapted Seidman's (2012) phenomenological interview method as students shared focused life histories, concrete details of their present lived experience at IGC, and their reflections on the meaning of their experiences. The interviews were all conducted in person from March to June 2019 at the IGC campus where I resided in the student dormitories as a visiting researcher. The interviews were also conducted across two sessions, spaced approximately two to four weeks apart, with each interview session lasting anywhere from 45 to 90 minutes.

I interviewed 25 Korean students (see Table 1) across the three American international branch campuses at IGC: SUNY-Korea (SUNY-K), University of Utah Asia Campus (UAC), and George Mason University Korea (GMUK) for a total of 50 interviews. Given the historic and overwhelming preference of the United States as an education destination for Koreans (Rubin,

Table 1. Participant Demographics

Name (*pseudonym*)	School	Gender	Year in School
Areum	SUNY-K	Female	1
Jia	SUNY-K	Female	1
Bongju	SUNY-K	Male	2
Taewan	SUNY-K	Male	2
Woojin	SUNY-K	Male	3
Dahee	SUNY-K	Female	4
Haneul	SUNY-K	Female	4
Kyungmi	GMUK	Female	1
Bora	GMUK	Female	2
Rina	GMUK	Female	2
Misun	GMUK	Female	2
Changmin	GMUK	Male	2
Dongsu	GMUK	Male	2
Hanjae	GMUK	Male	3
Namjun	GMUK	Male	3
Shiwoo	GMUK	Male	4
Nayeon	UAC	Female	1
Intek	UAC	Male	1
Juwon	UAC	Male	1
Youngjoo	UAC	Female	2
Chaewon	UAC	Female	2
Gunwoo	UAC	Male	2
Minho	UAC	Male	2
Eunkyung	UAC	Female	3
Soyoung	UAC	Female	3

2014) I excluded Ghent University from my study to focus exclusively on the IGC Korean students at American universities.

Participant Recruitment

Although there is an IGC Foundation that oversees the operation of IGC's facilities, each constituent university maintains oversight of all aspects of their respective international branch campus at IGC. Thus, administrators from SUNY-K, GMUK, and UAC each act as gatekeepers who control access to their specific student population. As such, I conducted site visits in June 2016 and August 2018 to meet with administrators at each of these institutions to introduce my research study. Fortunately, I received a warm reception since they recognized the potential benefit of research that could provide an improved understanding of the student population they are trying to serve. Consequently, several of my research participants contacted me because of a recruitment email sent on my behalf from the administration. Furthermore, my residence at the on-campus dormitory gave me additional access to potential interview participants. By contacting the IGC Foundation's Housing Office, I was also allowed to post recruitment fliers in the common areas of the building.

My recruitment materials (see Appendix A) specified the following criteria for eligibility: a) at least 18 years old, b) enrolled in SUNY-K, GMUK, or UAC and c) possess Korean citizenship (to indicate "domestic student" status). The materials also stated that participants would receive a total of 40,000 KRW (~34 USD) for completing two interviews.

Interview language

Although my recruitment materials were exclusively written in English with no indication of my bilingual ability, I received several inquiries from students in Korean. I did,

however, list my full legal name which would have signaled my Korean ethnicity. In their initial responses to my recruitment materials, some students specifically inquired if the interview would be conducted in English. My responses to all inquiries were in English, but I made it clear that I was also fluent in Korean, and that they could use Korean as needed during the interviews.

During the first round of data collection via interviews, I found that code-switching (switching between English and Korean language while speaking) was a common occurrence. Some students used Korean simply to clarify certain words (for example, saying the word *tongeum*/통금 when they couldn't remember the word "curfew"), but others resorted to full sentences in Korean because they clearly felt constrained and limited in their English language ability. In these instances, code-switching was often accompanied by long pauses, false starts, and even sighs of frustration.

My initial surprise at this turn of events threw into sharp relief the assumptions I had made regarding the level of English fluency of Korean students at IGC. Consequently, I adjusted my interview protocol for the second round of interviews by conducting the first half in Korean to review and follow up on their previous statements from the first interview unless the student explicitly stated that they were more comfortable speaking in English (See Table 2 for information on students' language usage during the recruitment and interview processes).

Ethnographic Observation

Data from interviews was further supplemented with ethnographic observations, thereby allowing for data triangulation (Yin, 2017). Through my contact with a senior SUNY-K administrator, I was able obtain housing at one of the two IGC dormitories, and was able to easily incorporate extensive ethnographic observations as part of my research. This was an especially relevant means of data collection since IGC students have the benefit of a clearly

defined physical campus, unlike other transnational education endeavors. Also, one of IGC's

Table 2: Language Usage by Participants

Name (*pseudonym)*	School	Recruitment Correspondence Language	Interview Language(s)
Kyungmi	GMUK	Korean	Some English, mostly Korean
Rina	GMUK	Korean	English, Korean
Dongsu	GMUK	Korean	English, Korean
Haneul	SUNY-K	Korean	English, Korean
Taewan	SUNY-K	Korean	English, Korean
Youngjoo	UAC	Korean	English, Korean
Dahee	SUNY-K	Korean	English
Misun	GMUK	English	English, Korean
Hanjae	GMUK	English	English, Korean
Namjun	GMUK	English	English, Korean
Shiwoo	GMUK	English	English, Korean
Areum	SUNY-K	English	English, Korean
Bongju	SUNY-K	English	English, Korean
Chaewon	UAC	English	English, Korean
Eunkyung	UAC	English	English, Korean
Nayeon	UAC	English	English, Korean
Soyoung	UAC	English	English, Korean
Gunwoo	UAC	English	English, Korean
Intek	UAC	English	English, Korean
Juwon	UAC	English	English, Korean
Minho	UAC	English	English, Korean
Bora	GMUK	English	English
Changmin	GMUK	English	English
Jia	SUNY-K	English	English
Woojin	SUNY-K	English	English

defining characteristics is its setup as a residential college (i.e. all IGC students reside in the on-campus dormitories). A residential college culture is still a relatively new phenomenon in Korea; in fact, it is still a cultural norm for young people in Korea to live with their parents well into their adult years. Seoul's high population density, lack of affordable housing, and excellent public transportation system make it common occurrence for students to commute from home to the 40 or so universities that populate Seoul alone. Thus, IGC provides a rare physical environment that attempts to provide an immersive student experience that emulates that of the main campuses in the United States. Although time constraints precluded visits to classes, I regularly spent time on campus, ate in the dining hall, and attended a variety of events such as the IGC Sports Tournament, a townhall meeting, student art exhibitions, and spring graduation ceremonies. These ethnographic observations not only illuminated the nuances of student life in transnational spaces like IGC, but also helped contextualize the information provided during participant interviews.

Data Analysis

To give primacy to participants' understanding of their educational experiences and time at IGC, I adopted a constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000). This framework reaffirms studying people in their natural settings" (p. 510) while acknowledging that "'discovered' reality arises from the interactive process between researcher and subjects" (p. 525). Furthermore, it demands that researchers scrutinize their research decisions since "the scrutiny that grounded theorists give their method and—by extension—themselves leads to…improvising their methods and analytic strategies" (p. 403). Thus, researcher reflexivity was

also central to my process. As previously stated in the Interviews section, I adjusted my interview protocol for the second round of interviews to include significant portions in Korean language when I confronted the assumptions I had made regarding the level of English fluency of my participants. This illustrates how sampling, data collection, and data analysis did not occur as distinct, sequential phases throughout my study; instead, these were ongoing processes that occurred in relation to each other.

I utilized the qualitative data analysis program Atlas.ti for my coding endeavors because of the large amount of data in my study. Interviews were transcribed shortly after they were conducted, and the transcripts were uploaded to Atlas.ti so I could begin analyzing my emerging data as I collected it. I began to define and categorize the data through a series of "cumulative coding cycles" (Saldana, 2015, p. 55) and a constant comparative method to continuously compare multiple points of data. Comparisons were made between individuals, within individuals across different points in time, between codes and categories, and between categories themselves (Charmaz, 2000).

In the first phase of analysis, initial coding, I remained "open to all possible theoretical directions suggested by [my] interpretations of the data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46), and assigned short descriptive codes to segments of text that were further refined in subsequent rounds of coding. First cycle coding methods also included attribute coding to establish basic descriptive information of the participants (such as the specific trajectory of their K-12 education, their use of language through the recruitment and interview process, their English ability as surmised by test scores (e.g. TOEFL) and their own self-assessment) as well as in vivo coding to prioritize the participants' voice by highlighting their own words. From this initial round of coding, I conducted code mapping and code landscaping (Saldana, 2015) to categorize, recategorize, and

conceptualize codes by looking for connections and relationships between codes through both textual and visual means. These practices enabled me to conduct subsequent rounds of coding with more refined codes. The coding process entailed the careful reading and re-reading of the interview transcripts, which also prompted me to write frequent analytic memos to explore the emerging patterns I discovered among the participants' narratives. From these memos, I referred back to my research questions to see which findings were most relevant to providing a cohesive understanding of the students' educational journey, and how their lived experiences were mediated by their personal background and the peculiarities of IGC's transnational field.

Trustworthiness

To establish the trustworthiness of this study, I have sought to "ensure continuity and congruence among all the elements of the qualitative research process" (Jones et al., 2006, p. 99) through the use of member checks, data triangulation, peer review, and a research journal. Given my interpretation of student narratives during the analysis stage, I actively sought to authenticate my findings with my participants by soliciting their comments and feedback as I shared my findings with them. Through these member checks, I paid special attention to any concerns they had regarding my interpretation of their narratives as well as the fidelity of my translation when they spoke in Korean instead of English. The extensive ethnographic observations I made at the research site, as well as my review of IGC documents and websites and informal interviews with administrators and staff from each of the American international branch campuses, helped provide a convergence of evidence to counter biases arising from chance associations and overly general interpretations of data—a process known as data triangulation. On several occasions, I discussed my findings and research decisions with other researchers and found this informal peer review process to be invaluable. I also made extensive

use of a research journal where I chronicled my research decisions and my reflections on the overall research process, including my own positionality in this study, which I discuss next.

Researcher Positionality

As a researcher who recognizes the socially constructed and situated nature of knowledge (England, 1994), I concede that the pursuit of knowledge (i.e. "research") cannot be characterized as the discovery of a single, objective truth. Rather, I must take a reflexive approach by examining how my own position in relation to my subject of study subsequently affects how I am able to relate to people, collect and interpret data, and synthesize new knowledge. Albright, Hartman, and Widin (2017) also comment, "[Bourdieu's] reflexive sociology places a methodological obligation on its practitioners to address their own positionality within the field and social space in general" (p.2). Thus, it is critical that I acknowledge relevant facets of my own identity that create a dynamic interplay with the social phenomenon I wish to investigate.

I am a Western-educated, Korean American woman and naturalized US citizen who identifies as female, cisgender, straight, able-bodied and upper-middle class. My parents and I immigrated to the US shortly after I was born in Seoul, Korea, but I was raised with a strong sense of Korean culture, language, and identity, and I consider myself bicultural and bilingual. These identities were reinforced through ten years of Saturday Korean School in the US during primary and secondary school, as well as frequent family trips to Korea to visit relatives. Given these circumstances, it was not especially surprising when I decided to work in Korea for a year as an English teacher after graduating from college in the US. What I did not anticipate, however, was that I would spend a total of nine years living in Korea and building a career in various aspects of the education field there. I have worked as a certified English language

teacher, English language curriculum developer, English teacher manager, study abroad adviser/college counselor for Korean students eager to leave behind the misery of Korea's domestic education system, and the student affairs coordinator at an intensive English language school—a franchise arrangement between the Korean government and the for-profit continuing education division of an American university. My research interests in IGC have been undeniably influenced by my personal and professional experiences in the education field in Korea, and the extensive interactions I have had over the years with Korean students striving for better English skills and non-Korean college degrees.

My Korean ethnicity, bilingualism, education work experience in Korea and subsequent lengthy residence there served as points of commonality with research participants. As a result, this allowed for an easy rapport to be quickly established with my participants and allowed many students to comfortably engage in code-switching between English and Korean with me. My background also allowed me to understand and appreciate the nuances of my participants' comments that may not have been immediately apparent to a complete outsider. For example, when students made reference to various Korean neighborhoods and universities, my positionality enabled me to appreciate the implied differences when they compared Songdo (a fledgling city) to the Gangnam neighborhood of Seoul (a well-established center of Korean affluence, and a shadow education mecca), or when they discussed admission to Yonsei University (extremely competitive school in Seoul) versus admission to Daegu University (a less competitive regional university outside of Seoul).

Granted, my understanding of their lived experience was also mediated by my privileged outsider status as a US citizen with "accentless" English and US education for K-12, college, and graduate school. Reflexivity demands that I reflect on the "complicated layering and

interweaving of power relations" (England, 1994, p. 84) that pervades the social world, and how this extends into my research inquiries because of the "power-laden nature of interviewing encounters" (Flowerdew & Martin, 1997, p. 113). Through this work, I do not lay claim to "giving a voice" to the participants I have been privileged to meet. Instead, I acknowledge that my role as a researcher involves decision making on how to represent, or rather "re-present", the participants to the reader (Fine, 1994, p. 110), and that these decisions result in an interpretation that also reveals facets of my own identity. Recognizing this reality enables me to appreciate the dialogic nature of fieldwork since "the research situation is structured by both the researcher and the person being researched" (England, 1994, p. 84). Thus, the conclusions I draw from my findings not only reflect my interpretation of students' practices and positions within Korean/American/transnational educational fields, but my own position in these multiple fields as well.

Limitations

Although every effort has been made to conduct this study with great care and attention to detail, several limitations must be noted. First, the practical limitations of time and resources made it necessary to limit the scope of my research. If additional time and resources had been available, it would have been useful to interview faculty members in addition to students since the classroom was the primary setting where English language was spoken on campus. Since English language usage emerged as a key site of tension for many of the students in this study, faculty perspectives could have provided a more complete picture of the student experience at IGC. However, I am still satisfied by the extent to which I was able to center students' voices in my findings.

Another limitation relates to participant recruitment, since I had only prepared

recruitment materials in English. Thus, students who were confident in their English abilities were more likely to participate in this study. Luckily, my bilingualism enabled me to encourage the students who contacted me in Korean to still participate, but it is possible that other students with less confidence in their English ability avoided the study's call for participants entirely. Thus, I was not able to hear the narratives of students who would have only responded to recruitment materials in Korean, thereby preventing me from capturing the perspective of a broader range of students. Future studies should take care to incorporate bilingual materials at all stages of the recruitment process.

Lastly, the insights drawn from this study are highly context-specific, and thus not easily generalizable. However, the aim of this qualitative study was not to make universal claims about the nuances of student experiences at international branch campuses. Instead, the specificity of the IGC transnational field and the narrow demographic of Korean students at IGC instead enabled me to provide an in-depth analysis of how students make sense of their educational choices, aspirations, and everyday lived experiences because of how they are situated in their larger personal, national, and global context. While the specific ethnographic details of this empirical study relate directly to Korea and the Incheon Global Campus, the theoretical assertion that transnational social fields are complicated sites for students to navigate can be applied to studies in different settings to yield insightful, and unique, results.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings from this study which arose from my application of Bourdieu's theoretical framework and method of inquiry. That is, I examined the broader context of power that IGC is situated in, the structure of relations between my participants at IGC, the types of relevant capital in this field as well as its distribution, and the nature of the participants' experiences and trajectories in this field as they mobilized their capital and habitus through everyday practice. In doing so, it became apparent that the students' educational background, motivation for choosing IGC, and the nature of their experiences at IGC were predominantly shaped and defined by the accumulation and mobilization of linguistic capital. This aligns with Bourdieu's (1977b) observation that:

> The educational system is a crucial object of struggle because it has a monopoly over the production of the mass of producers and consumers, and hence over the reproduction of the market on which the value of linguistic competence depends, in other words its capacity to function as linguistic capital (p. 652).

That is, education and language usage are inextricably linked; since the educational field reflects the structure of power relations, it also reflects how language is not only an instrument of communication in educational settings, but also an instrument of power (Bourdieu, 1977b). Consequently, I utilized language acquisition and usage as the primary lens to understand my data, and then organized the findings into three key sections to answer each of the research questions of this study. Part 1 describes the participants' backgrounds, particularly as it relates to their existing access to capital, their English language ability, and their exposure to international educational fields, whether overseas or within Korea. Part 2 delves into student motivations and decision-making processes for selecting IGC for their college trajectory. Part 3 examines what it

is like to be a student at IGC and how students make sense of their educational journey at IGC. Given the all-encompassing nature of a concept like "student experience at college," I focus on Korean/English language usage in everyday interactions to narrow the scope of practices I discuss in this section.

Part 1. Student Backgrounds: Caught Up in the Education Arms Race

I begin this chapter with an overview of the students' family and educational histories prior to IGC to answer my first research question: What characterizes the Korean students who choose to attend IGC, particularly in terms of their prior international experience and English language ability? First, it is important to examine the broader societal context of the students in this study: Korean society is characterized by a competitive educational landscape that has an excess of college graduates and an over-saturated labor market which has led to the overall devaluation of education credentials. While universal access to higher education is ostensibly a laudable goal, the universal attainment of college degrees by young Koreans has prompted an increasing emphasis on elite education credentials, English language fluency, and/or degrees from overseas colleges and universities. Since college admission in Korea overwhelmingly relies on a student's *suneung* (수능, or College Scholastic Aptitude Test/CSAT) scores, shadow education dominates the education landscape as parents invest their personal incomes into this industry with the hope of giving their children a competitive edge. Whereas the *suneung* was initially characterized by meritocratic fairness, shadow education has fundamentally altered the egalitarian nature of the exam by making it a reflection of the economic resources and market savvy of a student's household (Ghazarian, 2014). Likewise, parental resources determine the extent to which students can acquire other forms of social distinction such as English language and overseas education. As a result, it is important to examine the educational background of the

parents to fully understand a student's educational opportunities and trajectory.

Parents as Education Managers

The parents of the students in this study generally possessed significant amounts of human capital in terms of educational background. Twenty-one mothers had a bachelor's degree (20 from Korean universities and one from an American university) and two had graduate degrees from Korean universities. Only two mothers had not obtained a college diploma. Fathers were even more highly educated: there were 16 fathers with graduate degrees (15 from Korean universities and one from the US), eight with bachelor's degrees, and only one without a college diploma. All fathers were also employed in white-collar work, including several chief executive officers, professors, doctors, and government employees. In short, most students came from families in a position of privilege in Korean society; there was only one first-generation student (Kyungmi) whose parents had not obtained a college degree.

Kang and Abelmann (2011) describe the concept of "education/knowledge capital" (p. 99) to describe the extent to which parents are aware of educational resources and strategies. This embodied cultural capital plays a key role in children's socialization process and habitus formation: for most students in this study, it was a given they would attend college, and all the better if they could gain admittance to a prestigious domestic university. Consequently, education was considered an important family value, and most students attended *hagwon* (학원, or cram school/after school academy) regularly in subjects such as English, math, and test prep for the *suneung* (수능, or CSAT). Given their access to resources, most parents in the study were also equipped to respond to and take advantage of the impact of globalization on Korea's domestic education landscape. That is, they were able to act as effective education managers for their children by recognizing how English language ability and overseas experiences with

Western education systems could distinguish their children from the domestic competition. For the parents who already had access to capital, they could easily reproduce and accumulate more capital by investing in an international dimension to their children's education such as English language education or overseas education.

However, English instruction does not begin as part of Korea's national public-school curriculum until the third grade, which does not align with parental ideologies regarding the necessity of starting English language acquisition as early as possible. The shadow education industry has been able to take advantage of parental anxieties by providing a myriad of English language services such as private kindergartens taught exclusively in English. Of the 25 students in this study, six students attended kindergartens in Korea that were taught in English, and an additional three students attended kindergarten overseas because their family had temporarily migrated for the father's career or doctoral education. Furthermore, most students described how their parents engaged in additional shadow education services for them such as private tutoring and *hagwon* (학원, or "cram school"/after-school academy) instruction because of the widespread belief that the public-school English curriculum is not adequate and must be supplemented.

Jogiyuhak (조기유학, or Early Study Abroad)

In some cases, parents made an even more significant investment in English education by managing their children's education beyond Korea's borders through a practice known as *jogiyuhak*. As described in Chapter 2, *jogiyuhak* is a "child-centered familial strategy of capital accumulation" (Waters, 2005, p. 360) in which children, either accompanied or unaccompanied, immerse themselves in English-speaking environments overseas. These early study abroad sojourns differ significantly from immigration, in which migrants plan on permanent

resettlement. Since parents engage in *jogiyuhak* to improve their children's status and opportunities within the Korean context, returning to the home country is the intended end goal. Thus, *jogiyuhak* serves as an extension of Korea's high stratified education market and the shadow-education system even though it entails the crossing of national borders (Ihm & Choi, 2015; Kang & Abelmann, 2011). Kang and Abelmann (2011) refer to this phenomenon as the "domestication" of *jogiyuhak* to signify how the boundaries of Korea's education field has expanded to also incorporate overseas locations. Far from serving as an exit strategy from the Korean education system, *jogiyuhak* symbolizes more of a detour or shortcut for increased capital and prestige. However, since the ability to utilize this option is itself contingent on pre-existing reserves of financial, social, and cultural capital, *jogiyuhak* experiences vary widely in terms of family migration patterns, program type and duration, as well as country of destination. The international education experiences of the students in this study reflected this variation.

Student Backgrounds. Not surprisingly, nearly every student in this study engaged in some form of *jogiyuhak* prior to attending IGC. Table 3 provides a brief overview of the students' experiences with international education fields. Only three of the 25 students in this study, did not have any overseas education: Kyungmi and Rina completed their entire pre-college education within the Korean education system. Although Taewon also remained in Korea for his education, he managed to have an international education by attending a Christian boarding school with a hybrid Korean and English curriculum. The rest of the students pursued part or most of their education overseas, with most students spending anywhere from a year to eleven years abroad. Aside from Taewon, several students also attended international schools, although this occurred upon their return to Korea and will be discussed in more detail later.

Table 3. Duration and Location of International Education Experiences

Name	*Jogiyuhak* and International Education Experience	*Jogiyuhak* Country/Countries
Bora	11 years overseas	Philippines
Changmin	11 years overseas	1st sojourn: New Zealand, Australia 2nd sojourn: USA
Jia	10 years overseas; 7.5 years at an international school in Korea	USA
Woojin	8 years overseas	USA
Eunkyung	7.5 years overseas; 1.5 years at an international school in Korea	1st sojourn: USA, Switzerland 2nd sojourn: USA
Dongsu	7 years overseas	1st sojourn: France 2nd sojourn: Australia
Shiwoo	6 years overseas	USA
Areum	6 years overseas	USA
Youngjoo	5 years overseas	USA
Dahee	5 years overseas	Indonesia
Hanjae	4 years overseas	Hong Kong
Namjun	4 years overseas	USA
Bongju	3 years overseas	USA
Juwon	2 years overseas	1st sojourn: Canada 2nd sojourn: USA
Chaewon	1.5 years overseas	Canada
Soyoung	1 year overseas; 6 years at an international school in Korea	USA
Haneul	6 months overseas	USA
Nayeon	1 month overseas	USA
Gunwoo	1 month overseas	New Zealand
Misun	1 month overseas	Canada/USA
Intek	1 month overseas; 3 years at an international school in Korea	Philippines
Taewan	None; 3 years at an international school in Korea	Not applicable
Minho	None; 8 months at an overseas English program before transfer to IGC from a Korean university	Canada
Rina	None	Not applicable

Kyungmi	None	Not applicable

English was the medium of instruction for all students regardless of whether English was a native language (e.g., United States), one of several official languages (e.g., Philippines), or of no official standing in the country (e.g., Indonesia). The overwhelming preference is certainly for "Western" countries where English is the native language, that is, the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Canada. However, as Brooks and Waters (2011) note, "The option of living, for several years, in a Western country is clearly not open to everyone. On the contrary, this indicates a degree of privilege and exclusivity, which in and of itself imparts value on the holder" (p.63). Table 3 clearly indicates a wide range of *jogiyuhak* experiences and levels of privilege; some students even engaged in multiple *jogiyuhak* sojourns, with an initial *jogiyuhak* experience followed by time in the Korean education system before a second trip overseas.

Table 4 provides additional detail regarding the nature of each students' international education experience by first categorizing the students by the primary motivation for their *jogiyuhak* sojourn and then detailing whether students were accompanied by family members on their sojourn. Although an ideal *jogiyuhak* experiences typically involves an intact family spending several years in the United States together, a more affordable version is sometimes characterized by a student sojourning alone and staying with relatives or a legal guardian.

Desire to Gain English Language Skills. The primary motivation for most students who engaged in *jogiyuhak* was the desire to improve their English language ability. English language ability is seen as a manifest skill associated with overseas education (J. L. Waters, 2006) and "an indispensable requirement for success in the global economy" (J. S.-Y. Park & Bae, 2009, p. 368). However, many parents resolutely believe that language education through overseas immersion is better than simply learning English within Korea's borders. There is, perhaps, an

innate understanding that linguistic capital entails more than grammatical competence in a

Table 4. Motivations and Traveling Status for International Education Experiences

1. Desire to Gain English Language Skills and International Experience

Changmin	1st sojourn: Goose family in New Zealand 2nd sojourn: Unaccompanied with brother in USA
Juwon	1st sojourn: Entire family in Canada 2nd sojourn: Unaccompanied in USA
Chaewon	Goose family
Areum	Unaccompanied
Haneul	Unaccompanied
Namjun	Unaccompanied
Youngjoo	Unaccompanied
Gunwoo	Unaccompanied
Intek	Unaccompanied
Nayeon	Unaccompanied
Misun	Unaccompanied
Minho	Unaccompanied

2. Parental Circumstances

Dahee	Entire family; father’s career
Hanjae	Entire family; father’s career
Soyoung	Entire family; father’s career
Dongsu	Entire family; father's career
Woojin	Entire family; father’s graduate education
Jia	Entire family; father’s graduate education
Eunkyung	1st sojourn: Entire family; father's graduate education 2nd sojourn: Unaccompanied

3. Dissonance with Korean Education

Bora	Unaccompanied
Shiwoo	Unaccompanied
Bongju	Unaccompanied

language; as Bourdieu (1977b) notes, “Practical mastery of grammar is nothing without mastery of the conditions for adequate use of the infinite possibilities offered by grammar” (p. 646). That is, knowing *how* and *when* to use a language is as important (if not more so) than knowing the language itself. Unfortunately, the overwhelming emphasis for English education in Korea is on “correctness” (what linguists refer to as “grammaticalness”) and performing well on standardized exams such as the *suneung* college admissions or the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) for job applications. However, by learning a language in an immersion setting overseas, a speaker must also gain *practical* competence, i.e. the ability to use a language in context and to be seen by *other* legitimate language users as a legitimate speaker. Thus, power relations are embedded in every linguistic encounter since native speakers of a language (i.e. the dominant class) maintain authority of the “legitimate” language and can use factors such as pronunciation and accent to gauge a person’s social class standing. By interacting with native language speakers overseas, *jogiyuhak* students are subject to sanctions in linguistic fields (or what Bourdieu calls linguistic markets) and through continuous positive and negative reinforcements, they acquire durable dispositions on how to employ various strategies for linguistic expression. Since “the body is an instrument which records its own previous uses and which, although continuously modified by them, gives greater weight to the earliest of them” (Bourdieu, 1977b p. 660), *jogiyuhak* therefore shapes a student’s language habitus. What parents ostensibly hope to inculcate through *jogiyuhak* is a language habitus that is not centered on grammaticalness but the ability to “endow their linguistic performance with a casualness and ease that are precisely recognized as the hallmark of distinction” (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 659).

For Juwon and Changmin, English language acquisition was the driving motivation for engaging in *jogiyuhak* although it entailed family separation. When asked about why he engaged

in *jogiyuhak* for one year in the 4th grade, Juwon recalled: "My mom just wanted to give us opportunity to learn English." Juwon added, "She wanted me to get involved with anything relating to English." He was not unaccompanied during this initial sojourn in Canada, however, since "Whole family went there because [my parents] were worried about our like mental or like eating food issues, because sending my brother and me alone would be not good for them." Upon his return to Korea, Juwon maintained a habitus oriented towards English under his mother's guidance. Juwon explained, "After I came back from Canada, my mom kept me to read [English] books like every day and to listen, to wake up my sensation. So, I guess I have a bit of confidence" and he also attended *hagwon* for additional English education. Furthermore, his mother encouraged him to make a second *jogiyuhak* sojourn in 9th grade, although this time he went unaccompanied to the US.

Similarly, Changmin referred to the influence of his parents on his English language education. He explained, "their goal was to send me to a school in the US, and they wanted, well, first they just wanted us to learn fluent English." In contrast to Juwon, however, Changmin's parents resorted to a goose family arrangement where his father stayed in Korea to work, and his mother accompanied him during *jogiyuhak* in New Zealand and Australia for all of his elementary school education. After returning to Korea for 7th grade, he continued *jogiyuhak* in the US from 8th - 12th grade, unaccompanied. Since Changmin had spent most of his pre-college education overseas, it was not surprising that he was more comfortable speaking English rather than Korean, although he clarified that he could speak both. As a former English language teacher, I had also noted Changmin's ease in using English (including idiomatic expressions and sayings) as well as his lack of a pronounced accent, which would have translated to a high amount of symbolic capital and prestige in linguistic markets in Korea. Given how his linguistic

habitus was shaped over the course of 11 years of *jogiyuhak*, however, Changmin's linguistic capital reflects his parents' access to a wealth of resources as well strategic education management.

Desire to Gain International Experience. Other students referred to their parents' abstract desire for them to gain "international experience" in addition to improved language skills, highlighting how *jogiyuhak* allows for an educational experience that goes beyond language acquisition and grammaticalness. For example, Namjun recalled how his father encouraged *jogiyuhak* because *"*it would be a great experience studying abroad and meeting various people around the world" and Areum described how her parents suggested she go overseas to "experience new stuff." Namjun's and Areum's comments underscore the belief that *jogiyuhak* enables students to acquire valuable capital that is "out there," beyond Korea's borders, whether it is new people or new experiences in general. Youngjoo's comments also gave credence to this notion when she recalled her own motivation for *jogiyuhak,* "I think I had this American Dream [laughs]. America is huge, large, lots of potential" in contrast to the limitations of a small country like Korea. Similarly, Minho discussed how studying overseas enabled people to have "broad horizons" and to avoid being *umulane gaeguri* (우물안에 개구리, or "frog in a well"), which refers to a Korean proverb about a frog that only knows the world within his well and the small patch of sky above. To be a frog in a well is to be narrow-minded and unable to see the wider world; in referencing this proverb, Minho highlights the global orientation of human development and progress. To have never left Korea is to be a frog in a well; even if one is wealthy or obtains elite credentials at one of Korea's top universities, they are unaware of and inexperienced with the broader global landscape, thereby lacking global cultural capital. Leaving the social field of Korea to access global cultural capital, and then

returning home, is therefore instrumental in improving one's symbolic capital.

While *jogiyuhak* is typically defined as study abroad for at least a year (Kang & Abelmann, 2011; J. S.-Y. Park & Bae, 2009), I included sojourns as short as one month under the category of *jogiyuhak* because the overseas experience, no matter how brief, still had a significant impact in shaping the students' habitus and giving them a sense of global cultural capital gains. In her study of international students in Europe, Murphy-Lejeune (2002) likewise observed how students "fully grasp the efficacy of linguistic immersion as a radical way to force and give a final polish to language learning in a natural milieu" (p. 82). Thus, all the students who engaged in *jogiyuhak* felt their English improve significantly overseas regardless of how brief the duration of their stay. For example, Intek spent only a month in the Philippines for an English language program, yet he recalled:

> I didn't know about the English at the time. At first it was really hard to understand or speak English, but maybe after one week in the Philippines, it becomes comfortable to me. I didn't know why, but because of the studying abroad to Philippines, my English looked very… upgraded.

Intek's comments reflects an inherent grasp of how language acquisition in an immersion setting can be different from the English education received in Korea. This reinforces the notion that "study abroad induces directed contact with a language and culture, qualitatively different from institutional learning, transcending it in a way" (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002, p. 1). Students also described non-linguistic benefits from brief stints overseas. For example, Nayeon fondly recalled her one-month experience at a summer camp in the United States, and mentioned both linguistic and non-linguistic gains, "It was quite fun because I enjoy talking other language. I was able to make many friends which is from various countries. I just enjoy myself in in summer camp—it's

for the opportunity." In short, students like Intek and Nayeon highlighted the life-changing nature of acquiring global cultural capital, no matter how modest the amount and how brief the sojourn.

Parental Circumstances. Occasionally, *jogiyuhak* occurred because of family migrations that were not centered on the educational needs of the children. Instead, families moved overseas as parents followed work opportunities or their own educational goals. In this study, these migrations were gendered as they only occurred because of the career and educational circumstances of the fathers. Sometimes these moves were regional, as was the case for Dahee and Hanjae. Dahee, who attended an English-speaking international school in Indonesia for four years, recalled, "My dad, he's a missionary and he decided to go to Indonesia, so my whole family moved." Hanjae, who attended first through fourth grade at an English-speaking international school in Hong Kong, explained, "My father is a CEO, and he lives abroad and due to that I was able to live in other foreign countries." Both Dahee's and Hanjae's parents needed to cover additional expenses related to private school tuition since they were in countries where the language of instruction in local schools was not English. In contrast, Dongsu went to the local elementary school in Australia because of his father's job. According to Dongsu, "My dad is a diplomat, so he has to work in the global organization. He was kind of representative of Korea." Soyoung was even able to enroll in ESL classes at the local public school since her father's job transferred him to the United States for a year.

For other students, the contours of their educational journeys were affected by their fathers' own pursuit of higher education. Woojin and his family moved to the United States when he was only two years old while his father pursued his graduate degree. As a result, he was able to acquire English naturally as his first language in an environment where it was the native

tongue—a situation which aligns with the language education ideologies of Korean parents even though in this case it was a fairly incidental consequence of Woojin's father pursuing *his own* education. Similarly, Jia acquired English language first because she was born in the US while her parents were in the United States for their college education, and she only moved to Korea after the 4th grade. According to Bourdieu (1977b), a memory of one's origin is embodied in a person's speech habits, like pronunciation. Thus, it is significant that English was acquired naturally as their first language (especially in education settings); not surprisingly, Woojin and Jia were fluent English speakers and had both of their interviews conducted solely in English.

Overall, the educational experiences of this group of *jogiyuhak* students demonstrates the intergenerational transmission of capital via family migration patterns even when a child's education is not the central cause of the move. These students were among those who experienced the earliest introduction into international educational fields and immersive English environments simply as dependents of their fathers' own pursuit of capital and opportunities and were later able to gain significant advantages at IGC because of their linguistic capital.

Dissonance with Korean Education. For the final group of students, *jogiyuhak* provided a crucial detour and second chance for their educational journeys since they experienced significant dissonance with their schooling in Korea. Given the zero-sum nature of the Korean education system, students scrabble for an extremely limited number of places at the top and all other students essentially lose and are forced to the margins of Korean education, and by extension, Korean society. Under these circumstances, Korean parents feverishly monitor their children's academic performance for any sign of struggle from an early age.

For Bora, Shiwoo, and Bongju, *jogiyuhak* served as an educational remedy when it became apparent that they would be relegated to the margins of Korea's educational field, a

situation that Bora and Shiwoo both described as “not fitting in”. Bora commented:

> [W]hen I was little, I really didn’t like studying. There was like always the complaints from the school like, “Why is your daughter not studying?” There are a lot of complaints about me [laughs], so when I was grade one, we went to [the Philippines] because my mom knew someone there and we stayed there about a month for vacation and she was like, “Okay, I think it might be okay for me to send you there.”

Despite an initially challenging transitional period, Bora ultimately completed the rest of her pre-college education in the Philippines at an international school. However, neither of her younger sisters followed in her footsteps since they both returned to Korea after a brief time in the Philippines. As Bora stated, “My parents thought that they kind of would fit into Korean education [laughs] since they were younger, and she didn’t want them to go through what I had [laughs]. That was when they went back to Korea, yeah.” Bora’s comments highlighted how her overseas education was part of a deliberate and individualized academic migration strategy tailored to her situation and not just an incidental consequence of family migration. Furthermore, her comments regarding her sisters acknowledges that the alternative pathway she took is not necessarily an easy one, and that her parents had a natural preference to utilize the Korean education system if possible.

Shiwoo also described a lack of fit within Korea when describing why he was sent overseas:

> In Korea, you *have* to go to a four-year college. The education competition is so fierce, and I don’t know why kids who don’t want to study have to study. Whether it’s parents or society, the message is “But you have to study, you have to do it,” even to students who just want to go to work. If a student is like “I’m not studying,” then it’s like, “Has he lost

> the will to live?" [laughs]. I wasn't really a type of a student that study hard or enjoy to study or even get close to studying [laughs]. I wasn't really doing that well in school. It's all lectures and you have to memorize, take exams, you have to study. Thinking back, I'm not really type of a student that can learn like that. I wasn't really fitting in in the Korean education system, so my parents thought that I should go [laughs]. I should try in America [laughs].

Bora's and Shiwoo's accounts illustrate how the concept of fit in Korean education is narrowly defined as academic success and a propensity to study a lot from an early age; in other words, this is the type of habitus best suited to find success in Korea's educational field because of "habitus-field congruence" (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). When it became evident that Bora's and Shiwoo's habitus was incongruent with the Korean educational field, their parents did not hesitate to immediately consider alternatives beyond Korea's borders because they had the financial and social capital to do so. Similar to Bora, Shiwoo also benefited from his family's social network for his *jogiyuhak* options. He remembered "the decision [my parents] made was because there were my cousins in America…My parents would have been fine if I were to stay with the cousins, not just random people in America."

The dissonance Bongju experienced in Korean schools was even more severe, so he applied for admission to an alternative high school in Korea. However, when this option failed to materialize, he was sent overseas to essentially salvage his educational trajectory. Bongju explained:

> I was failing Korean schools, like failing academically and also emotionally. I was having a hard time with any sort of educational pressure, so I started having anxiety attacks during the nights. I was always not comfortable with the educational system in

> Korea, so I was originally planning to go to this alternative high schools in Korea. I applied for them, then I didn't get into there and I was really disheartened. Then my mother suggested to me that I actually try to go study in the United States. I went to this Catholic school in New Jersey which was near the place that my mom's friend was living so he was my guardian throughout the next years of my high school.

By moving to an entirely new educational field overseas, Bongju was able to leave behind an academic context that was characterized by failure, rejection, and anxiety. However, the ability of students like Bora, Shiwoo, and Bongju to engage in these alternative educational pathways was a function of their parents' access to various forms of capital. That is, the embodied cultural capital of Korean mothers in the form of "education capital" (Kang and Abelmann, 2011) enabled Bora, Shiwoo, and Bongju to engage in alternative education pathways as soon as it became apparent that they would not attain academic "success" in Korea. Thus, Korean mothers were able to leverage their own capital in their role as education managers for their children (S. J. Park & Abelmann, 2004). In addition to the financial resources needed to attend private schools overseas, the transnational social networks of their parents were another significant form of capital. Bora's family was able to rely on a family friend while they explored education options in the Philippines, Shiwoo lived with his cousin in lieu of a costly homestay arrangement in the United States, and Bongju had a family friend serve as his legal guardian while he attended an American private school. For all three students, the mobilization of multiple forms of existing capital in the household enabled them to take a detour to educational success through *jogiyuhak* instead of being permanently sidelined from Korea's education landscape; that is, *jogiyuhak* "became a refuge for some students who might have become outcasts in Korea" (Koo, 2007, p. 78). Furthermore, their extensive time overseas enabled them to "come into his or her own when

wrested from the abuses of Korean education and society" (Kang & Abelmann, 2011, p. 97). Not surprisingly, from the time each of these students engaged in *jogiyuhak,* they remained overseas through high school graduation and no longer engaged in the Korean educational system.

Uneasy Gains

Whether students engaged in *jogiyuhak* because they were effectively "pushed" out of the Korean education, "pulled" overseas by the desire to increase their global cultural capital, or as an incidental consequence of their parents' own pursuit and management of capital, the student narratives covered thus far illustrate a great diversity of *jogiyuhak* experiences, particularly with respect to locations and duration. The general consensus among the students was that their overseas experiences were beneficial opportunities to improve their linguistic habitus and increase their global cultural capital. However, it is important to note that these gains were not made without a cost as well, thereby characterizing the outcome of their time overseas as the acquisition of *uneasy* gains. Most significantly, *jogiyuhak* experiences entailed a great deal of expense, from travel expenses, accommodations, and private school tuition if a student was unable to attend a public school or needed to attend a boarding school. When Juwon discussed his initial *jogiyuhak* experience in Canada where his entire family accompanied him, he shared that the sojourn was cut short because of a lack of funds: "I guess we spent all our fortune because my dad didn't get a job there and my mom either." At the time, his parents had made the decision to travel as a family to ensure their children were well provided for, but they were unable to gain employment which would have allowed them to stay longer than a year. Changmin, on the other hand, was able to spend 11 years overseas, but at the price of extensive family separation. Other hardships which also moderated some of their global cultural capital gains arose from linguistic challenges, incidents of racism and discrimination, and reintegration

issues upon their return to Korea.

Linguistic Challenges. Since most students engaged in *jogiyuhak* before they were proficient English speakers, they also experienced many challenges as they strove to rapidly adapt to an English-only setting. Several students described struggling for at least a year before they felt they had made real progress. For example, Shiwoo shared the following account from when he started *jogiyuhak* in the United States as a seventh grader:

> I remember the very first day of my school. I didn't know what to do because I couldn't speak English at all back then because I knew some words, but I could barely introduce myself to other people. The first year I couldn't keep up with that at all; I failed every class except for math because math [laughs] was numbers [laughs]. I just tried to keep up. When there's a reading assignment, it will take me hours when other kids will do it in 10 minutes. It took me a year, I think, to actually have conversation with other kids and understand what the teacher says in the classroom because that's when I realized, "Oh, I can kind of speak English now" [laughs].

The surprise that Shiwoo experienced when he realized he had acquired a certain level of fluency highlights how embodying skills into one's habitus takes an investment of significant time and effort. Hanjae also expressed a similar timeline when he explained:

> When I first went [to the international school in Hong Kong] I really didn't know any English [laughs]. I only knew how to speak Korean. Everything was hard to get to know everything, to learn the new language but about a year or two I think, solved the English matter.

For Youngjoo, she traveled to the US during the 9th grade but the difficulties she experienced with language entailed a more significant consequence. She explained:

> In the beginning of my junior high year, I went to middle school for 1.5 years to the States, but I had to lower the grade because my English skill wasn't that good. The language barrier—I learned English in *hagwon* and at school we had mandatory classes—but we learned words that we don't really use, vocab that we don't really use in everyday life. And people talked much more faster than the CD [laughs]!

For Shiwoo, Hanjae, and Youngjoo, several years were necessary to overcome the initial challenges of being fully immersed in a second language environment and to allow English to become embodied in their habitus, which required a large financial investment from their families.

Hostile Contexts of Reception. In other narratives, students recounted incidents of discrimination and racism which they felt ill-prepared to handle, particularly since Korea remains one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries in the world, with 96% of the population identifying as ethnically Korean (Too, 2019). The United States, on the other hand, is a racially and ethnically diverse country. Moreover, racism and white supremacy are embedded in the structure of American society (Bonilla-Silva, 2015), and international students are also subject to the effects of racialization and racism. For the most part, they enter a country "with little understanding of the historical and contemporary American racial landscape" (Loo, 2019, p. 7) in which racial and ethnic stereotypes are deeply entrenched and beyond the capacity of international students to modify or control (Sovic & Blythman, 2012). Thus, the racist and discriminatory incidents they encounter constitute "a difficult reality for those who have never experienced it in their home country" (J. J. Lee & Rice, 2007, p. 395).

Although the United States is racially diverse, racial groups are not evenly dispersed throughout the country. For example, Asians comprise 5.9% of the US population, but in states

like California and New York, they comprise a larger population at 15.3% and 9.0%, respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). The students in this study did not recall seeing a lot of racial diversity in their neighborhoods and schools. Most of them attended religious private schools in the Midwest with student populations that were predominantly white. These students had taken their Korean identities for granted until they were racialized as Asian in the United States according to the racial logics of practice in this field. For some, the racialization was not particularly hurtful since it only entailed being grouped with other Asians, irrespective of ethnicity. Eunkyung provided the following example from her high school in the US, "I think there was an exchange student program in China, so there were a lot of Chinese students, but only eight, seven Koreans. A lot of students just thought we were all Chinese—just a bunch of Asians."

However, it is possible Eunkyung was too generous in her attempt to rationalize the error. She later described an incident with real consequences, but implied being racialized by others was natural:

> I didn't really mind, but there were a lot of Chinese students that cheated, and they weren't doing their work so a lot of them got kind of blamed. But I worked really hard so it was kind of sad people would kind of judge me by that. But I didn't feel that bad just for me because it's easy to get mixed up with countries because we all look the same.

Eunkyung described how people judged her because of the actions of the Chinese students caught cheating. She learned firsthand how, despite her own understanding of her Korean ethnicity, others viewed her "through the prism of American racial…classifications" (Loo, 2019, p. 2). This incident also juxtaposed two common stereotypes of Asians and Asian Americans in the United States: academically successful yet sly and untrustworthy individuals (E. Kim, 2012).

Incidents like this typify the discomfort students may feel but have "difficulty articulating or identifying the exact source of such discomfort" (Lee & Rice, 2007, p. 396). Eunkyung deflected the discomfort she felt by brushing off the incident as an innocent mistake.

Unfortunately, other students experienced more overt incidents of racism and discrimination. Shiwoo recalled multiple incidents of racial harassment from strangers when he frequented the university his cousin attended:

> It will be a lie that I didn't face any racism in America—I mean, I wouldn't get that from my friends, obviously. But sometimes I will go to campus and go to cafes to study late because of finals or whatever and there will be some intoxicated college students [laughs]. They will sometimes throw comments at me and my cousin also experienced that. At this point, *I get it*—they're immature, they're drunk. They were driving by and they were yelling, I couldn't really hear it but I knew that was not a good comment. There were multiple occasions being on the campus that my cousin also experienced, and I knew it right away that was, "Oh no, well they're drunk and they're going to say some racist joke and they're probably laughing together" [laughs]. I get it, but back then I was like, "What?" I didn't really care. I wasn't really offended. Well, that's about it.

Like Eunkyung, Shiwoo also rationalized and deflected the discomfort that arose from incidents like this, though he acknowledged it took time for him to "get it." However, Shiwoo's final comments about not caring and not being affected by the incident reinforces a common belief among international students: incidents like this are tests of character and which individuals must overcome for success. Unfortunately, this concept is problematic as it assumes the host country is a neutral territory. Instead, I highlight how America's racial landscape is the foundation for a hostile context of reception that creates challenges beyond an individual's control, and that this is

the unspoken cost of trying to acquire global cultural capital. This is especially apparent in Namjun's experiences in a small Southern town, which he described as particularly unwelcoming:

> If you go to LA, New York, they have seen a lot of international people around the world. [But I was in] a countryside, and they're not friendly with Asian or international students. When I walk across the street, someone will yell out some mean words, throw out something else, yeah. I can tell the high school students have some BS stereotypes for Asian.

Namjun theorized a lack of diversity directly contributed to the racism he experienced in the following comments:

> 제가 있던 데는 [남부지방주]인데 거기는 워낙 외국인들이 없다 보니까 약간 낯설고 인종차별도 심하거든요.
>
> Where I was in [Southern state], there's not a lot of foreigners there so it's a bit strange and the racial discrimination is bad.

These observations were gained from his firsthand experience. He admitted his awareness of racial issues in the United States prior to *jogiyuhak* had been limited to what he had seen in movies. He had not expected racism and discrimination to affect him on a personal level as it repeatedly did in his school. He recalled:

> 저도 그 정도로 영화에서 보던 게 저한테도 일어날까 [생각 했어요]… 그냥 이유 없이 locker room 에서 밀고 그냥 hallway에서 밀면 애들이 다 쳐다보고 아무 말도 안 하고.. 그냥 맨날 because you are Asian 이런 말 맨날 들으니까 . … 저도 그래서 약간 stereotype이 생긴 게 외국인들은 약간 그런 생각을 갖고

있구나..근데 아닌 친구들도 많더라구요.. 물론 이게 강하냐 안 강하냐의 차이겠지만 그래서 어쩔 수 없이 있는 거는 당연한데.. 그래도 훨씬 편해요 그냥 한국 친구들이랑 별반 다를 거 없이.

I also used to think, "What I saw in the movies—would that really happen to me?" Just being shoved in the locker room for no reason and when you're pushed in the hallway and everyone's watching and saying nothing. And just always hearing "Because you're Asian." Because of what happened, I developed my own stereotypes that foreigners all kind of think this way. But there were also a lot of friends who weren't like that, or maybe they all are and it's just a difference of degree. So, the discrimination, it can't be helped—it's natural. Still, it's just so much more comfortable to be with Korean friends—to have no difference. You can't be American, even though you're fluent in English, and even though you understand fully about the culture in America. It's like a natural thing, race . . . you've got to accept the difference.

Like the previous accounts from Eunkyung and Shiwoo, Namjun's comments also deflected his discomfort by citing the "naturalness" of bullying behavior because of perceived difference. When I asked if he had ever discussed these problems with his parents, Namjun replied:

안 했어요…왜냐면 부모님들 가슴 아파 하시고 그리고 그냥 혼자 이겨내고 싶은 그런... 그때는 되게 이걸 이겨내야지, 내가 여기서 버틸 수 있다—이런 생각이 강해서.

I didn't tell my parents because it would just hurt them and I just wanted to overcome it alone…. At the time I just kept thinking, "I'll overcome this. I can take it."

In light of the hardships he faced, Namjun's first response was to develop stereotypes about Americans, although he was able to temper this belief through his friendships with more open-minded individuals. However, these ongoing challenges had such a profound impact he even expressed reluctance to send his own children overseas. He confessed:

> I don't prefer for my future child, children, unless they have a huge interest in studying abroad themselves. Yeah. I was told to go and study abroad. Since I've grown up, I feel like that I have learned a lot from studying abroad, but there are many pains that I've experienced.

Only with the passage of time was Namjun able to appreciate his *jogiyuhak* experiences, but it was at a great cost to his mental well-being, along with the added burden of trying to protect his parents. Thus, his reluctance to automatically embrace *jogiyuhak* as an unequivocal benefit for his future children made sense. For all the supposed benefits to a child's mobility capital *jogiyuhak* promises, many students are ill-equipped to handle racist and discriminatory incidents that even adults might find jarring. Furthermore, many students had to be resilient without the support of their family close by, thereby highlighting how *jogiyuhak* creates a unique set of circumstances that complicate a simplistic understanding of global cultural capital gains.

Reintegration dilemmas. The challenges students faced as they engaged in *jogiyuhak* were not limited to their study abroad destinations. In fact, it was not uncommon for students to find the process of readjusting to their home culture to be as distressing and uncomfortable as the initial adjustment overseas (Gaw, 2000). If students feel "uprooted" when they engage in study abroad (Upvall, 1990), then in keeping with the plant metaphor, it should not be surprising there is disorientation when they uproot themselves again to return to their home soil. This disorientation can lead students to feel depressed, alienated from others, and anxious; they may

also have academic difficulties such as trouble studying or performing well in school. Scholars have referred to this process of dissonance and readjustment as "reverse culture shock" or "re-entry shock" (Gaw, 2000), which often catches students by surprise because they do not anticipate problems with returning to familiar environs. While there is a great deal of research literature on the adjustment process overseas, there has been far less attention paid to the re-entry process (Presbitero, 2016). A key area where students experienced this re-entry shock is related to both their Korean and English language usage.

Language Issues. With the exception of Woojin and Jia, all the students I interviewed acquired Korean as their first language. However, after a significant period of time abroad, some discovered their Korean language skills were not as strong as that of their peers. Because language and culture are so intricately intertwined, a lack of proficiency in the mother tongue can feel like a threat to one's sense of identity. Such was the case for Changmin, who felt he should be fluent in Korean regardless of time spent abroad. Changmin explained how he felt when he attended seventh grade at a Korean school after studying abroad in New Zealand for all of elementary school:

> First of all, Korean is my native language, but since I started speaking English when I was so young, I could talk [Korean] fluently, but my grammar when I was writing—especially spellings and like spaces—were very difficult for me. I could actually speak to [New Zealanders] and more easily express what I was thinking compared to Korean because I always felt my training [in Korean] was very childish when I was in seventh grade. They would say bigger words and I'd just be like, "What does that mean?" I'd ask them and I'd be kind of be embarrassed. That's how you learn things, but you know when you're a kid you're more like, "Oh, I'm the same age as them why don't I know all the

things they do?" With Korean it was kind of frustrating because it's my native language, I should know this by now, but I don't. So I'd feel kind of out of the loop or kind of bad that I'm kind of like dragging [other students] down even though they didn't really think too much of it.

Although Changmin could comfortably speak in Korean, he recognized he was not as proficient in certain areas, such as advanced vocabulary and writing. Rather than acknowledging this was a natural outcome of having spent the previous six years overseas and that he was still bilingual, Changmin instead felt frustrated and apologetic about his Korean language skills. His sentiments highlighted the interconnectedness of language, cultural identity, and geography in his mind. As far as Changmin was concerned, because he was physically in Korea and he was ethnically Korean, he should be able to speak the language like other Koreans.

Woojin also expressed sentiments highlighting the congruence of language and national borders. When asked about his transition back to Korea during the sixth grade, he recalled:

> I didn't speak Korean that well—I couldn't write it. Just know a few words. [In Korea], it was difficult because in the US there's so many different kinds of kids from all around the world, but in Korea, everyone's Korean. It was a bit difficult.

By pointing to how he spoke English with people from all around the world, Woojin highlighted English's global reach; it is not only spoken in the United States, but globally. In contrast, "in Korea, everyone's Korean," so Woojin only needed to speak Korean. Woojin's comments highlighted a subtle point about how English and Korean differ in their standing in the world; whereas English is used across national borders, Korean does not have the same reach, thereby emphasizing the close connection between Korean language, identity, and geography and the greater utility (and therefore prestige) of English.

Other students experienced reintegration issues because of their enhanced English language skills. As previously mentioned, English is not widely spoken in Korean society; instead, English is prized for its symbolic value rather than its functionality. It is a marker of status, signifying a level of capital allowing for a combination of English language *hagwon* fees, private tutors, or *jogiyuhak* experiences. As such, a student's English fluency can provoke feelings of envy and even resentment from others. Eunkyung recounted such an incident from her elementary school when she returned from *jogiyuhak* in Switzerland:

> When I lived in Switzerland, English was more comfortable to me, not Korean, because I was little and all of my friends were English-speaking friends. I spoke with my brother in English [laughs]. When I came back in Korean elementary school, we also had English subject and then I kind of wanted to like show that I was good in English. When I had the chance to speak out loud, I spoke in fluent English and some kids, I think they thought that I was like boasting and showing off [laughs]. So I became much more quieter because of that negative.

Eunkyung's experience illustrated the complicated nature of mobility capital. Although her immersion in an English-speaking environment overseas greatly strengthened her language proficiency, her ability to capitalize on this improvement was tempered by the negative reactions of her classmates, who presumably did not have the same opportunities. Soyoung's classmates had a different reaction when she returned to Korea. Instead of resentment, they expressed either eagerness to have her share her linguistic capital or doubt that she could still speak Korean:

> People were asking, "You've been in US." They were basically bothering me to speak in English. "Teach English for me. Help me out with English." Even though I only lived there for one year in U.S., they treated me like a foreigner because I was missing for one

year. Some people even said, “Should I speak English to you? Do you speak Korean?” And it was strange to me.

Clearly, Soyoung’s classmates put a great deal of meaning in her *jogiyuhak* experiences, even if her *jogiyuhak* was only for a year. They solicited Soyoung’s help with English and put pressure on her to “perform English” on request. Their questioning of Soyoung’s ability to speak Korean after her time abroad also hints at the cognitive dissonance created by deep-rooted assumptions that cultural identity, language, and geography must align.

Academic Issues. Unfortunately, reintegration dilemmas extended beyond language usage. Several students described their return to Korean schools as especially challenging because it differed so drastically from their overseas education. For Hanjae, the change from the more relaxed and holistic educational environment of his international school in Hong Kong to the exam-focused setting of his Korean elementary school was an especially jarring transition:

> When I was in Hong Kong, it was very free to talk in class and have discussions with each other. The entire environment was very focused not only on studying but other activities as well-going to other places and having field trips regularly. After I came back to Korea, it was like everything was different, the entire study environment is different. I found that everything is focused on education and having better results. There were like regular exams that I really didn’t know about. That kind of shocked me a bit.

Chaewon also felt this difference when she returned from Canada, which took a physical toll on her:

> The forceful studying conditions were a little too stressful. When I came to the high school, I got skin trouble, a lot of really bad skin trouble because I was so stressed about tests and exams . . . *suneung* [수능, or college entrance exam]. But after graduation, my

skin turned very good [laughs].

Korea's singular focus on testing also resulted in a faster-paced curriculum in school. Thus, some students described how they were academically behind their classmates, particularly in math classes, when they re-entered Korean schools. Woojin explained:

> You know that Korean society is a bit more strict when it comes to studying. I wasn't that enthusiastic in studying at that time because I only studied when I was feeling like it back in the States. But after coming here it was a bit hard, because I had to like catch up with their academic level because I was a bit behind. They were doing multiplications while I was doing addition at that time, so it wasn't that fun.

Dongsu likewise expressed difficulties with transitioning back to Korean schools. He recalled, "At first, because I didn't study for a year in Korea, I had a lot of hard time, especially for the Korean history and the math." Woojin's and Dongsu's remarks are not surprising given how Korea has long ranked far ahead of the United States in subjects such as math and science, as evidenced by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) test scores. In 2018, Korea ranked seventh out of 79 nations for math, whereas the United States ranked 37th (OECD, 2019). Although test scores are not a definitive measurement of student aptitude, the focus on standardized testing in Korea still created an educational culture markedly different than what students experienced overseas. Thus, Woojin and Dongsu found themselves behind in their classes from the very start.

Changmin discovered simply attending school in Korea would paradoxically put him behind if he did not also attend academies (another term for *hagwons*). He explained:

> When I went to school in Korea, everything was more taught outside of school. You would go to the academy or tutor to learn what you're supposed to learn in school, which

made no sense to me because my mindset was you go to class, you pay attention and then unless they give you homework, you're done. But when I was in Korea, I would go to class and they would just assume that we know everything. They would just tell us the answer.

Changmin's account illustrated the pervasive influence of shadow education in Korea. Since teachers assume all students attend *hagwons* or engage private tutors, they fail to adequately cover course material in the classroom. Students thus felt the pressure to conform to Korea's educational culture despite their direct experience with and preference for a different learning environment. Upon his return to school in Korea, Juwon lamented:

I had to go to a few academies, like maths academy—I have to do what my mom tells me to do. But in Canada no one really goes to academy. We just learn at school and that's it. But in Korea you have to go to school and then go to academy after, so it was kind of tough for me when I got here.

Although it was challenging for students to readjust to the Korean education system, Hanjae, Chaewon, Woojin, Juwon, and Dongsu were able to adapt and ultimately graduate from Korean high school. However, Bora and Changmin each described a sense of incompatibility with Korean education after having spent their elementary school years overseas. Bora recalled:

For like middle school I came to Korea to stay [at] a boarding school. It is stressful . . . they just like study 24 hours. They just like study and study and study and study . . . I didn't really like it. If I survive, if I lived there for like three years, I think I would not be able to be happy there [laughs], yeah.

Consequently, Bora returned to her international school in the Philippines to complete her precollege education. Changmin experienced even greater turmoil in Korea when he returned

from New Zealand after 6th grade because of harrowing experiences with corporal punishment. Changmin explained:

> When I went to school in Korea, beating the students was still allowed so I got hit a lot [laughs]. And I would get hit for something that I didn't even do. Like someone didn't do their homework and so the whole class needs to get punished [sigh], which was really odd and I couldn't really understand it. I still kind of can't. I think physical punishment is okay to a certain degree because it does kind of send a message, but it was excessive. They would hit us in very obscure spots where it would just hurt regularly. Like the bottom [of] our feet was the worst because she would swing full force and after the class you would try to walk around and it's just like, "Oh my God, why would she do this to us?"

These experiences had a profound impact on the rest of his educational trajectory since he decided to leave the Korean education system altogether. He continued:

> While I was in Korea [my parents] gave me a decision. They informed me of the benefits and disadvantages of each side. If I stayed in Korea, I will be with Korean people. It's my hometown, everything will be more familiar. But also I'll have a language barrier since I've been speaking English since I was little. Especially literature-wise, it was very difficult. But if I go to the U.S. [to continue *jogiyuhak*], I'll be with people that I can talk fluently with and have more person-to-person transactions compared to Korea and I'll be going to a school in an environment that I'm more used to. They wanted me to see how it was in Korea.

Changmin's parents aptly described the benefits and disadvantages of his education choices and empowered him to make a decision based on his experiences. Not surprisingly,

Changmin had no desire to continue his education in Korea. When he reflected on those years in Korea, he said:

> I didn't really like it. I mean, I met some really good friends and we still see each other regularly and that's great, but whenever we start talking about our middle school, it's just like I would never want to go back to that time. I was so happy I got out of [that] environment when I went to the US.

Changmin had the privilege of going overseas again because Korea's education system no longer suited him, signifying that his parents had access to significant amounts of financial capital. However, continued overseas education was not a feasible option for other students. Instead, international schools in Korea provided an alternative pathway that enabled students to continue their "overseas" education. English was the primary medium of instruction in these institutions, and the majority of the teachers hailed from the United States or Canada. After returning from Switzerland, Eunkyung only attended a year and a half of Korean school before she transferred to an international school. She also remembered seeing a counselor when she returned to Korea because of her mother's concern for her well-being and readjustment to Korean life. Eunkyung explained, "My mom insisted because she was kind of worried about me because I had just moved from Switzerland. She thought I was having a hard time adjusting to the new Korean school." Eunkyung spent the next four years in a Korean international school before ultimately studying abroad a second time in the United States for 11th and 12th grade.

Although Soyoung spent only a year in the United States for fourth grade, she felt American schooling suited her more. She also reflected on how others reinforced this notion:

> People think that I'm creative and that I'm different from others. But Korean culture doesn't really value difference and creativity. People around me kept saying "Korea

doesn't suit you. It doesn't have much freedom here. You need to go abroad and live free." Something like that. I think they wanted me to stay in a culture where they value creativity and difference.

Unfortunately, Soyoung did not have the means to stay overseas, and even her brief *jogiyuhak* experience was primarily due to her father's work obligations in the United States. By attending an international middle and high school in Korea, Soyoung was able to complete her education in an environment better suited for her. In short, Changmin, Eunkyung, and Soyoung did not fully reintegrate into the Korean education system but were able to change their educational field by either going overseas or attending schools that adopted an American educational culture.

Education as an Arms Race

While the narratives in the previous section discuss the uneasy gains students made while students were overseas for significant periods of time, students who spent significantly less time overseas also expressed some ambivalence regarding their own linguistic gains by dwelling on the fact that others had more favorable outcomes. That is, they seemed preoccupied with the notion that there was always someone who had slightly better circumstances, whether it was more time overseas, a more desirable country, better accommodation arrangement (e.g. accompanied by one or both parents vs. unaccompanied in a homestay or with relatives vs. a boarding school), or better educational accommodations (e.g. ESL offerings). Thus, the pursuit of global cultural capital can effectively be likened to an arms race where students find themselves resolutely orientated towards arming themselves with ever more capital to improve their position relative to others in the field.

For example, Haneul and Minho believed their overseas sojourns of six and eight months,

respectively, helped them greatly improve their English. However, they also expressed their keen awareness of how other students achieved greater fluency in English than they did because of longer stays overseas and seemed to dwell on this rather than the fact that they had gained an edge over their own peers who had not gone overseas for as long as they had (or at all). For example, although Haneul was the commencement speaker at the 2019 graduation ceremony for SUNY-K, she still conveyed feeling wistful and self-conscious when she compared her English language skills to her classmates:

> I think going to the United States affected my English a lot. [But] a lot of the students [at IGC] have experience studying abroad—a lot of them graduated high school from United States. They're really used to using English and they're more active and confident asking questions or presenting their opinions in class. But students [who] studied in Korea I think are more shy and kind of hesitated about showing their opinion or their expression in class. At first, I kind of envied those students who have experience studying abroad during their middle school or in high school years because I was also shy and I was also not that confident. So, I was kind of jealous of them first. I also have kind of imagination: "What if I went study abroad during my middle school or high school years?"

Despite her proficiency in English and her great accomplishment in becoming the commencement speaker for her university, Haneul found it difficult to shake the constant comparison to other students who had spent more time overseas. She was especially attuned to how these individuals were able to "produce, continuously and apparently without effort, the most correct language, not only as regards syntax but also pronunciation and diction, which provide the surest indices for social placing" (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 659). Minho also found himself comparing his language skills with others, which initially inhibited his speaking before

he decided to reframe his situation:

> Some of [the students], they literally lived in overseas like three or more years so they are familiar with speaking English, but I'm not, because English is my second language and I still feel it hard to speak in English fluently. So, I feel a little difference between them. When I notice I feel a little bit ... what do I say? Depressed, a little bit. I not tried to speak English. I had to change my attitude because I speak Korean with them.

In the specific context of IGC, where English is the only medium of instruction, Minho could not help but compare himself to the students who had longer *jogiyuhak* sojourns. Once Minho realized he was avoiding English by using Korean with other students, he was determined to change his attitude. He explained:

> I have a friend who transferred [from] the main campus, and he's my best friend. So, I tried to contact with him and he studying Korean. So, we had a teaches to each other, the different languages. So, we get a benefit from each other. Yeah. So, at first I feel depressed, but I think I can overcame.

Because Minho's *jogiyuhak* experience was shorter than he would have liked, he felt self-conscious using English with other students who presumably had stronger English skills because of their longer sojourns. Although he initially gave in to feelings of depression and avoidance, he changed his perspective by leaning in more with his friendship with an American student from the University of Utah main campus in the US. Since this student wanted to learn Korean, he found himself in a friendship that involved more equal footing. Furthermore, he framed his situation as a challenge he could overcome by reaching out to his English speaking friend, which illustrates Bourdieu's (2005) concept of "socioanalysis"—a process of "awareness and of pedagogic effort" to create conscious change through one's habitus (p. 29). This highlights that

although many students find their *jogiyuhak* experiences to be shaped and constrained by the types and amount of capital their family has access to, there is still agency within individuals in terms of how they interpret their experience and incorporate it into their habitus.

Summary

As expected, most students in this study came from families in a position of privilege in Korean society. Nearly all parents had attained a college degree, and many obtained advanced degrees and worked in high-status careers. Not surprisingly, education was a highly prized family value, and parents were well-versed in strategies to enhance their children's educational prospects. *Jogiyuhak* (조기유학, or early study abroad) was one such strategy, and despite the great expense and sacrifice it entailed (such as family separation), nearly all the students in the study spent at least some time overseas for educational purposes. However, the sojourns differed greatly in terms of duration, destination, and accommodations, which likely reflected the parents' varying levels of access to different forms of capital, such as financial resources, knowledge of *jogiyuhak* strategies, and overseas social networks. The differences in students' *jogiyuhak* experiences (including whether or not they even had the opportunity to engage in this strategy) illustrates how the highly competitive Korean education field has simply taken on a global dimension.

From the students' perspective, their parents' motivations for sending them overseas fell into one of three categories. For most students, the desire to learn English and gain international experience were the primary motivations that pulled them out of Korea. The students in this category had the greatest range in the duration of their time overseas, with sojourns lasting anywhere from 11 years to one month. There was also a great deal of variation in the study abroad arrangements, including boarding schools, goose family arrangements, family migrations,

and month-long camps. For some students, their migrations did not center on their own educational needs. Instead, they moved overseas with their families as their fathers followed their own work or educational opportunities, which highlights the generational nature of capital accumulation. Also, the destinations for some of the students in this category were regional, such as Hong Kong and Indonesia where English is not the primary language spoken. In these cases, students attended international schools where English was the medium of instruction. The last group of students experienced significant difficulties in Korean schools because of a narrowly defined standard for academic success: a propensity to study a lot from an early age and an ability to handle extreme levels of stress and competition. When they did not meet these criteria, their parents did not hesitate to send their children overseas rather than have their children fall behind in the Korean education system. The parents' access to capital ensured that their children were not relegated to the margins of Korea's educational field.

All the students who engaged in *jogiyuhak* described it as a transformative experience, and particularly highlighted the linguistic gains they made by being immersed in English-speaking environments. However, students acknowledged the conditional and relative nature of these gains; since improved English ability was largely a function of time spent overseas, students were well aware that those who had engaged in *jogiyuhak* for longer periods of time would speak better English than them. Thus, the students illustrated how tenuous linguistic gains can be since learning English overseas is just an added global dimension to the ongoing academic competition back in Korean society. The education arms race in Korea has simply transcended geographical borders, highlighting how attempts towards social mobility via education for certain individuals cannot be separated from social reproduction via the same means for other students who already possess more capital.

This chapter has also illustrated how overseas experiences cannot be characterized by unilaterally beneficial gains. While parents obviously covered the financial expenses for *jogiyuhak*, the students also paid a price for their international experiences in terms of the toll on their mental well-being, both overseas and upon re-entry to Korea. Existing literature on international students often takes a psychosocial approach by highlighting issues such as coping, homesickness, and social isolation. Unfortunately, such an approach implies the burden of responsibility for successful study abroad resides largely upon the student; the destination country is presumed to be neutral ground when in fact it may actually be characterized as a hostile context of reception. Thus, some students described the novelty of being racialized as "Asian" overseas and facing incidents of racism as a result.

Further, upon returning to Korea, several students described continued challenges and dissonance despite their return "home." Their improved English fluency sometimes provoked feelings of envy and resentment; in other cases, it caused fellow students to doubt their "Koreanness," particularly if this was accompanied by an actual loss of proficiency in Korean language skills. Readjusting to the high-pressure educational environment of Korea was also challenging, and in some cases students found it necessary to leave the traditional Korean education system altogether. Thus, for all the supposed benefits that *jogiyuhak* promises, the student narratives in this chapter complicate a simplistic understanding of global cultural capital gains.

Part 2. Student Motivations: Ideal Compromises and Ideal Opportunities

Part two of this chapter explores the college choice process to answer my second research question: Why do students attend IGC? That is, what motivates students to attend this novel type of institution and how do their perceptions of their educational opportunities affect their decision to attend IGC?

I begin this section by discussing general and "ideal" high school-to-college pathways for students in Korea before delving into student motivations for attending IGC. Generally speaking, two different categories of motivations emerged from the student narratives, with some students characterizing their decision to come to IGC as an "ideal compromise" that enabled them to avoid diminishing returns. On the other hand, other students discussed how IGC represented an "ideal opportunity" to enact their "cosmopolitan striving in the global order" (S. J. Park & Abelmann, 2004, p. 646). In either case, the students' decision to go to IGC was bolstered by the fact that their educational goals also aligned with the broader context of Korea's national aspirations for global significance (Ahn, 2010, p. 6)

High School-to-College Pathways

According to Bourdieu, the manner in which an individual's habitus and capital interact in social fields leads to particular behaviors and actions—what Bourdieu refers to as practice. Thus, our actions result from a dynamic interplay of our individual agency and the opportunities available to us because of our social circumstances. This theoretical lens is particularly useful when we examine the phenomenon of college choice. McDonough (1997) elaborates on this point by explaining how the college application process is a dynamic and complex phenomenon that reflects structural opportunities and constraints as well as individual expectations and desires. She further notes that "the actions of applicants represent more of an enactment of

predetermined scripts than of internally directed, autonomous choice complete with motivation and purpose" (p. 12). These scripts reflect the stratification of higher education opportunities, which in turn shapes how students interpret their college aspirations and options. Given the range of educational backgrounds discussed in Part 1 of this chapter, English language fluency and familiarity with US pedagogical traditions and culture was embodied in the habitus of students to varying degrees. Thus, it is not surprising that different college choice "scripts" emerged as students described their college application process and rationale for enrolling at IGC. The key factors that distinguished certain college choice scripts from each other included whether (and the extent to which) the student engaged in *jogiyuhak,* whether the student graduated from a Korean or international high school, and whether the student had any initial intention of attending an international university. Table 5 provides an overview of each student's high school-to-college pathway by providing information on the student's type of high school and college application plans/outcomes. Most of the students in this study graduated from high school in Korea: ten students graduated from Korean high schools and five students graduated from international high schools where English was the primary or only language of instruction. An additional two students completed the *geomjeonggosi* (검정고시, or Korean High School Graduation Equivalency Exam); Rina had dropped out of a Korean high school, and Dahee had dropped out of an overseas high school in Indonesia. The remaining eight students graduated from high school overseas; Bora graduated from an international high school in the Philippines, and the other seven students graduated from high schools in the United States. Seven students successfully gained admission to Korean universities (among which two attended a Korean university before transferring to IGC) and five students gained admission to overseas universities (among which three attended a US university before transferring to IGC). The remaining twelve

students either did not gain admission to any university (whether Korean or overseas) or decided to only apply for IGC.

Table 5. High School-to-College Pathways

1. Korean High School Graduates:

Name	College Plans
Kyungmi	Accepted into Korean university
Dongsu	Accepted into Korean university
Nayeon	Accepted into Korean university
Woojin	Applied to Korean universities; not accepted
Chaewon	Applied to Korean universities; not accepted
Rina*	Applied to Korean universities; not accepted
Hanjae	Did not apply to Korean universities after learning about IGC
Misun	Did not apply to Korean universities after learning about IGC
Juwon	Did not apply to Korean universities after learning about IGC
Dahee*	Did not apply to Korean universities after learning about IGC
Gunwoo	Attended Korean university for 1.5 years, then transferred to IGC
Minho	Attended Korean university for 2 years, then transferred to IGC

**Graduation Equivalency Diploma recipients*

2. Korean International High School Graduates

Name	College Plans
Haneul	Accepted into Korean university
Jia	Accepted into overseas universities
Soyoung	Applied to Korean universities; not accepted
Taewan	Did not apply to Korean universities after learning about IGC
Intek	Did not apply to Korean universities after learning about IGC

3. Overseas High School Graduates

Name	College Plans
Shiwoo	Accepted into Korean university
Bora	Accepted into overseas universities
Eunkyung	Applied to Korean universities; not accepted
Areum	Applied to overseas universities; not accepted
Bongju	Attended overseas university for 1.5 years, then transferred to IGC
Changmin	Attended overseas university for 1.5 years, then transferred to IGC
Namjun	Attended overseas university for 2 years, then transferred to IGC

Understandably, many Korean parents strongly prefer for their children to attend a Korean university, especially if it is a highly-ranked one. The most obvious benefit of a domestic education is the affordability, especially compared to the costly tuition of foreign universities and the associated living and travel expense of living overseas. Although IGC offers a foreign education for about half the expense of going overseas, it is still about twice as expensive as attending a Korean university, which makes it a very costly alternative. Furthermore, since IGC is located in a Free Economic Zone and is currently under the auspices of the Korean Ministry of Trade instead of the Korean Ministry of Education, students are not eligible to apply for financial aid from the Korean government to attend IGC. Parents must utilize private sources of capital and private loans which exacerbates the cost of a non-Korean college education, even if it takes place within Korea's borders.

When recruiters from UAC visited his high school, Intek decided he wanted to attend IGC, but he recalled his parents' less than positive reaction: "They weren't feel good about it because of the cost. Cost is too expensive." Misun shared a similar story, although her parents had an additional reason for wanting her to attend a Korean university, "Well, when I turned 고3 [high school senior], I wanted to go to George Mason, but my parents wanted me to go to Korean university, because George Mason is really expensive, and I have never been abroad, so they were kind of worried because I have to go alone." The latter part of her statement refers to the 3+1 arrangement at the IGC institutions where students spend at least one year of their education at the main campus in the US. For Misun's parents, leaving Korea would potentially put their daughter at risk in a faraway environment. Similarly, Soyoung's parents were adamant about wanting her to stay in Korea for college. She shared, "Me and my parents had a lot of conflicts. I

wanted to study abroad but my parents wanted me to study here in Korea. [Studying abroad] was expensive and they thought anywhere outside of Korea was dangerous [laughs].” For both Misun’s and Soyoung’s parents, the potential to gain capital beyond Korea’s borders was countered by their anxieties of sending their daughters away on their own and reinforced their desire to send their children to Korean universities.

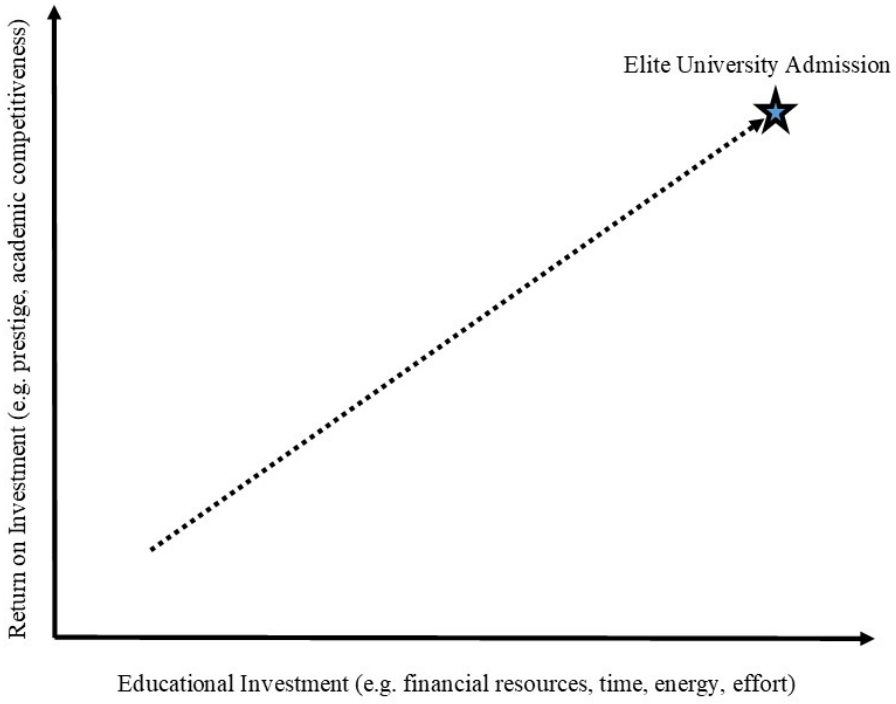
Diminishing and Negative Returns

Unfortunately, because of the extreme competition in Korea and the emphasis on elite credentials, the pathway to Korean universities is fraught with challenges. Thus, some parents will strive for the following educational trajectory to ostensibly gain a competitive edge: students engage in several years of *jogiyuhak* during elementary school to shape their language habitus, they successfully reintegrate into the Korean education system and prepare for the *suneung* exam and/or *susi* (수시, or Early Admissions), and then they gain admittance into a prestigious Korean university. For this particular “script,” Korean parents imagine a direct and positive correlation between their investment in *jogiyuhak* and the eventual higher education outcome for their children. This notion is illustrated in Figure 1 where the y-axis represents “returns,” such as gains in linguistic and global cultural capital, and therefore a competitive edge for college admissions. The x-axis represents “educational investment,” whether in the form of financial resources, time, energy/effort, and other forms of capital. The star represents the endpoint of college admissions.

The figure illustrates how there is a general belief that the more one invests in English education and/or *jogiyuhak,* the greater the rewards in terms of improving one’s chances of attending a prestigious Korean university. There is faith that students will make unequivocal gains from their overseas experiences while not suffering too many losses from their absence

from the Korean education field, such as a loss of Korean proficiency or academic

Figure 1. Expectations for Higher Education Outcomes

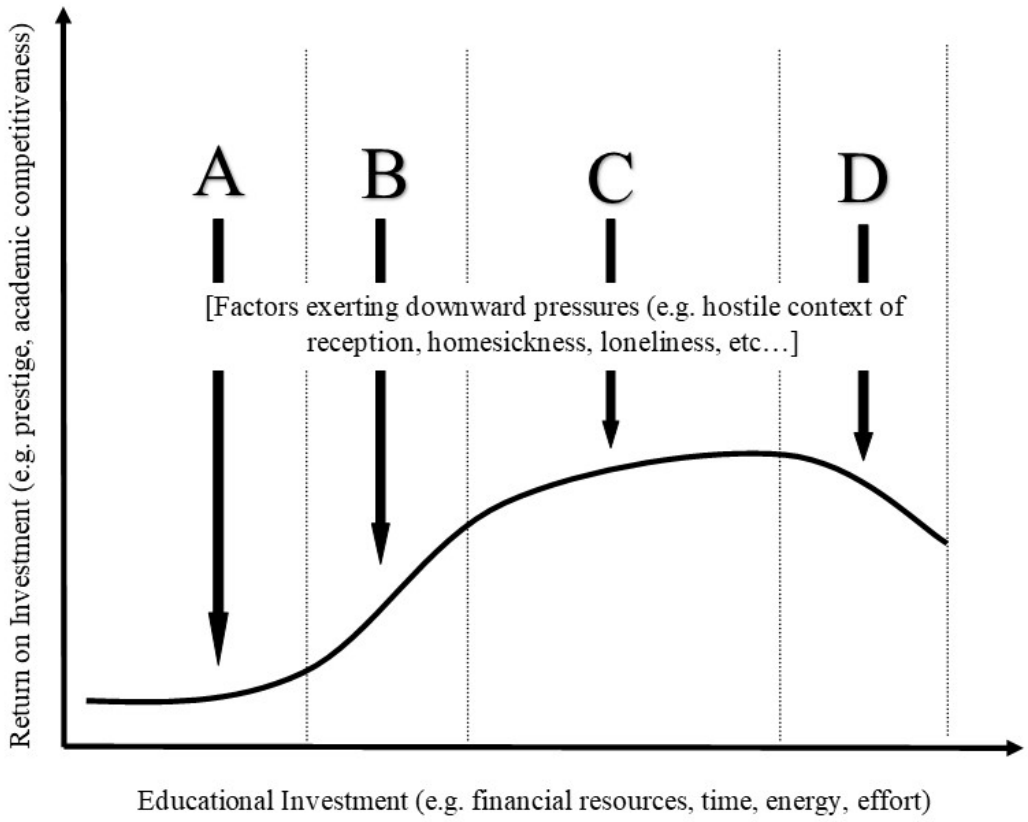


competitiveness.

When students return from their sojourns, it is hoped that they will quickly reintegrate into the Korean education system and that their gains from overseas—such as improved English—will translate into a competitive edge years later when they apply for Korean universities. Some students may even be able to utilize the special admissions categories discussed in Chapter 2 which favor those who have invested in English and/or overseas education. For example, the Special Talent Screening selects students with exceptional talents in areas such as art, math, sciences, and foreign languages are accepted into a school and the 2% option allows universities to accept an additional 2% of applicants above their admissions quota (which is determined by the Ministry of Education) from a separate pool of students who have engaged in *jogiyuhak* for at least three years.

However, as discussed in Part 1 of this chapter, students who engage in *jogiyuhak* tend to make uneasy gains and in some cases, they are not able to reintegrate into the Korean education system upon their return. These students either need to attend international high schools in Korea (thereby incurring additional expenses since these are private institutions) or continue *jogiyuhak* (which is even costlier) where they graduate from overseas high schools. This introduces the notion of diminishing returns, which is illustrated in Figure 2 where again the y-axis represents "returns" such as gains in linguistic and global cultural capital, and therefore a competitive edge for college admissions. The x-axis represents "educational investment," whether in the form of financial resources, time, energy/effort, and other forms of capital. The arrows represent various factors that also exert a downward pressure on the curve, thereby diminishing the potential gains from strategies like *jogiyuhak.*

Figure 2. Diminishing and Negative Returns on Education Investment



As discussed earlier in this chapter, there is a significant adjustment period before students feel that English language has become embodied and part of that habitus. Thus, the linguistic gains that students may make during the initial stage of *jogiyuhak* may be quite modest, as represented by the slightly flattened curve in the "A" portion of Figure of 2. In Part 1 of this chapter, Shiwoo and Hanjae both shared how it took 1-2 years before they felt like they had overcome the initial transition period and could speak English more comfortably. This could illustrate the "B" portion of Figure 2 where gains are steadily made as students continue to invest their time and energy into their overseas experiences. However, it is important to remember that factors such as a hostile context of reception (which can lead to incidents of racism, discrimination, and stereotyping) and/or the challenge of being uprooted from one's native country to live as a foreigner (which can lead to feelings of homesickness, depression, loneliness,

and displacement) may constantly be exerting a downward pressure on the curve (represented by the arrows in Figure 2), thereby making the gains they make overseas hard-won.

An additional caveat is the fact that the longer a student engages in *jogiyuhak*, the more difficult it can be to reintegrate into the Korean educational field where they would reap the most benefits from the global cultural capital they acquired abroad. Part 1 discussed some of the reintegration issues faced by *jogiyuhak* returnees, and how some students had to either transfer to international schools in Korea or continue their education overseas where applying for Korean universities could potentially become even more difficult. This potential for "diminishing returns" to occur from continued *jogiyuhak* is represented by portion "C" of Figure 2. Factors such as the loss of Korean proficiency and the negative reactions of peers who resent a student's improved English fluency can serve to further diminish the rate of return by also exerting downward pressure on the curve, making reintegration into the Korea education system even more difficult. When these students eventually apply to Korean universities, they may experience disappointing outcomes, which can be characterized by the "D" portion of Figure 2, which reflects negative outcomes. For example, Soyoung engaged in *jogiyuhak,* then attended and graduated from an international school in Korea and then applied to Korean universities. Unfortunately, she did not gain admittance to any of her chosen schools. In explaining why she ended up at IGC, she said, "[It's] straightforward. I failed in all the university applications." Thus, she experienced a negative return on her educational investment: despite engaging in *jogiyuhak* and attending an international school, she was unable to gain the competitive edge she needed to be admitted into the Korean universities of her choosing. The outcome greatly affected her self-esteem and sense of belonging in Korea, as evidenced by the following comments: "I was devastated. I thought, well, 'Korea doesn't recognize me. My talents are not valued here. My

creativities are not valued here. Guess I have to go to America.'"

Soyoung's comments reflect her deep-rooted belief that college acceptance also served an evaluative function in determining whether a person "fits" into Korean society and its definition of success; in her case, she did not believe her forms of capital were relevant to the doxa, or norms, of the Korean social field. By stating that Korea "doesn't recognize me," she felt that her cultural capital was devalued and therefore secured lower returns (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). By stating that she would need to go to America where her talents would presumably be recognized and valued, she demonstrates a keen sense of the rules of relevance, and rather than taking a deficit view of herself, her interpretive framework (or habitus) informed her that she needed to return to the US social field she had experienced during *jogiyuhak.*

Shiwoo, in contrast, successfully gained admittance to a Korean university but he still felt the outcome was negative because it was not one of the elite universities of Korea. He gained his college acceptance through *susi* (수시, or early admission) by using one of the special admissions categories, although he did not specify if it was the Special Talent Screening or the 2% option since he engaged in *jogiyuhak* for six years. His disappointed reaction is illuminating because it illustrates how extended overseas experiences can profoundly shaped one's habitus in a way that leads to a sense of entitlement. Shiwoo explained:

> [For] Korean university there's a specific type of application for people like me. It's all based on English. The school that I was accepted to wasn't satisfying. When I was coming home, my expectation was I will at least go to Korea University or Yonsei University.

Shiwoo's assumption that he would be admitted to Korea or Yonsei University—two of the most selective universities in Korea where only about 2% of all applicants are accepted—is especially

notable since he acknowledged that he would not have been a competitive applicant for selective Ivy League schools in the US:

> My parents wanted me to go to really good academic standing schools in America like Ivy League [laughs]. Well, that was not happening for me [laughs]. I tried hard—like during summer, I will come home to visit my friends and families at home and my father also sent me to some private academy that teaches SAT and other types of standardized tests. I was sent there without my will [laughs] and I didn't study at all. It was just like waste of money and time [laughs].

His comments reflect a sense of entitlement that is rooted in an innate understanding of English's power in the global hierarchy and its ability to bestow speakers with cultural capital. McDonough (1997) further elaborates on the concept of entitlement by explaining how "students believe that they are entitled to a particular kind of collegiate education based on their family's habitus or class status" (p. 9). Since Shiwoo had initially gone overseas because of his dissonance with Korean education (refer to Part 1), he was already familiar with how capital could be mobilized to improve his life opportunities. Following this logic, he expected the capital he accrued through his schooling in the United States to translate into access to elite educational credentials in Korea. What he did not account for was the domestication of *jogiyuhak* in that overseas education has become an extension of Korea's highly stratified and competitive education market rather than a discrete educational field abroad. Thus, as *jogiyuhak* has become more mainstream and widespread, students who engage in this form of capital accumulation face a very particular type of competition: fellow *jogiyuhak* students. This reinforces the notion of an education arms race discussed in Part 1 and illustrates how the goal of attaining an ideal state of college application competitiveness is a moving target. Fortunately for Shiwoo, the introduction

of IGC presented him with an ideal new field where his cultural capital could reap great rewards.

Ideal Compromises

Similar to Shiwoo, there were several other students who had initially planned to attend overseas universities. As these students shared their narratives about how they came to be at IGC, they mentioned two key issues as to why they did not pursue an overseas college degree: finances and proximity.

Finances. Since many families had already invested a significant amount into their children's *jogiyuhak* sojourns, they were not able to afford the continued expense of a college education overseas. *Jogiyuhak* expenses not only included tuition if the student was at a private school, but also boarding and travel expenses since students usually flew back to Korea during summer breaks. Unfortunately, the reality of parents' financial constraints was not always made apparent to students during their high school years as they started to think about college plans. For example, Shiwoo was certain he would attend college in the US, particularly since he was a student who had first engaged in *jogiyuhak* because of dissonance with the Korean education system. He recalled:

> I knew I was going to American college because why all of a sudden would I go to Korean college when I'm in America? So, I was getting prepared. I got a decent score in SAT. I'm getting a decent GPA. At the moment, probably the biggest concern was what am I going to study? I wanted to study sports management. I was getting ready for that and it was my senior year that my father wanted me to come home for college because it was costly because I'm in an international school and it's a lot of money. My father and I did the math together, I agreed that it's a lot.

Surrounded by high school peers and a college going culture, Shiwoo prepared for college in the

US by taking the SAT, getting good grades, and thinking about what he wanted to major in. However, his plans abruptly changed once his father informed him that he would need to go to school in Korea. Jia faced a similar situation in that she was fully prepared to attend college in the US, having already submitted her Statement of Intent to Register and orientation fee. However, her parents pushed for her to attend IGC once SUNY-K contacted her international high school to inform her of being awarded a scholarship. She recalled:

> During my first semester of my senior year, I applied to schools in the US. I got accepted to the school in California and we sent in the fee of, oh, this student is going to go to this school [Statement of Intent to Register and orientation fee]. But then the day after I sent the money, SUNY Korea contacted our school saying, "Oh, we're giving away scholarship." My parents were then, "Oh, then you should just to go SUNY."

Jia's situation was unique in that she was born in the US after her parents met in college in the United States as international students. A family emergency brought Jia and her family to Korea in the 5th grade, but Jia commented, "Every year I would be thinking, 'Oh, I'm going to be going back to the States. I'm going to go back. I'm going to go back.'" Despite her great desire to return and her intention to do so, it was ultimately her family's financial circumstances that determined her college pathway.

Proximity. For several students, proximity was a key reason why they did not attend a foreign university, although this did not preclude financial constraints from also being a relevant issue. I use the term "proximity" to refer to both the desire to be close to family and the desire to be within their home field of Korea. Sometimes this family "reunification" within Korea was at the behest of parents, who no longer wanted to continue an arrangement of family separation. For example, Eunkyung discussed how her parents desired her return to Korea after she

graduated from a US high school:

> I first wanted to go to like a US college, but my family kind of missed me [laughs] and they were kind of worried about me. So, they wanted us to live together. So, my dad kind of searched for options and then they found IGC so I applied here.

Interestingly, Taewan also received similar messages from his family even though he had not left the country. However, his family lived on one of Korea's many islands whereas he attended an international boarding school on the mainland from 9th - 12th grade. According to Taewan, "I was separated from my family when I was really young so my mom said, 'You separated really long time so why don't you attend university in Korea so that we can spend more time as a family?' I agreed with that." For Bora, family separation was for even longer since she had been in the Philippines from 2nd - 12th grade. She had even been accepted to a university in Canada when her parents suggested she stay in Korea instead. Upon reflection, she realized she also felt the same way:

> [My parents] were actually the first person to tell me like, "What if you stay here for a while?" I got into [Canadian university] but then I thought I kind of wanted to stay in Korea for a while [laughs]. Yeah, so I didn't [go]. After graduation it was end of March and I will only have like two or three months before I would leave again to go [to Canada]. I felt like maybe I am not that really ready to go. When I was going through like all of this application [for a student visa], I felt like so stressed.

The stress Bora felt regarding visa applications highlights one of the ways in which international students bear additional burdens in their college preparation journey, emphasizing how attending a university in the country of one's citizenship results in taken-for-granted conveniences and comforts. The conveniences and comforts of one's home country can even be

a source of great longing for *jogiyuhak* students who find that they no longer want to be stay overseas. For example, although Shiwoo primarily returned to Korea because of financial constraints, he admitted to also being tired of the US:

> To be honest, my senior year I was getting sick of living in America. I wanted to go home because I've lived [in the US] for six years and I only lived in small town [midwestern state] [laughs]. In Korea, it feels like I'm getting more freedom because in America, if I can't get a ride I can't go anywhere and also, the rules of my high school were kind of strict. It was a Baptist Christian school, strict dress code, haircut code and whatever [laughs]. I really appreciate my own will and freedom to do anything [laughs]. So, I was getting ready [laughs] to get out of there. I kind of agreed, "Oh, it will be nice to come home."

As Shiwoo's account illustrates, living in Korea with one's parents can actually represent more freedom for *jogiyuhak* students than living overseas unaccompanied. Since *jogiyuhak* entails students going over before they are adults, many of them attended religious private schools with strict codes of conduct. In addition, students described being kept under close supervision in boarding schools, with relatives, or in homestay arrangements.

For Namjun, his decision to return to Korea was very much rooted in his experience of feeling marginalized and no longer wanting to be a foreigner in his environment. As previously mentioned, Namjun had attended high school in a small town in a southern state where experiences with discrimination and racism were not uncommon.

> 원래 부모님은 미국에서 졸업하고 미국에서 일 하기를 바라시는데.. 제가 있던 데가 너무 막 인종차별이 심하다보니까...[laughs] 물론 다른 데 가면 LA나 시애틀이나 다를 수도 있는데...그래도 저는 한국사람이니까 너무

앞으로 미국에서 살아가면서 되게 막 어려움을 겪게 될 걸 생각하니까… 한국사람이니까 한국에서 사는 게 아무래도 낫겠다 싶어서 설득해서 제가 [한국으로]온 건데…

Originally, my parents wanted me to graduate from the US and work in the US...but given how I was somewhere with so much racism…[laughs]. Of course, it could be different in LA or Seattle…Still, since I'm Korean, I thought that living in the US would be very difficult in the future...Because I'm Korean, I thought it would be better to live in Korea, so I persuaded [my parents] to come [back to Korea]...

According to Namjun, life in the US would continue to be difficult since he would remain an outsider; his comments demonstrate his innate understanding of how *jogiyuhak* unavoidably results in experiences with marginality in the US, particularly if it does not occur in an ethnically diverse location. As a case in point, Namjun explained, "You *can't* be American, even though you're fluent in English, and even though you understand fully about the culture in America. It's like a natural thing, race…you've got to accept the difference." However, Namjun understood that his life would be easier if he returned to Korea where he would no longer be an outsider. By transferring to IGC, he was able to fully enjoy the added bonus of the global cultural capital gains he had acquired overseas. Thus, he imagined himself able to still interact with foreigners and to continue his education in English in Korea. Luckily, IGC proved to an be an ideal location for Namjun. He explained, "[My parents] knew there is an international college in Incheon. They recommend me that, 'Hey, there is other American colleges in Incheon, so why don't you search about it?'" Upon reflecting on his decision to transfer to IGC, Namjun expressed great satisfaction. He commented:

저는 잘 한 것 같아요.. 왜냐면 한국에서도 얼마든지 외국인들과 소통할 수

있는 방법이 있고 그리고 여기서도 얼마든지 제가 외국친구들이랑 사귀면서 영어도 쓰고 그런 기회도 있고 그리고 마음이 좀 편안해가지고 저 공부하는데 더 집중할 수 있고 그래서 아직은 제가 미래를 모르죠.. 본의 아니게 도움이 많이 될 것 같아요.

I think I did the right thing. There are many ways I can communicate with foreigners in Korea, too, and I always have the opportunity to make friends with foreign friends while also writing in English. Plus, I can feel more relaxed which helps me focus more on my studies. So, I don't know the future yet [but] unintentionally, I think it will help a lot.

Namjun's comments perfectly illustrate how IGC can serve as an ideal compromise for some *jogiyuhak* students in the sense that they are able continue their education in English language medium and Western pedagogical style they have become accustomed to without the attendant challenges that come with being an overseas international student. Namjun continued:

I was so pleased that there is an American college in Incheon, because the advertisement told me you get the same 졸업, degree, as American college, and that was a huge merit. And you get same education system like American college. Yeah, that was a big thing for me. I thought that it would be good mixture of Korean culture and American culture here, so that's what got me here. I'm happy with this choice because life is more ... 안정, stable. And I'm more relaxed…I feel more relaxed.

For Namjun, feeling "relaxed" primarily resulted from no longer having his life dominated by feelings of marginality; other students also seemed to reference the notion of being relaxed by discussing how IGC was able to put their minds at ease by circumventing the need for family separation over a great distance. For example, Areum explained, "My parents also like

that I'm here because now I'm closer just in case of an emergency." Aside from the reduction or elimination of certain anxieties, students discussed other advantages of attending IGC such as the appeal of having a hybrid Korean/American educational environment. Areum succinctly summed up this idea by saying, "You can learn in English in Korea but you still have a Korean life" and Youngjoo echoed these sentiments by stating, "I can have experience of both Korea and America. I can pursue American education in Korean environment."

Moreover, students who had engaged in extensive *jogiyuhak* were well-acquainted with US pedagogical traditions and therefore enjoyed a great advantage over other Korean students. Several students described how they were good, but not exceptional, students in the US; in contrast, they were excelling at IGC and were well aware that they had an easier time with the academic side of life at IGC compared to others. When I asked Shiwoo to reflect on his experience at IGC before he was to graduate in a few weeks, he commented:

> Well, looking back since 2014, I think it was a unique experience. I was just going to go to an American university originally, in America. But this... I could just stay home and still get an American university diploma. And it's also easier in here to get (laughs) higher grade (laughs). It's not hard at all.

In fact, Shiwoo had felt that the academic standard had somewhat fallen at IGC with the growing student population because of the increasing number of Korean students who had not engaged in *jogiyuhak* extensively (or at all). He explained:

> When I was a freshman, let's say 40 people who came in, at least half or two-thirds were fluent or at least pretty good at English and the rest were struggling. But now, the struggling one-fourth part seemed to have grown larger. I don't know why, but I don't know if George Mason has lowered [laughs] the acceptance criteria to attract more

> students. But from my perspective, that's what I see. I see some students in the hallway complaining about Communication 100 class, and for me, that was like no work, just 'go out there and talk and get an A' class [laughs].

In the educational field of IGC, Shiwoo was clearly able to translate the global cultural capital he had acquired overseas into a high position, which probably would not have been likely if he had attended the Korean university he had been accepted to. Although he previously stated that he had decided against the Korean university because it was not ranked highly enough, he also admitted that his extensive time overseas meant that his Korean language skills would not have been strong enough for that environment. He explained, "I didn't know any academic terminology or knowledge at all in Korean because I went through all middle school and high school in English. I can't even spell Korean right at this time. I know how to write essays in English but not in Korean even though I'm Korean. So, I like the fact that it was an American university, everything will be in English and I'm more comfortable with English in classroom settings, at least."

Dahee also discussed the appeal and necessity of English as a medium of instruction for her higher education. She had not even applied to any Korean universities because she explained simply, "For me personally, I can't imagine studying in Korean, because my Korean is not good enough." Changmin went through a similar experience when he looked into a Korean university to transfer to from his US university. He shared:

> I wanted to go to school in Korea [but] I didn't want to go to a "Korean Korean" school because I speak Korean but I can't read as fast as normal Koreans. I can't write as fast as them so it was going to be difficult. So, I was like, I was looking into any college that had all English courses and then IGC popped up.

Likewise, Areum discussed how integrating into the Korean education system would be difficult unless she would be able to utilize one of the special admissions categories for *jogiyuhak* students (i.e. Special Talent Screening or the 2% option). She explained:

> 뭔가 미국에서 계속 살다가 한국 학교를 가려면 특별한 케이스로 가든지 아니면 한국 수능을 봐야 되는데 둘 다 뭔가 하기가 힘들 것 같아서 이렇게 한국에 좋은 뭔가 상위권 학교를 가기 힘들 것 같아서 미국을 가려고 했어요.
>
> If you want to go to a Korean school after having lived in the US continuously, you have to either go as a special case or take the *suneung*. Both of these seemed difficult…and I thought it would be difficult to get into a good or top-ranking school in Korea, so I had planned to go to the US.

For Areum, IGC enabled her to bypass the Korean admissions process as well as the emphasis on *hakbeol* (학벌, or education credentials) by instead entering an entirely new educational field where her *jogiyuhak* experiences translated into great assets. Thus, for the students who took advantage of the ideal compromise that IGC represented by offering a US college education within Korea's borders, they were able transform the rate of return depicted in Figure 2 into a new curve as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Avoiding Diminishing Returns

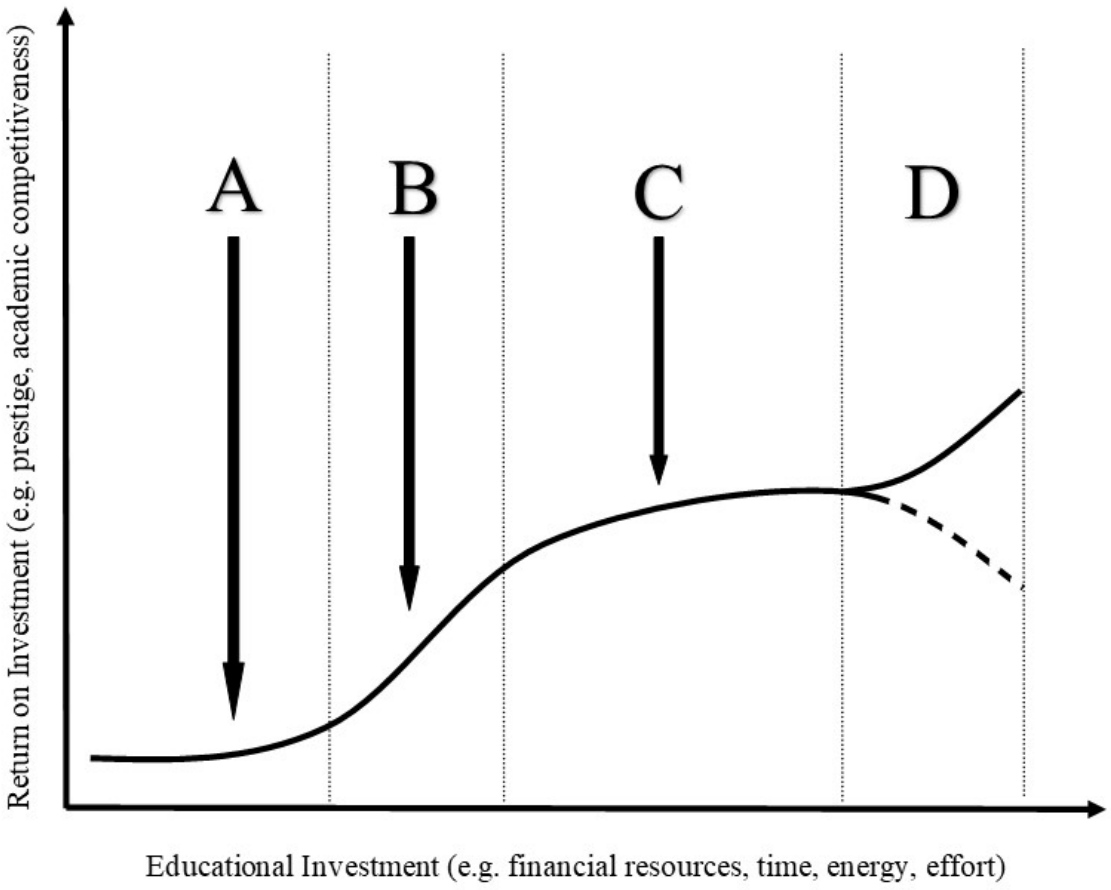


Figure 3 modifies Figure 2 by replacing the potential negative return pictured on the curve in section "D" with a significantly positive, rising curve. Instead of experiencing negative returns on their significant *jogiyuhak* investment by not gaining admission into a top Korean university or being unable to even consider a Korean university because of a loss of Korean proficiency, they can capitalize on their *jogiyuhak* experience by entering a field where they can enjoy a premium return on their investment. They not only possess the English language and academic skills to navigate IGC's academic environment, but also have the benefit of a habitus shaped by constant interaction with non-Koreans and are more readily able to interact with the faculty, staff, and international students at IGC to build up their social capital in a way that many other

Korean students are not yet able to.

Ideal Opportunities

For most Korean students, their intention was always to apply for Korean universities. These students generally had less extensive *jogiyuhak* experiences (or perhaps none) and were fully integrated into the Korean education system. Thus, their lives revolved around shadow education, high grades, and *suneung* preparation to gain admission into a prestigious Korean university. There were three possible outcomes for these students after they applied to Korean universities. 1) They were accepted into an acceptable school, which they attended. 2) They were accepted into a university they found acceptable, but not in a major that they want to pursue. These students could enroll in the school anyway with the hope of taking an exam later to transfer to a different major. However, unlike in the United States, in Korea it is not very easy to change majors. 3) They were not accepted into a university they found prestigious enough, or any university at all. If not for IGC, these students would have taken a gap year to study again for the *suneung* which is only administered once a year in the fall. This process is known as *jaesu* (재수, or "repeat *suneung"*), and for many students, this felt like the only option left since their habitus precluded open access institutions or trade schools as an acceptable alternative for their continued education.

Several students in this study faced one of the latter two outcomes when they decided to attend IGC instead. As a case in point, Nayeon and Gunwoo both expressed their lack of enthusiasm for attending the Korean universities they gained admission to. Nayeon explained, "The college I was accepted was basically about the hospital-thingy which I'm not quite interested in. So, I was thinking about *jaesu*." Nayeon ultimately decide to forgo this option once she learned about IGC. As for Gunwoo, he described how he was admitted to a Korean

university with a hotel management major. When I asked him why he chose this major, he explained:

> There's only one option in front of me because I didn't study very well. My older sister was hotelier at the time. She just recommend me to go there. She said, 'There's no options for you. Just go there and study.'

Since he was not interested in taking a gap year to study more and do *jaesu*, he attended this Korean university for 1.5 years before he learned about IGC and decided to transfer. For students who were not accepted to any universities, they were understandably disappointed, although some students took the denial more personally than others. For example, Chaewon was very matter of fact about her non-acceptance to Korean universities. When asked how she came to be at IGC, she explained:

> 수시로는 여섯 군데를 쓸 수 있고 정시로는 세 군데를 지원할 수 있어요. 저는 다 해보긴 했습니다. 이번에 제가 지원한 학교들이 좀 경쟁률이 높은 학교들이었고 어떤 학교는 제 내신이 마음에 안 들었으니까 떨어뜨린 것도 있긴 한데 그게 가장 직접적인 이유이기는 하거든요.
>
> You can apply for six places through early admission, and you can apply for three places through regular admission. I tried everything. The schools I applied to this time were highly competitive, and I suppose I was dropped from some schools because they didn't like my school records/application, but that's the most direct reason.

In contrast, Rina expressed a little more discomfort with her non-acceptance, since she couched it in terms relating to personal failure. When asked about her college choice process for IGC, Rina responded, "That process? You know, I all failed [nervous laugh]. I fail all the

university."

For both Chaewon and Rina, IGC presented a second chance to enter the higher education field without having to take a gap year to do *jaesu.* Woojin also recounted how his *suneung* results effectively ruled out Korean universities, but instead of dwelling on the *jaesu* route, he immediately acted upon IGC as an alternative pathway. He explained:

> The [*suneung*] exam didn't work out that well, so right away I applied here [IGC] and then I got here right away. I had heard of it once. I wasn't like really considering it, or took into like consideration, but after *suneung* [laughs] I took an opportunity to look at my options—what was available—and I found out about this place so I applied.

Regardless of whether the decision to attend IGC arose from a lack of other options or an active desire to specifically attend this school, all the students specified the ability to conduct their college education in English and to attain a US degree as major assets of IGC. When Juwon found out about IGC, he was "really delighted because this school uses English and gives us American education, which I *really* wanted. I think it's really great that I can study American education in Korea." Misun was also extremely pleased with her decision to attend IGC. She shared:

> 아무래도 장점은 좀 저렴한 가격에 미국학교랑 동일한 수업을 듣고 똑같은 학위를 인정받으니까 그게 좋고 그리고 일년동안 미국에서 생활을 해봐야 하니까 그런 기회도 되게 좋다고 생각을 하고
>
> I think the advantage is that I can get the same education as an American school but at a lower price and get the same degree. Plus, I also have the opportunity to experience the US for a year, so I think that is really good.

As for her English skills, she commented, "I can learn English more in here by

experiencing all the atmosphere. And also, I am doing all the writing things, speaking, and listening in English. So, I think my English is really improving." She consequently highlighted how her English skills were being utilized and improved in a way that contrasted greatly from the exam-focus of English education in Korean schools. She also made an explicit connection between English language and future job opportunities by stating, "students who want to maybe get a job in another country, they can learn English and other skills in here [IGC], by paying much less money than go to study abroad for like four years." Gunwoo also discussed how IGC was an important [and affordable] gateway that would enable him to work overseas. He explained:

> I can't study in America from first year to senior because my parents told me "If you want to go to UAC, you need to pay your tuition fee by yourself. We are not going to support you at all." It is quite a huge benefit for me to save my money living in Korea but learning the American education and learn how to live in America, how to get a job in America. I think it is something new that we can't experience before in Korea. I think that this is a really big benefit for students like me.

Aside from the remarkably lower cost of attendance (compared to attending an overseas institution), IGC also provided the benefit of avoiding much of the challenges that come with being an international student in the US for their entire college career. As a case in point, Woojin shared the following opinion:

> Many of the international students have difficulty, like being homesick. But here I'm able to not get homesick and receive American education at the same time. I think I'm a bit more stable here, like mentally and physically. I'm able to solely focus on my academics, instead of like worry about, "Oh my God. I have no more money left. I have to call my

parents." Or I have to like renew my visa or something. I think through here, I'm just able to focus on what I'm here to do.

Taewan also echoed Woojin's sentiments by stating:

As a foreign student studying American university, we need to put some more effort to adjust new circumstances or environments, but in SUNY Korea we do not have spend more effort to adjust to the community and culture, so we have more good environment to focus on our academic things.

By remaining in Korea, Woojin and Taewan ostensibly avoided some of the factors that diminished a person's global cultural capital gains while still bestowing them with the opportunity to gain an US education. The importance of the actual, physical US degree, however, cannot be understated. Jia shared the following comments which highlights the great importance IGC students have attached to this institutionalized form of cultural capital:

When I first came to this school, the university promised that the diplomas would come from overseas—they promised, "Oh, all the diplomas are shipped from the US." But for some reason I heard that the previous graduating class, their diplomas said "SUNY Korea", so I found it a bit contradicting to what the school had said versus what had actually happened. That was a red flag for me, seeing as how I want to work in the States or in Europe. I feel like if it says Korea on the diploma, people will look at that and say, "Oh, her English probably won't be as good because she came from Korea."

An administrator confirmed that this incident had indeed happened to SUNY Korea's very first graduating class, but that it had been a mistake that was quickly rectified since all the graduates received new diplomas that did not list "Korea" on the diploma. The incident, however, is illuminating regarding complex attitudes students have regarding their transnational

education at IGC—that is, a degree from a transnational higher education institution is valuable only to the extent that it makes clear to a global audience that the recipient is fluent in English and not noticeably marked as a non-native speaker from a non-English speaking country. Thus, IGC's value as an alternative educational pathway depends on its connection to the global linguistic field.

Summary

The college choice process reflects a combination of structural opportunities, class status, and individual expectations. For all the students in this study, attending college was a taken-for-granted objective, with admission to a prestigious Korean university as the preferred objective for most students. Given the extreme level of competition in Korean society for college admission, many parents utilize *jogiyuhak* as a strategy to improve their children's competitive edge during the application process for Korean universities. In an ideal situation, students will engage in *jogiyuhak* for several years during elementary school to shape their language habitus, and then reintegrate into the Korean education system to prepare for admission to Korean universities. For most parents, domestic institutions are highly preferred to foreign ones since overseas university attendance entails higher tuition, travel and living expenses, family separation, and the inability to access financial aid services. Some parents also expressed anxiety with sending their unaccompanied daughters overseas.

Unfortunately, in some situations students may actually experience diminishing or negative returns on their educational investment in *jogiyuhak.* For example, some students find that they are unable to reintegrate into the Korean educational system, and instead need to enroll in private international schools in Korea where the medium of instruction continues to be English, or they return to studying overseas. Also, since *jogiyuhak* has become domesticated and

widespread in Korean society, special admissions categories for college admissions which generally favor *jogiyuhak* students have become more competitive as these students increasingly compete against each other. Several students had applied to Korean universities, but either did not gain admission at all, or only matched with a school they did not find prestigious enough for their liking. *Jogiyuhak* gains can also be tempered by the fact that the longer students stay overseas, the more likely it is that their proficiency in Korean may decrease, thereby putting these students at a disadvantage if they were to attend Korean universities. If they aren't able to attend any Korean universities at all, they may have to take a gap year to do *jaesu* (재수, or "repeat *suneung*"), thereby experiencing negative returns on their *jogiyuhak* experience.

As a result, many students who engaged in extensive *jogiyuhak* initially planned to attend overseas universities but were unable to do so because of the expense and/or the desire to be close to their family and their home culture and environment in Korea. For these students, IGC represented an ideal compromise where they could continue their education in English language and the Western pedagogical methods they became accustomed to. In fact, their prior overseas experiences ensured that they were well positioned to excel within the field of IGC because they had a habitus well-suited to the environment and significant amounts of cultural capital.

For students who had not engaged in extensive (or any) *jogiyuhak,* IGC was an appealing choice precisely because English was the medium of instruction. This represented an appealing opportunity to shape their habitus and gain the capital they would need to support their future career aspirations in the global field. English was not just a skill to be measured by exams, but a means of shaping their habitus so they can become culturally competent global citizens; through their IGC education, they imagined being able to take advantage of opportunities in a global marketplace while their counterparts at Korean universities would remain confined by the

boundaries of Korea's borders.

An additional benefit that many students referenced regarding their choice to attend to IGC was the ability to stay within the relative comfort of Korea's borders. Thus, although they may perceive that there are less gains to be made because they are not going overseas into a fully immersive English language environment, their net gains may be roughly similar because they are also not having to face the additional challenges that exist when they go overseas, such as financial strain, emotional discomfort from adjustment issues and structural racism and xenophobia within the host country.

Part 3. Student Experiences: Language as Contested Ground

This final part of the findings chapter focuses on the student experience once students begin their studies at IGC. Because of the all-encompassing nature of the term "student experience," I narrow the scope of this section to examine their experiences as it relates to English language usage, particularly since English language medium of instruction (MOI) is one of the defining characteristics of an IGC education. Most transnational educational endeavors are characterized by English MOI, but a frequent problem in these environments is the inconsistent use of English when most students in transnational education environments are from the local population where English is not a major language. Foreign faculty and staff may lament the lack of English usage by the students attending these institutions, and English-only policies may be put into place with varying levels of success. However, these reactions and the implementation of such policies often reflect an acontextual point of view which fails to acknowledge how "linguistic exchanges can express relations of power" (Thompson, 1991, p. 1). In other words, linguistic exchanges are "situated encounters between agents endowed with socially structured resources and competencies" (Thompson, 1991, p. 2). Parts 1 and 2 of this chapter have made it clear that these resources and competencies vary greatly in value for the students in this study. For example, access to English language education and overseas experiences which promote greater fluency were largely dependent on a family's level of capital. When the desirability of English fluency is promoted without acknowledging the structural barriers to this fluency, an "illusion of linguistic communism" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 43) is promoted. Consequently, it is imperative to understand the broader social context when examining the experiences of speakers in a non-native language speaking environment like IGC.

Although IGC is physically located in Korea where the local population comprises most

of the student body and Korean is the primary language used in Korean society, the international branch campuses housed at IGC exclusively utilize English as the medium of instruction. In addition, the IGC institutions that are examined in this study are the international branch campuses of US universities (State University of New York, University of Utah, and George Mason University), and therefore utilize the curricular and pedagogical traditions of the US education system, which differ drastically from those of the Korean system. Thus, IGC represents a transnational social setting comprised of overlapping fields with differing (and at times opposing) sets of norms. Since social fields reflect the distribution of capital and the state of power relations between individuals, the competing doxa of IGC results in complicated interactions where their habitus and capital translate into very different types of prestige and symbolic capital across different settings and/or groups of individuals. This results in an environment that is often characterized by ongoing struggle and tension between students as they navigate whether to speak in English or Korean; some students, however, frame IGC as a site of opportunity and social mobility precisely because of the unique linguistic environment of IGC. In short, by analyzing Korean students' experiences at IGC through the lens of language usage, it is possible to understand the various ways in which English simultaneously empowers and disempowers students and creates complicated fields in which language creates contested ground. This chapter explores students' experiences regarding English usage at IGC by examining three thematic areas: language identity, language hostility and policing, and language potentiality.

Language Identity

Crystal (2003) states that "there is no more intimate or more sensitive an index of identity than language," (p. xii) which reinforces Norton's (1997) assertion that speakers in linguistic

exchanges are “not only exchanging information with their interlocutors; they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation" (p. 411). This identity construction and negotiation naturally occurs in linguistic exchanges because a person’s self-image—which governs how they conduct themselves in the world—is mediated by “one’s initial relation to the language market and the discovery of the value accorded to one’s linguistic productions” (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 660). Thus, as the notion of a “language market” makes clear, language is more than mere words expressing ideas. Since language is spoken within the context of a linguistic field, it must be spoken “appropriately” to have value and to be considered legitimate; legitimacy is determined by the structure of the linguistic field and the power relations embedded within. For bilingual speakers of English and Korean, the question of legitimacy is particularly complicated since they must navigate which language to use outside of the classroom to be considered a legitimate speaker and increase their symbolic capital in the field.

Several students resorted to conflating language, ethnic identity, and geographical borders to simplify this navigation process. That is, since they were ethnically Korean and physically located within Korea’s borders, they determined that speaking Korean outside of the classroom was the legitimate language choice. Soyoung recalled an incident that emphasized the importance of ethnic identity when she shared, “One of my friends, she really liked using English. She always talked in English, and one of the persons we hanged out with said, ‘Why are you using English? *We’re Koreans*.’” Similarly, Namjun and Shiwoo both emphasized the notion of physical location as a key determinant of their language usage. When asked about which language he used outside of class, Namjun replied, “Korean, of course—I am living in Korea

right now" and Shiwoo specifically referenced geography by stating "If I don't have to speak English, I wouldn't speak English because I'm in Korea." Furthermore, the doxic norm of congruence between language, ethnic identity, and national borders applied to *all* Koreans, even if they were a *gyopo* (교포, or overseas Korean) who had lived in another country for an extended period of time and were more fluent in another language. This explains Misun's puzzlement when she encountered a *gyopo* at IGC. She explained:

> When I first met them (Korean Americans), and I heard their name, it's all in Korean, so I expected them to speak in Korean. But, they started to speak in English. At the first time I asked them, 'Why are you speaking in English? I'm Korean, you can speak in Korean.' But what he said was that he lived more years in other countries than Korea, so he's more comfortable with English. When I first met that kind of student, it was really surprising. Because like, well, *you are still Korean*.

There was a strong expectation for *gyopos* to comply with Korean language usage outside of the classroom if they desired acceptance from other Korean students. Chaewon observed, "Even students who lived abroad…do you know *gyopo*? Those students, they have to speak Korean, too, if they want to hang out with Korean friends." As someone who was born and raised in the US for a decade before moving to Korea, Jia not only tried to meet these expectations, but she also accepted the logic of these expectations as evidenced by the following account where she was apologetic to her classmates for not having stronger Korean skills. Jia shared,

> Even though I am Korean, from the beginning of the class I just told my group mates, 'Oh, even though I am Korean, I'm going to apologize in advance because my Korean is not the best. If I have to compare it to a level, I'd say it's very elementary. Just enough to

get around.' Thankfully, my group mates were all very understanding of that situation. Even though they would have conversations in Korean, I could understand it, but they would also ask, "Oh, do you need us to clarify what we just said?" And sometimes I would say, 'Yes, I do.' 'No, it's fine.'

Although students at IGC were ostensibly there to gain a college education through the medium of English language, Jia's account demonstrates how everyday interactions outside of the classroom defaulted to Korean and how she accepted these expectations despite having English as her first language. Some students described how only the presence of a non-Korean in their midst would compel them to utilize English, although this did not necessarily result in widespread English usage in group settings, either. For example, when Areum recalled being in a mixed group of Korean and non-Korean students, she said, "we try to talk in English, but then individually when talking in a group the person will say [to] someone like a foreigner in English, but to Koreans the person will talk in Korean." Misun also confirmed this dynamic when she described involvement in an on-campus dance club. She explained: "When I'm with Korean friends, I use Korean because Korean is more comfortable for me. But if there is at least one international student, I usually use English. In our club there are two international students, so we have to do all the works in English and it's kind of hard to explain all the formations and movements like that in English, but we try a lot. Both of us try a lot—they try to understand us, and we try to explain them. So yeah, that's kind of hard. But I try to speak in English more when there is international students.

In this account, Misun brings up the notion of comfort to explain why language choice often defaults to Korean. She then elaborates on some of the challenges of communicating in English and describes the hard work that is involved when trying to make oneself understood in

another language. This is an especially telling point since it underscores Bourdieu's (1977b) assertion that language acquisition entails more than the language itself since the speaker must embody new bodily dispositions as part of their linguistic habitus. That is, a person's linguistic habitus is more than just linguistic competency, but an embodied sense of *ownership* of a language. Unfortunately, since linguistic competencies in Korean society have focused on "grammaticalness," i.e. the correct use of English as measured by standardized testing rather than on the communicative function of English, many Koreans question their ownership of English and therefore do not consider themselves to be legitimate speakers. Given the "important relationship among language, identity, and ownership of English" (Norton, 1997, p. 423), many students at IGC find it easier to gravitate towards Korean usage where they feel a secure sense of who they are rather than risking a claim that they are legitimate English language speakers. In doing so, students avoid linguistic anxiety and also draw comfort and a sense of security from their co-ethnic peers. As Taewon explained:

> When we just enter the university, everything are strange and not familiar with—even the lectures are dealing with a lot of English things. But there's a lot of Koreans—you can feel a lot more comfortable. I think in a friend relationship, they are looking for some more comfortable so they are not going to get some stress about English even in friend relationships. I think that's why Koreans are hang out with Koreans usually. We don't need to get stressed even in this kind of friend relationship.

Thus, Korean language usage enables students to draw comfort and confidence as they face an environment that can undermine their sense of ownership of English and legitimacy in using it. Minho also brought up the idea of comfort when he discussed the challenge of speaking in English with his fellow Korean students outside of class. He shared:

서로가 노력하는 수밖에 없는 것 같아요. 굳이 하고 싶다면 그냥 "이제 우리 한국말 쓰지 말고 영어로 하자," 그렇게 하면 늘 수 있는데 서로 불편하니까 아무래도 안 하게 되죠.

I think we have no choice but to make that effort [to speak English]. If we really want to do it—"Let's not use Korean, let's speak English"—that way we can improve. But then we're all uncomfortable, so then we don't end up doing that.

Nayeon also alluded to this discomfort when she discussed the challenge of trying to speak in English, despite having studied it for a long time. According to Nayeon, "English is my second language, but actually I was not able to practice speaking in English because Korea exam doesn't require us to speak in English but reading and writing. It is quite difficult to express directly my thoughts." Although, Nayeon certainly possessed the requisite linguistic capital to enter the field of IGC, because of the emphasis on grammaticalness in Korea's system of English language education, she did not have the benefit of developing an embodied linguistic habitus where she could feel confident in having her meanings and intentions clearly understood in English. Thus, using Korean not only allows students to avoid stress, but to also have greater assurance that they will be understood.

Another significant way in which Korean can foster stress-free interactions between students is by enabling them to avoid feeling evaluated and disparaged by other speakers with stronger English language skills. Unfortunately, Rina (who had never engaged in any overseas education) experienced such a flex of symbolic power by another Korean student during her first semester at IGC. She recalled:

I had a lot of difficulties to adapt to this system and then also I had difficulties to talk fluently in English. I was really bad at English when I talked. So, like one of my

roommate's friend, I was talking to a writing teacher and then she said—she was one year younger than me—but she said, "Oh my God! How could you enter this school even though you speak like shit?" Sorry [nervous laugh], so I was like, "I don't know" [nervous laugh] "I don't know." So that was awful.

This incident demonstrates how fraught transnational spaces can be since "access to legitimate language is quite unequal" (Sim, 2017, p. 10) and linguistic competence is monopolized by those who have had the privilege of greater access. Thus, Rina's roommate's friend felt entitled to shame Rina for her weaker English language skills even though she herself was Korean and not a native speaker of English. It is also notable that Rina made a point of indicating how she was older than the other student; Korean society—and as a result, Korean language—is extremely hierarchical and this is reflected in Korean language usage in terms of formal/informal distinctions in verb conjugations, grammar, and vocabulary. Furthermore, the notions of *sunbae* (선배, or senior/elder) and *hubae* (후배, or junior) are extremely important aspects of Korean university culture, with *hubaes* needing to show respect for their *sunbaes*. Rina's account highlights how the other student was able to violate Korean cultural norms without consequence by exercising symbolic power, i.e. the "power to constitute the given by stating it" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 148). That is, she was able to claim a higher status in their interaction by making it clear that English was the "normal" and relevant form of linguistic capital at IGC. Through this imposition of a doxic understanding of IGC as a space for legitimate English speakers (that is, the doxa of the field prioritized and valued English), she also exercised symbolic violence by questioning Rina's right to attend IGC.

Furthermore, since language is a gateway to culture and culture is a key facet of shaping one's identity, incorporating English into their lives when it is not necessary (i.e. outside the

classroom) can pose a threat to students' identity and lead to a sense of intense dislocation. Moreover, those who experience symbolic violence are made to see themselves according to the disempowering discourse of others (who see themselves as legitimate authorities in the field)—as such, language usage can have a profound impact of one's sense of identity. Under these circumstances, a reliance on Korean language usage outside of the classroom becomes far more understandable. Students can draw a sense of security and community regarding their identity through Korean language and also experience a more relaxed state of mind which can be threatened when students are expected to continue English language usage outside of the classroom. This can perhaps explain why another prominent theme that emerged from the findings was language hostility and policing.

Language Hostility and Policing

Given the salience of language identity, many students found themselves over emphasizing the need to use Korean unless English was absolutely necessary (e.g. a non-Korean speaking student was present). In fact, attempting to continue to use English in situations when it was not considered necessary often led to extremely negative reactions. The use of English among Koreans often led to perceptions that a person was trying to show off, and it engendered a great deal of resentment even though stronger English skills were desired by all. This reflects the complications that arise when language is tied to power. As Crystal (2003) notes:

> if English is not your mother tongue, you may still have mixed feelings about it. You may be strongly motivated to learn it, because you know it will put you in touch with more people than any other language; but at the same time you know it will take a great deal of effort to master it, and you may begrudge that effort. Having made progress, you will feel pride in your achievement, and savour the communicative power you have at your

disposal, but may none the less feel that mother-tongue speakers of English have an unfair advantage over you (p. 3).

The linguistic advantage that some fellow Koreans may have can engender an equally strong (or even stronger) sense of resentment from others since it reinforces one's own linguistic deficit, most likely from a lack of capital which may arise from structural inequalities. Thus, Korean students who speak in English while in the company of their co-ethnic peers may subject themselves to particularly hostile encounters. For example, Soyoung continued her previous anecdote about a friend of hers being questioned for using English outside of the classroom by further elaborating on the reactions of the other Korean students: "They *hate* it. Most of them say, 'Stop using English! We're *Koreans*. You're trying to look good by using English. We're not foreigners.' When my friend said, 'English is more comfortable to me,' they said, 'You're lying.'" Although IGC students are ostensibly at the branch campus of US universities, students are expected to abide by the doxa of Korean society where Korean is spoken. Doing so not only affirmed one's Korean identity, but also avoided making students constantly aware of their own English language ability in relation to others. Thus, in this field, using English when it is not necessary actually lowers one's prestige and stokes feelings of resentment and accusations of showing off. The sheer hostility in this particular encounter lays bare the inherent tension that can exist in transnational spaces where competing doxa (e.g. ethnic Koreans should speak in Korean vs. students in English MOI spaces should use English) also connect to broader sociopolitical tensions as a result of class inequalities and varying degrees of educational opportunity.

As a consequence of these negative reactions, several students actively policed their language usage to ensure that they were not using English in situations where it would be

received poorly. As a case in point, Shiwoo explained, “If I don’t have to speak in English, I wouldn’t speak English because I’m in Korea.” When I followed up by asking if it would be weird if he kept using English outside of class, he responded, “Yeah, they will say something. Not a good word [laughs]. Kind of mocking me like, ‘What the hell are you doing, man?’” Similarly, Juwon believed other students would “all stare at me like I'm a freak probably” if he were to speak English with his Korean friends, and Gunwoo shared that other students would “call me jackass--[it’s] very very very negative.” When Woojin talked about how he monitored his language usage, he explained how he even tries to avoid using English loan words while speaking in Korean because of the potential for other students to think he is putting on airs. He commented:

> I use Korean most of the time. When I speak Korean, I only speak in Korean and when I speak in English, I only speak in the English most of the time except for when I forget a few vocabulary. I really didn't like the people who speak in Korean and then they use a few English words. I felt that was a bit like showing off, that “I'm this good at English,” so I was like, "No, I'm not going to be like that." So when I speak Korean, I only speak in Korean.

As Woojin’s remarks illustrate, there is an inherent understating that English is a marker of social distinction. However, since the degree of language fluency is closely tied to one’s access to educational resources and other forms of capital, the distinction that is made apparent is not necessarily one’s innate linguistic prowess so much as it is one’s greater access to capital. Hence, Intek made the observation that when a Korean student speaks English outside of the classroom, “it feels like he's saying that, ‘I'm very good at English—I lived America for long time.’” For Woojin, he avoided using English although it was technically his first language; in

fact, he was one of only five students in this study who had both interviews conducted exclusively in English. By making a point of using Korean outside of the classroom, Woojin recognized how Korean could have greater linguistic value since it did not draw attention to his privileged background nor threaten the power dynamics of his social network where others may have felt threatened by their weaker English skills in comparison. However, it is notable that Woojin was referring to the use of occasional English loan words while speaking Korean (rather than speaking entirely in English), which perhaps indicates excessive language policing on his part to emphasize his "Koreanness."

Whether as an attempt to experience ethnic solidarity with other Korean students, minimize stress by enjoying the ease and comfort of their mother tongue, prevent resentment and accusations of "showing off," or avoid evaluation and potential embarrassment by other students because of their language skills, most students confirmed that they primarily used Korean outside of the classroom at IGC. For many students, this reality was accompanied by a sense of disappointment, since many expected a truly immersive English-language environment at IGC. As Chaewon explained:

> 처음 들어갔을 때 조금 많이 실망했어요. 왜냐면 저는 영어만 쓰는 그런 환경에서 영어 실력이 많이 향상될 거라는 기대가 되게 컸거든요. 근데 한국 학생들이 80%이다 보니까 다 한국말을 쓰고 저도 한국어를 더 많이 쓰는 것 같아요.
>
> When I first entered [IGC], I was disappointed quite a bit because I had big expectations that my English would improve a lot in an English-speaking environment. But since the school is 80% Korean, they all speak in Korean and I feel like I'm using Korean more as

well.

Juwon echoed Chaewon's assessment of IGCs language environment by sharing:

> 단점은 아무래도 한국에서 이거를 공부하다 보니까 학생들이 영어보다는 한국말을 많이 쓰고 물론 수업시간때 영어만 쓰려고 하신 분도 있지만 아닌 분도 있어 가지고 애들이 토론할 때도 한국말 좀 쓰고 그러는 편이어서 조금 아쉬워요.
>
> The downside is that since we're studying in Korea, students use Korean more than English. Of course, during class there are some students who try to only use English, but there are those who don't. They'll even use some Korean during discussions, and that's kind of sad.

He further elaborated by noting how this was affecting his goal at IGC, "I *really* wanted to improve my English to a higher level, but I think it's not getting to what I thought it would be, I guess." For Gunwoo, the predominance of Korean outside the class was not only disappointing within the setting of IGC, but also of potential concern for his anticipated year abroad at the University of Utah main campus as part of the 3+1 study plan. He explained:

> The one thing that I'm dissatisfied is because of there are more than 90% of the students were Korean in UAC, we are speaking Korean. Even our policy is using only in English, but most of Korean students are speaking in Korean inside of the school. That makes us not improve our English skills. Not prepared to go to the Salt Lake City Campus, main campus. I want to speak in English all the time, but given the circumstances, I can't.

For Gunwoo, he framed his time at IGC as an important preparation phase for his year abroad and was understandably frustrated to not be able to have the level of practice he hoped to have

before studying abroad. Minho and Chaewon even discussed the need to supplement their IGC education with additional language study to achieve their goals. For example, Minho discussed how he intended to study during vacation:

> 저희끼리 있으면 그냥 한국어를 쓰니까 아무래도 좀 안 늘게 되죠. 그래서 방학 때 조금 보충하려고 하고 있어요.
>
> When it's just us [Koreans], we keep using Korean, so we don' really improve. That's why I'm planning to do some supplemental work during vacation.

Similar concerns regarding the lack of English language practice at IGC also troubled Chaewon, who explained:

> I use English only in the classroom, and sometimes in the classroom—when we whisper—we use Korean. So that's the part that I don't think my English is improving. So, me and my mom, we discussed a lot...she thinks that if I want to improve my English for real for sure, I would have to go abroad because in Korea, almost 90% of the students are all Korean.

While Chaewon had high hopes that IGC would enable her to improve her English, she was disappointed to find that language usage defaulted to Korean for many students, including herself. Consequently, many students at IGC found themselves in a catch-22: although they were making a tremendous investment in IGC (in terms of time, money, and effort) to improve their English at this unique, transnational space, they also actively avoided using English unless it was necessary to minimize hostile encounters from students who insisted on Korean language usage. To resolve the paradox, some students like Minho intended to engage in self-study during the school breaks, and other students like Chaewon discussed the possibility of heading overseas earlier than what was typical in their 3+1 plan to take advantage of a true language-immersion

environment. However, this is not to say that students regretted their decision to attend IGC; on the contrary, even those who expressed disappointment in not being able to use English as freely or as often as they liked generally were satisfied with their decision to attend IGC. This was largely because they did not dwell on the negative aspects of their experiences and instead adopted a positive frame of reference, a phenomenon I refer to as language potentiality.

Language Potentiality

According to the American Heritage Dictionary (2020), potentiality refers to "the state of being potential" and the "inherent capacity for growth, development, or coming into existence." I use the term "language potentiality" to describe how IGC students frame their experiences in positive ways that emphasize the advantages, creativity, and opportunities they can explore because of their English linguistic capital. These students emphasized a sense of enjoyment, comfort, and flexibility in their bilingualism (and consequent biculturalism), and highlighted how English allowed them to explore new ways of being, learning, and communicating

Closing the Distance with English. Several students pointed to the formal and informal differences between Korean and English (and therefore Korean and US culture) as aspects that they enjoyed. For example, a key difference between the two languages is the relative lack of hierarchical distinctions in English. Korean, in contrast, is rife with honorifics and multi-tiered speech levels that are contingent on the relative age and status difference between speakers, the closeness of their relationship, and the social setting they are in. In fact, it is rare for a Korean to be addressed by their first name alone unless it is by a person of the same age and status; a title is generally added after the first name, but more commonly, people will be addressed by a title such as "Teacher," "Older sister," "Senior," etc. Given the complicated nuances of their mother tongue, many students find the casualness of English as a refreshing novelty which also allows

for new ways of forming social bonds with others. This was made most apparent when students discussed the faculty at IGC. As a case in point, Misun discussed having a fun and close relationship with one of her professors that would not be the same if he were a Korean faculty member. She explained:

> In our school, there is a professor, Kent Zimmerman, and he's really funny. He's more like a friend [laughs]. It's kind of awkward, but he hates to be called as Professor. He wants us to call him Kent. I thought that's really close. Korean university, we can't call them their name. [We say] *gyosunim (*교수님, or Professor) like that, but here we can just call them like, "Hey, Kent," like that.

The awkwardness Misun mentioned arose from the novelty and contrast from the linguistic culture of Korea where the proper address for her professor would be "Zimmerman *gyosunim.*" Granted, the use of formal titles for faculty in the US is also common practice, but I highlighted this anecdote to emphasize how English allowed for an exception to a general practice that is inconceivable in Korean culture. Misun continued her story to sharing how she was also able to converse with her professor in a casual way that was not as marked by hierarchical distance as it would be in Korean universities. She continued:

> I love Marvel videos and Cinematic Universe and he's a big fan of MCU, too. So, we started to talk about this, and it took a lot of time. So yeah, I like that atmosphere, that I can talk about Marvel with my professor. It's hard in Korean university.

Taewan also echoed the sentiment that IGC allowed students to converse more comfortably with professors and other "higher status" people. He shared, "Korean culture [laughs] has some difficulty to communicate with older or teachers or professors. We have to show some respect kind of things."

According to Taewan, the need to show respect in accordance with Korean grammatical rules can sometimes create a feeling of distance and restriction, whereas English allows for freer communication between people. However, it is important to note that Korean professors comprise a significant portion of the IGC faculty, which complicates the field since Korean students must also acknowledge the doxa of Korean society in their encounters. Taewan explained:

> We are in Korea, some professors are also Korean, and there's a lot of Korean students, so it is a little bit hard to communicate with professor freely, but it is much better than Korean university. I think compared to Korean university students, I have some more opportunities to get close to professors and I can with less effort.

Despite the need to revert to Korean norms on occasion, Taewon still found the atmosphere at IGC to be one that fostered freer communication with faculty. Namjun similarly commented, “There are many students who are really close to faculty here,” and Shiwoo also emphasized how the small size of IGC also enhanced student opportunities to interact with faculty in ways that were not possible in the US. Having returned from the one-year study abroad portion of his studies at the George Mason main campus in Fairfax, Virginia, Shiwoo shared the following observation:

> Professors are *way more* accessible in [IGC]. In Fairfax or in any kind of university in America, you'll have to email them weeks in advance to set up a meeting but in here, you can just go to their office and knock and just talk (laughs). They'll welcome you and it's really nice. That kind of opportunity is really big for students who are trying to study and trying to get questions answered. If you go to Fairfax you can't expect that (laughs).

By emphasizing the greater possibility of meaningful faculty interactions at IGC, Shiwoo

highlights how Korean students' linguistic capital can result in greater returns at IGC than at the main campus in the US where they will be one of thousands of students rather than of a few hundred students at IGC. In a sense, the smaller, intimate campus of IGC provides greater potential for students' English language capital to translate into greater returns in building up their social network capital with faculty members.

In addition to experiencing new ways to experience the faculty-student relationship, students at IGC were able to explore new dimensions to friendship with their peers because of English. Whereas Korean language requires the acknowledgment of status distinctions between students depending on whether they are a *sunbae* (선배, or senior) or *hubae* (후배, or junior), English language enables students to simply be "friends" despite age or cohort year gaps. Nayeon highlighted this benefit of IGC when she reflected on her social relationships at IGC:

> There is some kind of merit of IGC, that some of the Korean schools are having a strict rules like calling the elders *sunbae*. But IGC students actually don't and they just become all friend, so it's quite good. Yeah, I really like it, so I have many friends with the different spectrum of the ages.

Like Nayeon, Jia also appreciated not having to abide by Korean norms regarding *sunbae* and *hubae:*

> The thing I don't really like about Korean culture, school culture, is that older students, you have to call them *sunbae* or *eonni* (언니, or big sister) or *oppa* (오빠, or big brother), but having the American school mindset, I would just call them, "Oh, hey, Tasha, blah, blah, blah."

Given the close ties between language and culture, it is not surprising that those who embraced English language usage at IGC also valued the associated cultural differences such as

less hierarchically structured relationships with their professors and peers. Furthermore, these students expressed far less stress and discomfort with how they navigated their bilingualism, which will be discussed next.

Creating and Communicating with English. Although Korea has ostensibly been obsessed with English language education for decades, the focus has historically been on grammaticalness and performing well on standardized exams. In addition, Korea's entangled history with the US (particularly since military occupation post-World War II and through the present day) has resulted in a persistent orientation towards an English language standard that is US-centric and deeply concerned with an idealized "native speaker." Consequently, many Koreans have a complicated relationship with English since their English ability, as captured by test scores, has such significant impact on their future prospects even though they may never really use the language in a meaningful, communicative manner. Under these circumstances, it can be difficult for Koreans to avoid language anxiety, or to feel a sense of ownership over the language. In contrast, several students at IGC exemplified an ease with their bilingualism as evidenced by their accounts of mixing both languages (i.e. code-mixing) and switching between languages (i.e. code-switching). Naturalizing and accepting the practice of code-mixing and code-switching are necessary to allow local English norms specific to the local context to emerge (Jenkins, 2007). Furthermore, these students also expressed an openness to making mistakes and a genuine enjoyment in using English because of their focus on communicating in English rather than "correctly using" English.

Nayeon exemplified this attitude when she discussed her experiences with using English at IGC, and how it differed from those who were uncomfortable or afraid to use English. She explained:

> Outside of the classroom, I think it's depend on their personalities, because some of them [Korean students] are not that confident in using the English and they are frightened to make mistakes, but some doesn't. But I think most of my friends just enjoy learning other language by not being frightened by making mistakes because we all make mistakes.

Furthermore, the focus on using English to communicate rather than to show mastery allowed Nayeon and her peers to engage in creative blends of both languages. For example, when speaking of her friendships with non-Korean students, she shared:

> The foreign students, they actually really enjoy learning Korean, so I think we communicate each other by mixing the language. It's kind of odd but we use some strange language, English plus Korean. So it's like, "How about going to *noridongsan* (놀이동산, or amusement park)?" [laughs]. Usually I feel comfortable when communicating with all of them.

Misun also expressed her comfort with using English and described how her language habitus was shaped both by an early encounter with foreigners as well as her affinity for language. She recalled:

> When I was really young, I had some opportunities to meet some foreigners. I wasn't afraid of them, and I really loved to talk with them, even I can't speak English, I just said like, "Hi!" like that. I wanted to communicate with them, so that I can tell them something I experienced, or something I know in English, so that they can understand—I just love to speak English and learn another language like that.

Misun went on to explain that she attended a *hagwon* that focused on English conversation rather than grammar for English exam preparation. She admitted, "I didn't like to [laughs] learn the grammar thing. I think I learned English as a language, like I learned Korean.

So, I'm not good at grammar now [laughs], but you know, I can still communicate with foreigners in English." Since Misun's understanding of English had always centered on its communicative function, code-switching and code-mixing were natural actions for her to utilize although it sometimes resulted in language hostility from other students. For example, she shared:

> Sometimes when I meet my friends in here, we forgot some Korean words [laughs]. Like, we start to use both Korean and English because we can all understand. But like when I meet other friends from Korean universities, they don't want me to use English because they tend to think I'm pretending that I'm international student, so they sometimes say bad words about me if I use English and Korean. I don't want them to think like that. I'm not pretending like I'm good at English, I just forgot some Korean words. So, I want them to understand that, but they don't really.

According to Zentella (2012), alternation between languages is "a dynamic communicative strategy that serves important discourse functions and maintains the grammatical integrity of both languages" and is not something to bemoan or criticize. However, for other Korean students whose English language education centered on grammaticalness and "native speaker norms," they inadvertently restrict their ability to achieve language potentiality and therefore curtail the rewards they could reap from the IGC environment.

Changmin appeared to have an innate understanding of this when he talked about the benefits of IGC's unique linguistic environment. According to Changmin, "I think you can learn a lot of unique lessons, life lessons, and practice and develop your communications, social, and language attributes more effectively because you can always switch between Korean and English." As someone who had engaged in 11 years of *jogiyuhak*, Changmin did not take his

elite bilingualism for granted, and felt a sense of responsibility to help other Korean students also gain a sense of ownership over their own bilingualism. He explained:

> I try to use English when I'm with Koreans a lot of the time because I want them to improve their English because this is what they told me—they don't use English because they're self-conscious about their English, how good it is or how bad it is. But the funny thing is if you don't use it, you're not going to improve. And only using it once or twice when you're called out [in class] is not going to help you at all. The best way to learn something is to do it constantly until you can do it without thinking. So, I try to have conversations in English as much as I can. I want to tell them, "Go up and talk to them. They don't care if your English is bad. That's the biggest thing. They don't care, they know your English is bad, and it's usually not as bad as you think it is.

As Changmin's account makes clear, he believes the primary function of English is to allow students to communicate with each other and not to prove how they can use English without making mistakes. Although this perspective is not universally understood by the majority of Korean students at IGC, it will be critical for more students to embrace this mindset so they can gain a sense of ownership of English and thereby exercise greater agency through their speech acts. Creating a *local* English for the IGC context can allow students "to creatively fashion a voice for themselves from amidst the deafening channels of domination" (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 197).

Imagining Opportunities with English. While individual traits and actions (i.e. developing confidence and a sense of ownership in English) contribute largely to the notion of language potentiality, it bears noting that there is a structural element as well. That is, IGC students are able to apply their linguistic capital to internship opportunities that are structurally

built into their IGC education, thereby highlighting the empowering aspects of English. Numerous IGC students discussed how they were able to take advantage of internship opportunities far earlier in their college careers than their peers at Korean universities. These opportunities largely existed because the students' aspirations for their future aligned with Korea's national aspiration to be a global hub in Asia.

It is not incidental that IGC is located in Songdo, a newly constructed city within the Incheon Free Economic Zone. Songdo was initially designed to be a "purpose-built Hong Kong or Singapore to lure Western multinationals to set up shop" (Maresca, 2018); the United Nations Green Climate Fund, World Bank Korea, Cisco, and IBM are among the international agencies and companies that have already set up offices there, and the newly minted city has also hosted several international events such as the G20 Deputies Meeting, the Asian Games, the President's Cup and the UNESCO World Education Forum. IGC is seen as a key component for Songdo's overall success and continued growth as a global hub, and it is telling that IGC is under the purview of the Korean Ministry of Trade and not the Korean Ministry of Education. According to Hee Yhon Song, senior education-policy adviser to the Incheon government, "[W]ithout this university, the Songdo project will not succeed" (McNeill, 2009). Thus, university-industry linkages are encouraged and promoted as a selling point for potential IGC students who can then take advantage of internship, research, and future career opportunities within Songdo. According to promotional videos, Songdo is "the center of East Asia" and a place where opportunities abound for students to become "global elites" if they pursue their education at IGC (Incheon Global Campus, 2017). There is even a special center located within the main common buildings of the IGC campus that houses various start-up enterprises that are not directly related to any of the international branch campuses at IGC. Instead, the IGC Foundation leases out spaces for

start-ups to utilize where they can also have ready access to eager student interns.

Given the Korean agenda to strengthen its global position, IGC is touted as an ideal place to obtain a quality, Western-style education in an international environment where students can network with people from all over the world, thereby becoming the "next generation of global leaders" (University Relations Team, n.d.). Several students at IGC reinforced these notions when they reflected on their decision to attend IGC, and their belief that they would have better career prospects than their friends at Korean universities because they were exposed to internship opportunities early in their college career. For example, Nayeon explained:

> I heard that the most of Korean college provides internship with their seniors like *samhaknyeon/sahaknyeon* (3학년/4학년, or 3rd year/4th year), but I think IGC doesn't care much about our age because they just provide the opportunity to go to the internship. There is a lot of opportunities to work outside.

In fact, it was Nayeon's parents who also encouraged her to attend IGC because they were aware of the early internship opportunities for students. Nayeon recalled:

> 제가 UAC 간다고 했을 때 딱히 말리지 않으셨고 오히려 그냥 한국학교에 있는 학교에 가는 것 보다 여기가 인턴십 기회를 더 많이 주고 더 영어도 스피킹하는 걸 배울 수 있으니까 오히려 여기에 가라고 부모님이 먼저 말씀하였어요. 일단 영어로 말을 많이 하게 되잖아요. 그것도 도움이 되고 그리고 확실히 인턴십은 신입생이어도 신경을 안 쓰고 잘 지원을 해주더라구요. 그래서 그 점은 좋은 것 같아요
>
> When I said I was going to UAC, they didn't try to stop me. In fact, my parents first told me to go here because it would give more internship opportunities and I could learn to

> speak English better than just going to a Korean school. I could speak a lot of English here and that helps. Plus, they don't mind if you're a freshman—they support you with getting internship. So I think that's good.

As Nayeon explains, IGC not only enables students to improve their English skills, but also provides a concrete means for enhancing linguistic capital through practical applications of the language in internships. Moreover, students are able to benefit from the expansive social network capital that is built into their education since IGC also serves a purpose for the Korean government's ambition to become the central economic, cultural, and technological hub of Asia. The small student population at IGC allows proportionally more students to benefit from these opportunities than they otherwise would have at a Korean university. For example, Hanjae explained:

> After I came here, I think of times if I have gone to a Korean university, but I think that I might not have that experience I'm having right now to even study in the United States and the internships. Here we could have internships in global, international organizations. Last winter I had internship in the WHO (World Health Organization). We translated things that came from the WHO to the hospital in Korea and then we translate those things into Korean. Those transfer books go out to the entire mental hospitals in Korea.

Hanjae also drew a direct connection between how his internship directly enhanced his English language skills by comparing his situation to his friends at Korean universities, "Even the English... they really don't even know about English when they're in the universities, but we keep using English in here—in the internships also." Misun echoed Hanjae's belief that IGC, and the internship opportunities beyond campus, fostered improved English fluency as well as a global perspective. According to Misun:

> I can learn English more in here, by experiencing all the atmosphere. Also, I am doing all the writing things, and speaking, listening in English, so I think my English is *really* improving. And in George Mason, they are providing some internship opportunities that can help me to get some more perspectives in international studies. I also had an opportunity to work at the GCF (Global Climate Fund), for like a week. I helped them to successfully hold a—what was that—kind of conference thing. A lot of people from abroad came, and I helped them to register successfully, so it was a great opportunity. I checked all of their IDs, and most of them had the United Nations passport—like, they're specialists! It was *really fancy*. I really loved that experience of GCF.

As a Global Affairs major, Misun was especially pleased that her internship gave her direct experience with international organizations and events, which gave her a great sense of accomplishment and pride. She admitted, "I'm *really* proud of being a Mason student [laughs]!" Soyoung also worked at an international event during her time at IGC and was thrilled to be able to also use her Japanese skills—a language she had learned on her own—when Korea hosted the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. She recalled:

> Thanks to an instructor, I got to go to the Olympics. One of the professors said they need someone who speaks Japanese. So, I applied and he said, "Okay." I went to the Olympics and worked with the Japanese broadcasting. It was a really good experience and I got to meet so many people from all around the world there. I think it was the most valuable experience since I came to IGC.

For both Misun and Soyoung, IGC expanded their social network on an international level while also providing them with practical work experiences where they could apply their linguistic skills. In other words, these students were able to translate the abstract notion of

"global opportunities" into concrete experiences. These global opportunities were not restricted to Korea's boundaries either, as Dongsu's internship experience in Spain revealed. As Dongsu explained:

> 겨울 방학 때 한 인턴쉽이 IGC학생들만을 대상으로 한 인턴쉽이었는데 그때 제가 1학년이었는데 운 좋게 뽑혀가지고 1학년인데 경험해볼 수 없는 그런 마케팅 기획… 되게 많이 여러가지 일도 해볼 수 있고 해외 스페인 가서 전시회에서도 인베스터들 만나고 사람들이랑 커뮤니케이션하는 거 통해서 되게 많이 배우고 되게 많이 느꼈던 것 같아서 되게 값진 경험이었던 것 같아요.
>
> During winter break, there was an internship opportunity only for IGC students. Luckily, even though I was only a freshman then, I got to experience that marketing internship. I got to do a lot of different things, and I went overseas to Spain for an exhibition and met investors and I learned a lot communicating with people. I experienced a lot and it was a really valuable experience.

Dongsu's account emphasizes the functional aspects of English, which enabled him to complete various tasks in his internship and to interact with people from diverse backgrounds. Like the other students discussed in this section, Dongsu had a sense of ownership over the English language since it was a tool that enabled him to seize exciting global opportunities in ways that his peers at Korean universities may not have been able to. In other words, English usage was an active part of one's education and not merely an admissions criterion that did not serve a communicative function after it served its gatekeeping role. Furthermore, because their aspirations for global opportunities aligned with Korea's agenda to develop Songdo as a global

hub, students had greater access to remarkable internship opportunities that emphasized their inherent capacity for growth and development via English.

Summary

According to Crystal (2003) "Language is an immensely democratizing institution. To have learned a language is immediately to have rights in it. You may add to it, modify it, play with it, create in it, ignore bits of it, as you will" (p. 172). However, language acquisition occurs within a broader sociopolitical context that is characterized by unequal relations of power. As Byean (2015) notes, "the conjuncture of English and neoliberal globalization has triggered a class-based English divide among students" (p. 875). As a result, not all speakers in a linguistic exchange are seen as legitimate or of equal status, leading many speakers to lack a sense of ownership of the language. Furthermore, the overlapping fields and competing doxa of IGC—where US international branch campuses are physically located in a Korean city that aspires to be a "global hub"—have created a uniquely challenging environment where language represents contested ground.

For some Korean students, navigating between Korean and English language usage has deep implications for their sense of identity. This is because "it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to—or is denied access to—powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak" (Norton, 1997, p. 5). Thus, for students already facing insecurity and anxiety because they are entering a pedagogical space they are not familiar with and utilizing a language that is not their native tongue, using Korean outside the classroom served as a source of comfort, security, and camaraderie with their co-ethnic peers. Korean language usage also helped mute their awareness of the power differentials that existed

in their social networks because of unequal access to the types of English language education that promotes greater fluency (namely extensive *jogiyuhak*). Through these actions, these students reinforced doxic norms that language, ethnic identity, and geographical borders should coincide.

Students who did not abide by these doxa faced incidents of language hostility where they were rebuked for using English outside of the classroom when it was not strictly necessary. Several students described how they would proactively police their speech to avoid these negative encounters. This rejecting of English for the vernacular (i.e. Korean) represents an ideological orientation that Canagarajah (1999) refers to as a resistance perspective of power since they are working out "ideological alternatives that favor their own empowerment" (p. 2). Unfortunately, since Korean students chose to attend IGC precisely to gain English linguistic capital, these actions were also counterproductive to their end goals. Consequently, several students expressed disappointment with the linguistic environment at IGC. To mitigate their disappointment, some students thought about supplementing their English language education during holiday breaks or heading to the main campus in the US earlier than expected in their 3+1 study plan so they could be in a truly immersive English language environment.

Several students, however, embraced the notion of language potentiality since they largely framed their experiences with English language at IGC in terms of the benefits and advantages it afforded. These benefits included experiencing new types of relationships with professors and more senior students since English does not have hierarchical distinctions to the same degree as Korean. These students also felt a greater sense of ownership of the language and would also engage in code-mixing/code-switching and other creative uses of the language that felt comfortable to them. These students eschewed a binary view of language usage where they

felt compelled to speak Korean since if they could not be sure of speaking perfectly "correct" English. Instead, their decision to use English in their own way decentered the narrative that English only belongs to native speakers and signifies ways in which local Englishes can emerge to empower more students.

Many of these students also felt empowered because of the opportunities that were structurally built into their IGC education since their goal to gain global cultural capital aligned with Korea's broader goal to develop Songdo as a cultural and economic hub in Asia. As a result, many students described internship opportunities with international organizations and events that they were able to take advantage of early in their college careers. This allowed them to gain valuable work experience while also engaging in practical applications of their linguistic skills, which many interpreted as a key competitive edge they gained over their counterparts who attended Korean universities instead of IGC.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

According to A. H. Kim (2013), "the anticipated benefits of an overseas education on social mobility are influenced by the cultural and symbolic capital attached to places that are themselves positioned in a global education system" (p. 471). While Kim is specifically referring to overseas education, her observation also applies to transnational education since IGC students are oriented towards the acquisition of English and US education credentials, which are arguably the most valuable forms of capital in the global education system. The fact that the students in this study opted to take a chance on IGC despite its newness and Korean society's emphasis on rankings for domestic universities underscores the value of English and US university degrees, thereby highlighting the inextricable link between globalization, education, and social inequality.

This study has tracked students' pathways from their pre-college experiences with English and international education, their college choice process, and the nature of their experiences at IGC—which has yielded surprising results that are at times disempowering and/or empowering. Part 1 of the findings chapter highlighted how levels of financial, social, and cultural capital varied greatly among the students, which directly influenced the extent to which students were able to engage in international education and/or *jogiyuhak* (조기유학, or early study abroad). The differences in students' *jogiyuhak* experiences (including whether or not they even had the opportunity to engage in this strategy) illustrates how the highly competitive Korean education field has simply taken on a global dimension. All the students who engaged in *jogiyuhak* described it as a transformative experience, and particularly highlighted the linguistic gains they made by being immersed in English-speaking environments. However, students also acknowledged the conditional and relative nature of these gains and were sensitive to the fact that there were other students with more linguistic capital because they had the means to spend

more time overseas. Thus, the students illustrated how tenuous their linguistic gains could be since *jogiyuhak* was still intimately tied to the ongoing academic competition back in Korean society. The education arms race in Korea has simply transcended geographical borders, highlighting how attempts at social mobility via education cannot be separated from social reproduction via the same means for the students who already possess more capital.

While engaging in international education presumably yields significant benefits, the students' narratives about their sojourns made it clear that their gains were not always easy ones. Aside from issues regarding difficult transitions, tremendous financial costs, and the emotional toll of being homesick, isolated, and at times subject to racism, several students also faced significant challenges upon their return to Korean society. The students' improved English fluency often provoked feelings of envy and resentment from their peers who did not have the same opportunity to go overseas. In some cases, students were unable to successfully reintegrate into the high-pressure Korean education system and had to continue with *jogiyuhak* sojourns or transfer into an international school. These alternatives not only incurred significant additional costs, but also blunted the significant advantage they were to have gained in the Korean education landscape.

Part 2 explored the college choice process for the students, all of whom had been socialized to consider a college education as a given and to strive for admission into a prestigious domestic university. From the student narratives, two broad groupings of students emerged in terms of their motivations for choosing IGC. One group of students largely saw their decision to attend IGC as an ideal compromise given their circumstances. Generally, these students had engaged in *jogiyuhak* for a long time and had either considered, or had actually begun, a college education in the US when a combination of factors made it necessary for them to return to Korea.

For example, financial constraints or a desire for family reunification prompted students to return to Korea to continue their educational pathway. However, these students often experienced diminished returns on their investment in international education since they were not able to parlay their time abroad into admission to a prestigious Korean university. These students would have had to consider a less desirable university and/or major area of study or a gap year to do *jaesu* (재수, or repeat *suneung*), again representing diminished returns on their *jogiyuhak* experience. However, by choosing the newly created field of IGC, they became well-positioned to excel within this field because they already had extensive experience with speaking English and learning through Western pedagogies. In short, these students had cultivated a habitus well-suited to the environment of IGC.

For the second group of students, IGC represented an ideal opportunity to shape their habitus and gain more capital, particularly since these students generally had not engaged in extensive (or any) *jogiyuhak*. Some of these students also admitted that IGC was a last resort since they had not realized their initial college aspirations, whether it was getting accepted into a desirable Korean university or a particular major. By attending IGC, these students were able to reframe their educational narrative by stating that they were willing to take a chance on a new setting that could potentially yield greater rewards for them, both within and beyond Korea's borders.

Part 3 discussed the actual experience of being a student at IGC by focusing on the lived experiences of students through the lens of language usage. There were numerous contradictory experiences for the students at IGC because this transnational field consisted of overlapping fields and competing doxa. The institutions of IGC are physically located in Korea where Korean is the official language and despite decades of English language education as part of the national

curriculum, English is still not widely spoken. However, IGC is also located within Songdo, a newly constructed city within a free economic zone that was built with the express purpose of being a global hub of finance, culture, industry within Asia where English could potentially gain more prominence. Furthermore, three of the institutions at IGC are the international branch campuses of US universities, and English is the official medium of instruction for all the institutions at IGC. Despite this, the everyday interactions of students at IGC illustrated the complexities of navigating this space and how these overlapping fields and competing doxa could translate into negative experiences. Several students discussed the power of doxic norms such as speaking Korean outside of the classroom unless absolutely necessary. These rules even applied to Koreans who had spent extensive time overseas as well as Korean Americans, emphasizing how strongly the congruence of Korean language, ethnic identity, and geographical borders was upheld as an unquestionable norm. Abiding by these rules enabled Korean students to simplify the complexities of a transnational space like IGC while also finding refuge from the language insecurity and language anxiety they were also experiencing since English was not their native language. Under these circumstances, it can be quite understandable why students would resort to sticking with Korean language, particularly since Korean students comprise the majority of the IGC student body. However, these students also actively *chose* to attend IGC with the objective of extensively using (and improving) their English language skills, an opportunity that their peers at Korean universities do not have. However, since students experience language hostility and subsequently police their English language usage, they find themselves in an unfortunate paradox where they cannot fulfill their original intent to practice English.

Luckily, there were some students who, despite the tensions at IGC, remained oriented

towards their goal of gaining the global cultural capital they believed they could acquire at IGC. These students shared narratives that provided examples of language potentiality where they envisioned how English could open up new avenues of self-expression and new ways of imagining a successful future. These students were far more relaxed with their language usage because they were able to recognize how English was *not* just a standard to be evaluated against depending on their exam scores. Instead, they approached English as a tool that they could own and use to their liking. Consequently, they embraced the opportunity to speak in English—regardless of whether they made mistakes—because it enabled them to learn new things, meet new people, and take advantage of new opportunities. Furthermore, their individual aspirations and actions were bolstered by the structural opportunities built into their IGC education because of the larger sociopolitical context of Korea's desire for increased global significance. As a result, many students were able to have internship opportunities early in their college career; through these internships, they actively used their language skills, expanded their social networks, and had experiences that broadened their perspective of what was possible for their future career aspirations. In short, they were able to translate their abstract goal of gaining global cultural capital into concrete experiences.

Liminality

The findings of this study have highlighted multiple examples of how the IGC experience for Korean students in this unique transnational space is fundamentally characterized by the notion of liminality. The concept of liminality, which derives from the Latin *limen* for "threshold," was first developed by anthropologist Arnold van Gennep (1961) and further developed by Victor Turner (1969). Van Gennep discussed liminality in reference to the transition that occurs during rites of passage in small-scale societies, and Turner (1969)

elaborated on this transitory phase as one in which an individual is "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony" (p. 95), whether in traditional or modern societies. An individual can be said to leave behind their previous identity when they begin a rite of passage—such as attending college—but they have not yet developed their new identity as a post-college graduate. Consequently, these individuals exist in a state of inbetweenness where they stop being who they were but are not yet who they will become—instead, they stand at a threshold of infinite possibility and fluidity.

Even prior to college, many of the students at IGC had previous experiences as liminal beings because of their past *jogiyuhak* sojourns; these students ceased to be Korean students within the Korean education system as they dealt with being temporary migrants in a linguistically, culturally, and geographically foreign environment. Since students must have the means to engage in *jogiyuhak* through the possession of various forms of financial and/or social capital, these students generally had some level of privilege in Korean society. However, as they headed overseas, they found themselves in an in-between state where they were neither fully Korean nor fully of the country they inhabited. This was particularly true in the United States where a long history of racism created a hostile context of reception that rendered students as invisible or devalued beings despite the fact that they were expected to become highly privileged individuals upon their return to Korea. Yet several students discussed the challenge of (and sometimes failure to) reintegrate into Korean society, thereby emphasizing how they are in a constant state of flux and that their status is not set or determined.

Examining their college choice process further emphasized the fluid status of these students as nearly all students had to grapple with the fact that they had not achieved their ideal outcome, i.e. admission to a prestigious Korean university with the major of their choice. As

disappointed college applicants grappling with their remaining options, there were again in a liminal state characterized by an indeterminate future. Although several students had considered taking a gap year to reapply for Korean universities, all the students ultimately decided to have faith that the interplay between their capital and habitus would yield greater rewards in the novel, transnational field of IGC.

While the college experience can be said to render all students as liminal beings, this study has focused on the experiences of Korean students at IGC because the tensions that arise from the overlapping fields of IGC uniquely affect Korean students in especially significant ways. Because of IGC's physical location within Korea, Korean students at IGC have to navigate multiple and competing sets of doxa to position themselves advantageously while also avoiding negative interactions. When students discussed their everyday lived experiences at IGC, they described how the nature of their interactions with other students varied drastically depending on whether they were with Korean students who were uncomfortable or anxious about speaking in English, Korean students who felt more comfortable with using English outside the classroom, and international students from other countries, including the United States. This emphasized the extent to which they had to navigate IGC as liminal beings constantly in a state of flux as they determined which rules of the field to follow and adjust their practice accordingly. This also applied to their interactions with faculty and at staff at IGC, who were comprised of both Korean nationals and non-Korean foreigners. For Korean students, liminality is complicated by the fact that they are physically situated in Korea, and therefore never fully leave their previous identity behind. As a result, Korean students engage in additional labor as they navigate multiple layers of liminality which the other students at IGC do not face.

In fact, the non-Korean international students at IGC arguably face a less ambiguous

environment. While there are naturally challenges that arise from being in foreign environment, they do not face the same doxic tension as many Korean students who must constantly shift back and forth between the overlapping fields of IGC and their competing priorities and values on what's deemed acceptable and valuable. Furthermore, Korean students are vulnerable to facing more symbolic violence at IGC than other students because of their frequent movement between the seemingly opposing poles of "Koreanness" and "globalness" at IGC. Symbolic violence happens when acts of power are exercised to check another person's position; the violence is symbolic in that it does not require overt force and is often unseen yet powerfully felt. With each attempt to assess and navigate the relevant norms of a field, students face the potential to be misaligned with what other individuals in the field value. Hence, a student may be rebuked by their peers for trying to speak English outside of the classroom because they are tastelessly boasting about how they have acquired more linguistic capital—a feat that is often associated more with their family's access to resources than simply an individual's linguistic aptitude. The rebuke can take the form of questioning one's Koreanness or characterizing the student as a show-off. At the same time, this student may be harshly judged by another Korean student for having poor English skills, thereby undermining their legitimacy as an IGC student. Furthermore, this student may feel silenced in the classroom because they are unable to respond in a timely manner to a professor who moves on all too quickly because they have already received a response from a native English-speaking student. If the professor were to lament the fact the Korean students do not actively participate in class enough, they may inadvertently reinforce the insecurity of Korean students that they are products of a pedagogically inferior educational tradition.

The international students from the US contribute a uniquely challenging dynamic to the

IGC environment that Korean students must also navigate. Unlike typical international students who travel to a foreign land to attend a foreign university, many of the US students are attending the overseas location of their own home institution for a short period of time. Although they are said to "study abroad," they are essentially staying within their own familiar milieu since the international branch campuses at IGC are framed as extensions of the home universities in the US. Consequently, they are not subject to an unfamiliar medium of instruction in terms of language or pedagogy and are therefore in a position of great privilege when compared to most of their Korean counterparts. This creates an environment where US students may also feel tempted to claim ownership of this transnational environment in ways that further disadvantage Korean students. For example, at a town hall meeting for one of the international branch campuses, a student from the US made a general complaint about how she felt the Korean students needed to make more of an effort to speak English outside of class. She also expressed frustration that the Korean students did not pay sufficient attention in class when other students were speaking aloud. She concluded her comments by stating, "It's an *American* university." Interestingly, she then added "I'm sorry, I know that sounds really Western," as if to temper her rebuke. However, her comments highlight how students from the US may not fully understand the extent to which they are benefiting from the hegemony of US education and English language in ways that international students from other countries typically do not.

Responding to Liminality. Liminality in and of itself is neither positive or negative; it is neutral in that is simply delineates the state of existing betwixt and between two distinct phases of being. However, I would argue that many of the Korean students at IGC interpret their experiences of liminality negatively since it entails additional labor that is neither acknowledged nor appreciated. Hence, they may find liminality to represent a burden as they manage the

feelings of disappointment, insecurity, and frustration that arise from their linguistic encounters with others.

However, as discussed in the latter part of Chapter 4, there are students who have managed to embrace liminality. These students are thriving at IGC by taking advantage of the opportunities that are structurally built into their IGC education as well as the opportunities they manifest through their positive framing of their college experiences. They embrace their bilingual, bicultural identity and how it enables benefits unique to them, such as creative self-expression and language usage while within their comfort of their home country. By not being fully displaced, several students discussed how IGC also served as a training ground for the future displacement they would face during the year of study abroad at the home campus, and potentially even for a future career beyond Korea's borders. This future orientation also went hand in hand with a "pioneer" narrative that many of them adopted to deal with any disappointments they had with the present state of affairs at IGC. They admitted that IGC was very new, not fully developed, of a very small scale, and not always what they expected. However, they couched these negative impressions as challenges to overcome as they helped to build up the school for future students. As "pioneers," they took great pride in being part of the inaugural population of students and believed that this would directly translate into foundational skills for their future as global citizens who can take advantage of the opportunities both within and beyond Korea's borders. In addition, they believe they would be more competitive in global fields, whether at an overseas company or at an international organization located in Korea, than their counterparts at Korean universities.

Implications for Educators

This study has demonstrated how the transnational field of IGC is highly-layered and

complicated, particularly for Korean students who comprise the vast majority of the student body. It is imperative for the educators and administrators at IGC to understand the complex dynamics these students face to best support them through their educational journey. As previously mentioned, transnational educational settings such as IGC may be evaluated negatively because of a perception that the domestic students are not speaking enough English within the campus. However, such an assessment is acontextual and ignores how international branch campuses can actually be sites of immense power differentials and class tensions that may compel some students to use Korean even more as a refuge from the stress and symbolic violence they may be subjected to as liminal beings.

According to Land (Center for Engaged Learning, 2019), liminality is a transitory and anxious phase—"a journey where you go through a portal into a new space" that requires you to also *become* different; it is "a space of changed being" (2:25). Land and his colleagues identified the importance of recognizing the affective dimension of liminality, which often result in powerful emotions such as frustration, fear, and even trauma. However, Timmermans (Center for Engaged Learning, 2019) discusses how these negative feelings can be addressed:

> Liminality can be a space for well-being if we think differently about what we can accomplish in that space. I'm excited about thinking differently, not only the way teachers can think differently about the liminal space, and then shape that liminal experience for students, but then how students can come to think about the liminal spaces as a place where well-being is fostered, and that well-being is something that doesn't always look like positivity and happiness; that there's a more nuanced, complex perception of what well-being is that involves some of this discomfort, for example, that accompanies the liminal space (4:05).

In short, students and educators essentially need to lean into the discomfort that may naturally arise from liminality because it provides valuable opportunities for growth. Under these circumstances, in-service training for educators must take a proactive role in encouraging educators to confront their own biases so they don't rely on what is familiar and convenient. For example, it may be all too easy for professors to simply focus on the students who already have the linguistic capital to actively engage in class and participate—e.g. students from the US or countries where English is widely spoken as a foreign language. Since international branch campuses sometimes struggle to keep their overseas location staffed with faculty, other considerations such as training which covers pedagogical dynamics, implicit biases, and the sociopolitical context of Korean society so educators can better understand how class tensions and linguistic imperialism underscore many student interactions.

The cultural shift that needs to take place at IGC must also extend beyond educators. In fact, it is especially important for students from the US to better understand the nuances of the IGC context. US students who frame IGC as merely an extension of their home campus in the US fail to recognize the broader context of power that characterizes the global education landscape—these students have the privilege of pursuing their education in their native language and familiar pedagogies that have shaped their habitus their whole lives. Without programming interventions, these students may not even be aware of the ways in which they could be committing symbolic violence against other students who feel they have a more tenuous claim to legitimacy in the transnational space of IGC. These interventions could take the form of pre-sojourn workshops at the main campus in the US, additional orientations at the IGC campus for those who identify as non-native English speakers, and programs for all students that bring these difficult topics out in the open. One such programming example includes intergroup dialogue,

which entails face-to-face facilitated conversations with the aim of creating new levels of understanding between groups with distinct social identities (Zúñiga, 2003).

Another important strategy for the institutions at IGC to consider is the recruitment of more international students from countries outside the US. Non-native English speakers from non-Western regions such as Asia, Latin America and Africa represent a very important population at IGC because of their ability to decenter US "native speakers" of English from positions of privilege and authority in this space. As Osborn (2000) notes, linguistic diversity is marginalized when "American English" is deemed superior; "Only by approaching linguistic diversity as a norm, and not an aberration requiring a special approach, will we begin to move toward a form of social justice in language education" (p. 161).

Future Research

Since English as the medium of instruction is one of the defining characteristics of IGC, it is critical to take a closer look at what happens within the classroom. This is especially important for observing non-native speakers of English since this is often the primary setting in which they utilize their English skills. Unfortunately, limitations of time and resources precluded additional data collection from faculty members and classroom observations, but future researchers should strive to gain insight from these settings and the perspectives of the faculty members who oversee these spaces.

Also, since IGC is still such a new institution, there is very little understanding of the long-term impact of obtaining a degree from this transnational environment. Longitudinal studies and research that follows up on the career pathways of graduates will provide invaluable information on how an IGC degree translates into different forms of capital in both domestic and global settings. Additionally, there have only been a few cohorts of students who have fulfilled

their 1-year requirement overseas at the home campus. Given this study's focus on the interplay of capital, habitus, and field, as well as the experience of liminality for students who must navigate overlapping fields and competing doxa, it will be important to understand how student experiences in the US relate to the overall IGC experience.

Another potential avenue for research focuses on the broader context of the global education landscape, especially with regards to how the US's value as a destination for international study has weakened significantly in the wake of the Trump administration and its harsh rhetoric and policies on immigration (Mitchell, 2020). In contrast, Korea has continued to cultivate its soft power, particularly through the popularity of its cultural and media products and technologies (C. M. Lee, n.d.). Furthermore, the coronavirus pandemic's impact on international mobility as well as the US's poor handling of the health crisis compared to Korea's relatively stronger response has the potential to increase the attractiveness of IGC's international branch campuses as opposed to the main campuses located in the US. Since power relations in a field are always influenced by a larger context of power, research that examines the seismic shifts in the local, national, and global educational landscape and its impact on student interactions at IGC would be especially insightful.

Conclusion

While education is often touted as an essential tool for social mobility, this study has highlighted the many ways in which education has also served to reproduce social inequality by maintaining and reinforcing power differentials between students. While Bourdieu (1973) does not discount the possibility of social mobility through education, he makes it clear that only the controlled mobility of a few individuals takes place and that structural inequalities within a society remain largely unchanged. Thus, IGC ultimately upholds English and US hegemony in

education, although it does enable its students to capitalize on these inequalities in ways that can benefit them as they prepare for their future careers in an ever-globalizing world.

IGC undoubtedly offers tangible benefits for students who attend, but students must also manage their expectations to make the most gains. Admittedly, IGC is not fully or firmly established, whether in terms of its infrastructure, physical facilities, academic programs, and reputation. But as a small, intimate campus, students can develop close faculty relationships and have a greater likelihood of getting involved with leadership positions on campus and internship experiences off campus—conditions which may be considerably less likely for Korean students when they attend large universities domestically or overseas. Furthermore, these students can take an active part in making history as they help to build and shape IGC into an academic institution they will be proud of years down the road. Since IGC is also expected to grow in conjunction with Songdo city, IGC graduates may find that their local context is rich with new opportunities, particularly if the Korean state continues to invest in strategies to raise its global significance.

Ideally, the passage of time will also enable more Korean students to "develop an emancipatory awareness of 'ownership'" (Ng & Dodge, n.d., p. 54) of English language, particularly since "Against the backdrop of globalization, English is no longer the sole property of its native speakers" (Fang, 2017, p. 65). This is a key point since native English speakers have acquired a valuable form of linguistic capital that has significant material and social value in the world market" simply by virtue of birthright (Harrison, 2008, p. 1095); their linguistic advantages reflect the broader context of global power and inequality—not individual merit or skill. However, as new varieties of English continue to emerge, "native speaker" ideologies will be supplanted by notions of English as a lingua franca where bilingual and bicultural individuals

like IGC graduates can take better advantage of a global landscape rich with possibilities. Thus, while IGC may not fundamentally address issues of social inequality within Korean society, the potential exists for IGC to profoundly impact the structure of global power relations as it relates to education and English language.

APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT FLIER

A research study is looking for interview participants who are:

. SUNY-K, GMUK, UAC students

. At least 18 years old

. Korean citizens

The study involves **two interview sessions**.

Each interview will be **1-2 hours** long.

You will receive **40,000 KRW** for your time.

-Personal, identifying information will remain confidential.

-Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time.

If interested, please contact:

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010-2019-2189 [redacted] ◆ Kakao ID: lotuslee21 [redacted]

UCLA IRB Protocol #19-000081

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Personal Background
   - Can you tell me about your family, like what your parents do, and whether you have any brothers or sisters?
   - Could you tell me about where you were born and where you mostly grew up?
   - In what countries have you lived in, and how would you describe those experiences?
   - Which languages do you speak, and how did you learn these languages?
   - Do you have any other citizenship besides South Korean citizenship?

2. Prior Educational Background
   - What was your schooling like for kindergarten, elementary, junior, and high school?
     - In which countries did you attend these schools?
     - What was the language of instruction during your pre-college education?
   - Have you ever been involved in study abroad? Can you tell me about that experience?

3. Choosing Incheon Global Campus
   - How did you learn about Incheon Global Campus?
     - What were your first impressions of this new opportunity to "study abroad" at home?
   - Why did you decide to attend Incheon Global Campus?
   - What role, if any, did your family play in your college choice process?
   - What other higher education options did you think about before starting at Incheon Global Campus?
     - Did you consider studying overseas? Why or why not? Where would you have gone?
     - Did you consider attending a Korean university? Why or why not?
   - What is your major, and why did you decide to study this area? What other majors/programs were of interest to you?

4. The Incheon Global Campus Experience
   - What kind of expectations did you have about being an Incheon Global Campus student?
   - What do you think about your academic program and your classes?
     - What has been the biggest challenge for you in the classroom?
   - What kind of challenges have you faced as a student at Incheon Global Campus?
     - What has the adjustment/transition process been like as an IGC student?
   - What are your favorite classes? Why?
   - Who are your favorite faculty/staff members? Why?
   - What are your thoughts and impressions about your fellow Incheon Global Campus students?

- What is a typical day like for you? Can you walk me through it?
- Where do you spend most of your time on campus?
- What reactions have you gotten from others outside of Incheon Global Campus about your status as an IGC student?
- If you have experienced the domestic Korean education system, what kind of differences have you noticed in your IGC education?
- In what ways has attending an American international branch campus been valuable?
- What does "global" mean to you? How does this definition relate to your experiences at Incheon Global Campus?

5. Social Life
   - Can you tell me about your friends/ social network at IGC?
     - How are your friends similar to/different from you?

   LANGUAGE
   - How does language and culture affect your social life and interactions with your friends?
   - How comfortable/natural is it to use English outside of the classroom?
   - How would you rate your English language proficiency (upper intermediate, lower advanced, upper advanced, native speaker) in reading? Writing? Listening? Speaking?
   - Which language are you *most* comfortable using overall? Korean English

   EXTRACURRICULAR
   - What extracurricular activities are involved with?
     - School FB page; online involvement?
   - What do you do on the weekends?
   - What is it like to live in Songdo?
     - Have been some of the benefits/challenges of living in a new city like Songdo?

6. Post College Life
   - What are your goals after college?
     - Do you see yourself staying in Korea or going overseas? Why or why not?
   - In what ways do you think your experience at IGC will help you achieve your goals?

7. Korean Language Follow-Up Questions
   - 부모님이 대학 계획에 어떤 영향을 미쳤다고 생각해요?
   - IGC 에 대한 첫인상은 어땠어요? /
   - 여기 오기전에 IGC 에대해 알고 싶었던 점은 뭐있어요?
   - IGC 의 장단점은 무엇이라고 생각해요?
   - IGC 는 어떻게 개선 할 수 있다고 생각해요?

- IGC 다녔다고 걱정거리가 있어요?
- IGC 다녀서 제일 어려운 점은 무엇입니까?
- IGC 에서 이루어진 업적 얘기해주세요.
- IGC 에 참석하는 것이 자기의 목표에 어떻게 도움이 된다고 생각해요?
- 한국과 미국 교육의 차이점은 무엇이라고 생각해요?

8. Places/Facilities/Services

- Where do you spend time on campus (refer to map)?
- Can you describe your school building to me?
- Where do you spend time off campus (refer to map)?
- Where do you go to study?
- Where do you go for student services?
- For what reasons do you visit the housing office?
- Where do you go to socialize with friends?
- Where do you go for extracurricular activities?
- How do you make use of the library and its services (including library app and book drop off)?
- How do you feel about IGC being a coed campus (both men and women attend), but not a coed dormitory environment?

9. People

- Which faculty members have you interacted with?
- Which administrative staff have you interacted with?
- Have you had visitors at IGC (friends, family)? What have been their impressions of IGC?

10. Media/Tech

- What kinds of school-related websites or social media apps do you use (Facebook pages for school or IGC; forums; Kakao; registration; etc…)
- What resources do you use for schoolwork (i.e. software/hardware/websites)?

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