



“I Feel Ashamed For Not Speaking English Well”: Perceptions of English Learning Across Generations*

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study is to investigate how Koreans of different generations perceive their English education in light of the historical, social, and economic changes that have occurred in South Korea. Most studies exploring learners’ perceptions on English have usually relied on quantitative measures, such as surveys or questionnaires. The few studies that have adopted a mixed-method approach have not adequately considered the context within which people learn English. To investigate learners’ perceptions in the given context, this study conducted interviews with 20 participants from five different cohorts—four participants from each age group: 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s, and 60s—and analyzed the data using thematic analysis. Several key themes emerged from the data regarding their English education. This paper focuses on two common themes identified across all the generations, highlighting both similarities and differences: emotions related to English education and the role of English in Korea. Participants’ feelings toward English education seemed to deepen over time, shifting from regret to confidence. This shift occurred despite the limited practical use of English in Korean society, where it primarily functions as a significant screening tool during critical moments in their lives. These findings highlight the importance of raising awareness among learners and stakeholders about the role of English in society and its impact on English education.

KEYWORDS

Korean learners of English, English education, perceptions, generations

1. Introduction

In Kachru's (1992a, 1992b) original model, Korea belonged to the expanding circle where English was not used outside the school, but was only adopted as a foreign language. However, as English has expanded across all the countries as a global language, several scholars have critiqued Kachru's model. For example, Bruthiaux (2003) argued that Kachru's model primarily focused on political and historical contexts, so it needed to be updated in accordance with various political and historical changes that have occurred for several decades. Currently, the number of non-native speakers has significantly expanded, which suggests that English no longer belongs exclusively to native speakers in the Inner Circle. Furthermore, English used by nonnative speakers has undergone nativization, which has made it more suitable for local contexts by affecting various aspects such as pronunciation, morphology, lexicons, syntax, semantics and pragmatics (Matsuda 2012).

To better reflect these contemporary dynamics, several scholars have attempted to provide an alternative model to Kachru's. For example, criticizing Kachru's prescriptive view of the Inner Circle's English as a norm, Modiano (1999) focuses on English as an International Language (EIL). In this model, the role of non-native speakers plays a more important role than that of so-called native speakers. According to him, even native speakers who have difficulties with communicating with fluent non-native speakers with strong accents and dialects are not considered fluent speakers of English. As shown in Figure 1, Modiano's model categorizes people into proficient English speakers, learners, and those who do not know English, depending on their proficiency levels. Therefore, those who used to belong to the Outer or Expanding Circles in spite of speaking English quite fluently, are now integrated into the group of proficient speakers along with those who used to belong to the Inner Circle group. According to Modiano, English proficiency and norms should no longer be confined to geographical locations; rather, English learners are categorized depending on their proficiency levels.

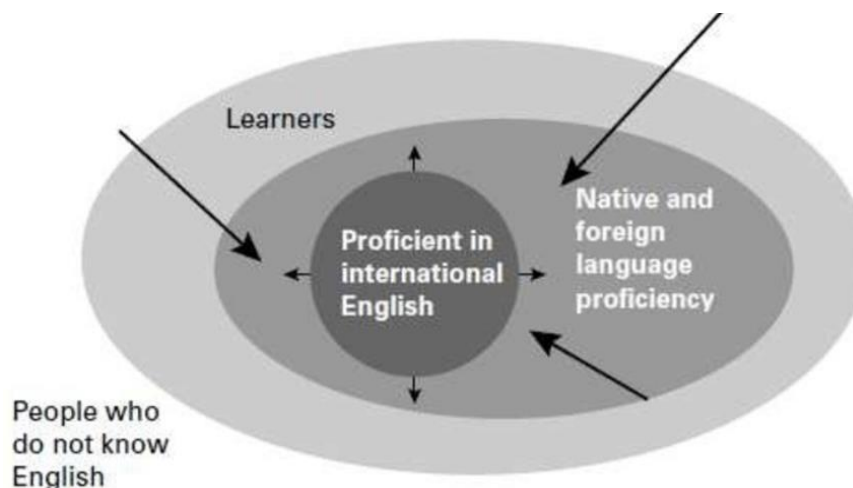


Figure 1. Modiano's Centripetal Circles of International English

While these scholars have attempted to address changes in the status of various types of English speakers through top-down approaches, such as their own perspectives on English, bottom-up perspectives—those that seek to understand how English speakers themselves perceive their own learning experiences—remain largely overlooked. Moreover, as the world has been more closely connected through globalization, it is necessary to

investigate how people who speak English as a foreign language (EFL) perceive their English learning experiences in their own society. Korea is one of the representative cases where educational and societal policies have undergone dramatic changes within a short period of time. Since the Korean War (1950-1953), Korea has been under great influence from the United States, so English proficiency was considered useful at that time for efficient communication with American people. Today, however, English has become an inevitable element of everyday life, with vast amounts of time and money spent on English education. Therefore, it is both necessary and insightful to investigate how the Korean people who went through these changes in the status of English feel about their English learning experience. In particular, it would be meaningful to see how their perceptions of English learning have changed across generations. In order to examine this issue, this study explores how Korean learners' perceptions have changed for several decades alongside the contextual changes in Korea, including its cultural and historical changes, by interviewing 20 Koreans of five different cohorts—four participants from each of the age groups: 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s, and 60s.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Studies on Learners' Attitudes and Perceptions

Most studies that have investigated how English learners perceive their English education focus on EFL contexts, particularly in regions like Southeastern and Middle Eastern countries (Alkaff 2013, Herwiana and Laili 2021, Larasati and Simatupangn 2020, Tahaineh and Daana 2013, Zulfikar et al. 2019). Among these, the focus has primarily been on Indonesian learners' perceptions of English. For example, Herwiana and Laili (2021) administered a questionnaire on 24 fourth and fifth grade elementary school students. They were from two urban schools and two rural schools where English was taught as an extra-curricular subject. Although most of them answered quite positively about English, their English competence was comparatively low. Herwiana and Laili attributed the low proficiency to inappropriate teaching methods that failed to tailor to the students' intellectual abilities and argued for a more systematic national-level curriculum.

On the other hand, Larasati and Simatupangn (2020) and Zulfikar et al. (2019) used a semi-structured interview method to investigate Indonesian learners of English. Larasati and Simatupangn interviewed five male and five female undergraduate students in Jakarta and found that most of them had positive attitudes toward English, and that social status and educational access had a close relationship with their attitudes. Zulfikar et al. (2019) interviewed six Indonesian college students who majored in English to see their cognitive, emotional, and behavioral attitudes toward English learning, and found mostly positive attitudes in all the three aspects toward their English learning. Based on these findings, they argued that to the Indonesian participants, English had become an integral part of their lives.

Several studies have explored Middle Eastern learners' perceptions of English. For example, Alkaff (2013) studied how English learners perceive their English learning in Saudi Arabia, and Tahaineh and Daana (2013) examined how Jordanian learners of English perceive their English learning. Both of them conducted a large-scale questionnaire. Alkaff distributed a questionnaire to 47 Saudi Arabian first English students whose levels were pre-intermediate and intermediate levels and who majored in science and arts. The results revealed that most of them had positive attitudes toward English learning and tried to improve their English abilities in spite of many difficulties, such as the lack of vocabulary knowledge or lack of opportunities to practice English outside the classroom.

Tahaineh and Daana (2013) administered a questionnaire to 184 Jordanian university students who majored in English language and literature and found positive attitudes toward English learning for mostly instrumental reasons such as practical and academic reasons, but low integrative reasons. In Jordan, English has been taught as a compulsory subject from the age of 6 until they are admitted into universities, where instructions are in English. In addition, many Jordanians emigrate to other English-speaking countries to seek better education or job opportunities, so English has been considered to bring a lot of economic, educational, and technological benefits.

There have also been some studies that examined how Korean learners of English perceive English education as well. For example, Kim and Kim (2015) conducted a questionnaire on 130 pre-service university students to see their motivations and attitudes toward learning English and found that 'the ideal L2 self' and 'positive attitudes toward English speakers' were the most dominant factors that affected their motivation and attitudes toward English learning and that both factors highly correlated to each other. In the similar vein, Ahn and Kang (2017) studied Korean learners' perceptions on English learning by administering a questionnaire on 101 university students. They found that some factors, like 'successful communication takes two parties,' 'English is a means for upward mobility in the society,' and 'desire to communicate with both non-Standard and Standard English speakers' predicted well teachers' assessment of student English ability (16%) while 'I can speak English,' 'English is a lingua franca,' and 'I value non-Standard English' predicted 22% of variance in student evaluation. Based on these findings, they argued that not only learners' attitudes towards native speakers or their communities, but also their attitudes towards different English varieties and their speakers, including NNSs, can also affect the learners' achievement.

As seen above, however, these perception studies have mostly used quantitative methods, by adopting a large-scale questionnaire or survey, failing to hear each individual student's voices. In order to fill this gap, some studies have attempted a mixed-method approach by adopting an interview as well as a large-scale questionnaire. For example, Ha and Kim (2014) conducted a survey on 59 college students and found that the lack of prerequisite knowledge was the main factor causing their failure in English learning. In spite of these failures, however, generally they had positive perceptions about the role of English and their motivation for learning English. In addition to the survey, they also interviewed four out of these 59 participants. However, they used this qualitative data as a means of confirming the quantitative results they found. Lim (2020) also adopted a mixed-method approach by conducting a survey as well as interviews. Through the analysis of the survey which was conducted on 54 elementary students, she found that the majority of students thought that English is essential in order to survive in this globalized world and that English proficiency is important to communicate with other countries' people. But mostly they considered American or British English as the standard Englishes. Out of these 54 participants, Lim interviewed three students but only used the data to confirm the results of the questionnaire as Ha and Kim (2014) did.

The scarcity of studies employing a qualitative approach has revealed several limitations in understanding EFL learners' perceptions of their English learning experiences. Specifically, the individual voices of learners remain unheard, and the contextual factors influencing their English learning are often overlooked. Recently, Kim (2022) conducted in-depth interviews with eight college freshmen to see how they perceive English and analyzed the data using thematic analysis. He found three major themes: the students believed that English learning is a tool for living as a global citizen and as a chance to improve their quality of life; lastly, he also found that they think English learning is necessary for them to get a good job and communicate in the workplace after getting a job. Unfortunately, he did not consider how the Korean context where English has been taught as a major foreign language for several decades has affected these learners' perceptions; had he taken into account this contextual factor in his analysis of the interview data, more insightful findings might have been obtained.

According to Bourdieu (1990), the habitus shared by a certain group of people contributes to the produce of perceptions among the people who live there:

Because the *habitus* is an infinite capacity for generating products—thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions—whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioned and conditional freedom it provides is as remote from creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from simple mechanical reproduction of the original conditioning.
(Bourdieu 1990, p. 55)

Bourdieu's concept of habitus gives us freedom, which is not bound by fixed or predetermined actions but is conditioned by the particular historical, social, and cultural context where we are embedded. Applied to learner perceptions on English learning, this concept of habitus means that learners' perceptions of English learning are inseparable from the context where they have lived, and cannot help being located under the influence of historical, social, and cultural boundaries where they have lived. And thus, it is necessary to take into account the context where the learners have learned English in order to elucidate how they perceive their English education. At the same time, as Bourdieu argues that people's perceptions are not stable, but dynamic under the influx of new forces of history and society, it is also necessary to examine how second language learners' perceptions on English learning have changed across generations. For these reasons, this study aims to explore how Korean learners of English perceive their English education, depending on the time when they have lived and answer the following research questions:

1. How do Korean learners of English perceive their English education in light of the historical, social, and economic changes in South Korean?
 - 1.1. What are their emotional experiences across different generations?
 - 1.2. What social roles do they associate with English education in South Korea?

2.2 English Education in Korea

Korean policies on English education have undergone significant changes during the time when the participants of this study were learning English. Since this study aims to explore their perceptions of English education and the English language itself, it is essential to examine how Korean educational policies evolved during this period. Following liberation from Japan, several English education policies were established based on national and societal needs (Kwon and Kim 2010). As a result, the English curriculum has undergone seven reformations during the period relevant to the group of people interviewed in this study. Table 1 summarizes the key ideas of each reform.

Table 1. History of Korean National Curricula

The National Curriculum	English Education
The First National Curriculum (1954-1963): The introduction of English education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English was introduced to middle school as a selective course out of the four foreign languages (English, German, French, and Chinese) • Emphasis placed on learning basic sentence patterns of English, communicating in English, and understanding English-speaking countries' cultures
The Second National Curriculum (1963): The stabilization of English education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English as a required subject in secondary school (more weight given to it than in the First Curriculum) • The goal of English education was changed from learner-centered education to society centered education

The Third National Curriculum (1973): Knowledge-centered Curriculum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of basic sentence patterns of English and grammatical structures • Reinstitution of learning the grammar of English • Unification of English textbooks (only one textbook) • Recognition of English as an international language • Increase of middle school English class hours per week
The Fourth National Curriculum (1981) (human-centered curriculum): Upbringing of the Korean people as autonomous and creative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis placed on living English • Authorized high school English textbooks • Reduction of the quantity of the learning contents • Selection of topics related to student interests, needs, and cognitive levels • Reincrease of middle school English class hours per week • Start of elementary school English education as extracurricular activities • Authorization of foreign languages in high school • Focus given on development of conversation skills • Emphasis placed on living English, learning language skills rather than grammar, for national and social needs • The use of audio-visual materials
The Fifth National Curriculum (1987): Education for humanity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on spoken language over written language to advertise the democratic characteristics of the new government, but use of structural syllabus • Authorized middle school English textbooks as well as high school textbooks • Revision of the nation-wide college entrance examination (CSAT) including listening test items in English
The Sixth National Curriculum (1992): Focus on science and technology and environmental education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening of foreign languages education including English education/start of elementary school English as a regular subject (1997) • The goal of English education for national development and globalization • Focus on learning English for practical purposes • The Communicative Approach, anti-grammar teaching, and functional syllabus • Learner-centered education • Introduction of various high school elective subjects such as English reading, conversation, and Business English • Use of audio-visual materials including computer (Video tapes for elementary school English textbooks) • Employment of foreign teachers (native speakers)
The Seventh National Curriculum (1997) for the 21 st century globalization and information society: A national common basic curriculum, open education for the 21 st century high-tech industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The goal of English education for national development and globalization: Focus on positive attitudes toward being a world citizen (focus on everyday English and communicative abilities); and on the formation of national community and national development • National elementary school English textbook (single textbook policy for elementary school English in 2000) • Learner-centered education: differentiated curriculum (individualization of learning); elective subjects in high school • Focus on learning of oral language • Performance assessment • Multimedia-assisted language learning (ICT): CD-ROM titles for elementary and secondary school English textbooks

Note: Adapted from Choi (2006)

In the First National Curriculum, English was taught as a selective course out of the four foreign languages—English, German, French, and Chinese, and emphasis was placed on developing skills like making a grammatical sentence, communicating, and understanding about the cultures of English-speaking countries. Since the Second National Curriculum was introduced in 1963, English had become a mandatory subject in middle schools, reflecting its increasing importance. During this period, the educational focus was on society-centered education. The main goal was to encourage students to develop their English skills, aiming to use these skills to contribute to

society rather than solely focusing on individuals' achievement.

In the Third National curriculum (1973-1974), only one English textbook was used per school year, and it specifically included essential grammar points. As a result, all participants in this study received grammar instruction in school. Additionally, due to the government's workforce planning, which required skilled human resources, many students struggled with the considerable volume and complexity of the English material. However, the Fourth National Curriculum allowed the use of several authorized high school English textbooks. In line with a human-centered curriculum, there was reduction in the quantity of the learning content, and the focus shifted from grammar-based learning to conversational skills. Accordingly, audio-visual materials, such as videotapes, began to be used in elementary school textbooks, and there was an influx of native English speakers. Furthermore, in 1984, Foreign Language High schools including Daeil, Daewon, and Hanyoung, were established. These schools provided students with intensive foreign language education and opportunities to interact in English with native speakers (Lee 2015). As English education shifted to focus on oral proficiency, during the implementation of the Fifth Curriculum, listening components were introduced in the CSAT (College Scholastic Aptitude Test), the new college entrance examination, which was announced in 1991. However, a structural syllabus was still used during this period; thus, emphasis remained on grammar rules and rote learning.

The introduction of the CSAT, in the Sixth National Curriculum, brought about a major revision in English education. According to Lee (2015), this reform represented a substantial development as it shifted the focus from memorization to the requirement of logical reasoning, creativity, and integrative thinking skills. Since the CSAT became the sole criterion for college admissions in 1997, the entire education system has increasingly focused on this exam. Regarding this educational fervor, Seth (2002) noted that Korea has numerous cram schools, known as hagwons, where students of all levels often study late into the night to prepare for the CSAT. As a result, the CSAT has deeply influenced both the content and methods of English instruction in schools. Consequently, many teachers prioritized teaching grammar and vocabulary, which are heavily tested in the CSAT. During the same period, in 1997, English was adopted as a regular subject in elementary schools.

The Seventh National Curriculum shifted its focus towards developing communicative skills and encouraging positive attitudes necessary for global citizenship. Simultaneously, as the emphasis on learner-centered education grew, the new curriculum was designed to accommodate various learning levels. Since the Seventh National Curriculum, there have been frequent partial reforms based on the recognized need for changes. Following the government's initiative, many English institutes including public schools and private language schools have intensified their teaching of English, recognizing it as a crucial language. To this day, the enthusiasm for English education remains high (Chung and Choi 2016). Interestingly, according to Kwon's (2013) research, the reduction of students' burden to learn English in school has consistently been a focal point in national-level curriculum reforms. As a result, although the scope of the English subject expanded, the amount of vocabulary recommended for study did not significantly increase from the initial period. However, the extensive prevalence of private education in Korea indicates that efforts by the Ministry of Education to lessen the study workload did not significantly alleviate learners' burdens.

As seen here, Korean policies on English education have drastically changed within this short period of time. These changes must have affected individual learners' perceptions on English learning, and their perceptions must change depending on under what foreign language policies they were educated.

3. Method

3.1 Participants

The participants of this study are 20 Koreans from various age groups. To recruit them, the snowball sampling method was employed to facilitate targeted data collection tailored to the research objectives. First, one of the authors began interviewing a few initial participants, carefully chosen based on their relevance to the study. These participants then assisted by recommending other potential participants. The participants were divided into five cohorts, each comprising four participants. The cohorts consisted of participants in their 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s, and 60s. They were separated over a period of approximately ten years, based on the fact that the Korean educational curriculum underwent reforms at roughly ten-year intervals as seen in Table 1. Participants in the first cohort were born between 1956 and 1962; the second cohort, between 1970 and 1971; the third cohort, between 1975 and 1982; the fourth cohort, between 1985 and 1991; and the fifth cohort, between 1997 and 2003. There was an overall gender distribution of 10 males and 10 females; however, the gender distribution varied within each cohort group (See Table 2). Participants from all cohorts had previous work experience, except for the fifth cohort (three undergraduates and one graduate) and one housewife from the third cohort. Their fields of work were diverse, including a graphic artist, a real estate agent, IT engineers, and office workers. All participants in the fifth cohort were studying at a university, each with a different major such as engineering, fashion design, and English literature.

Table 2. Demographic Information of Study Participants¹

Cohort	Name	Gender	Year of Birth	Professions	Employed (At the time of interview)
1 st	Young-Soo Park	M	1956	Retiree	No
	Myung-Hee Lee	F	1960	Housewife	No
	Jong-Su Kim	M	1961	Entrepreneur	Yes
	Hee-Sook Jung	F	1962	Housewife	No
2 nd	Han-Seok Bae	M	1970	Industrial Designer	Yes
	Jung-Hee Yoo	F	1970	Housewife	No
	Mi-Kyung Jung	F	1970	Housewife	No
	Hye-Jung Moon	F	1971	Graphic Artist	Yes
3 rd	Eun-Jin Cho	F	1975	Housewife	No
	Sang-Jun Cho	M	1979	IT Engineer	Yes
	Jun-Young Park	M	1980	Accountant	Yes
	Hyun-Soo Sim	M	1982	Public Sector Engineer	Yes
4 th	Ji-Hoon Yoon	M	1985	Financial & Insurance Manager	Yes
	Hye-Rin Jeon	F	1988	Housewife	No
	Yoo-Jin Yang	F	1989	Real Estate agent	Yes
	Na-Yeon Cho	F	1991	Office worker in the financial team	Yes
5 th	Min-Jae Noh	M	1997	Graduate	No
	Hyun-Woo Lee	M	1999	Undergraduate	No
	Yu-Na Lee	F	2002	Undergraduate	No
	Ji-Hoo Ham	M	2003	Undergraduate	No

¹ All names used in this study are pseudonyms to protect the privacy of the participants.

3.2 Data Collection

Each of the participants was interviewed by one of the researchers of this study. Their interviews followed the format and content of the semi-structured interview framework derived from Brandt’s (2001) protocol. This protocol was specifically selected for its comprehensive examination of participants’ English learning, including the schools they attended, the materials they used, and the people who significantly influenced their learning process (See Appendix for the detail). The interviews typically lasted between one and one and a half hours and were conducted in Korean, based on the assumption that the participants would feel freer to talk about their English learning experiences in their native language. The participants openly shared their experiences and perceptions regarding learning English from their initial encounters with the language. All the interviews were audio-recorded under the permission of each participant.

3.3 Data Analysis

The recorded interviews were transcribed through the help of NAVER CLOVA, a tool for automatic transcription. However, the automated transcription was not perfect, so the transcripts were manually reviewed and corrected by the researchers. These transcripts were analyzed following the thematic analysis as recommended by Terry and Hayfield (2021). The analysis was conducted in the following five steps: familiarization, coding, initial theme generation, developing and reviewing themes, defining and naming themes. To enhance the objectivity of the process, the two researchers of this study separately coded the transcripts and compared the results later. Whenever there was discrepancy between the researchers, the codes were discussed and modified until an agreement was reached. After going through all the steps, several major themes were derived. Because of space restriction, in particular, this study focuses on two common themes that were found across the generations: one theme, emotions associated with English learning, was diverse across generations, while the other, the role of English in Korea, was similar across generations. Table 3 demonstrates these two themes.

Table 3. Major Themes Derived from Thematic Analysis

Cohort	Common Themes	
	Emotions Associated with English Learning	Role of English: For Screening Purposes
Cohort 1 (60s)	Regrets	1) Complaints about English education at schools 2) Emphasis on English speaking skills 3) Lack of motivation to learn English
Cohort 2 (50s)	Regrets/Jealousy	
Cohort 3 (40s)	Envy/Despair	
Cohort 4 (30s)	Guilty	
Cohort 5 (20s)	Freedom	

4. Results

4.1 Emotions Associated with English Learning

It has been observed that the emotions the participants have had with regard to their English education have drastically changed within just a few decades in accordance with the historical and economic changes that have occurred in their times.

4.1.1 Regrets not to learn English more

Cohort 1 often showed regrets for not learning English more. After the Korean War (1950-1953), Korea focused on economic recovery and sociocultural restoration. During this time, many individuals experienced economic difficulties, which made it hard for some of them to get higher education. Naturally, English language education was scarce with limited resources. Cohort 1 was mostly educated in this period, specifically between the 1960s and 1970s, and they typically started their English education in middle school. As seen in 2.2., as the students of the First National Curriculum, they were taught English as one of the four foreign languages from middle school. Even these limited learning opportunities were not available to everyone, as seen in Ms. Lee's case. Like many households of that era, hers had several siblings, and educational opportunities were not extended to all of them. As a result, she had to abandon her dream of becoming a teacher and compelled to go to a commerce high school.

At the girl's commerce high school, English was not part of the curriculum, so I never developed an interest in it. Looking back, I wonder why I didn't take an interest in English. It's quite regrettable.
(Myung-Hee Lee, Cohort1)

Unlike general high schools, which primarily aimed to prepare students for university or college, the commerce high school Ms. Lee attended was specifically designed to focus on teaching basic skills for business and industry, preparing students to directly enter the job market. Even though her school did not prepare her to learn English, Ms. Lee said that she regretted not learning English on her own.

In addition to these financial constraints, family obligation has also been cited as a barrier to their English learning in Cohort 1. For example, although Mr. Kim was relatively free from financial constraints in terms of education and held a particular interest in languages, especially English, he could not further develop his English skills because of family obligations. After finishing his education, he got a job in trading and was assigned to travel to India for business purposes. He was so satisfied with both his professional career and life in India that he decided to start his own business.

I was planning to start my own business [in India] and I had gotten along well with the people there. But, out of the blue, one of my sisters called me to say that mom had passed away. She told me I had to come back to Korea. Because I'm the *Jangson* (the eldest son), I had to take care of the funeral and support my dad, who was left behind.
(Jong-Su Kim, Cohort 1)

Korean society was deeply rooted in family-oriented values, so individuals, especially first-born sons, had substantial pressure and responsibilities to support their families. Once hearing the news that his mom passed away, as the first son, Mr. Kim was forced to give up the plan to start a business in India and return to Korea. These restrictions made it difficult for him to continue his business plans in India and limited his opportunities to interact with Indian people in English, thereby hindering his chances of further developing his English skills.

Due to these feelings of not having enough opportunities to learn English, Cohort 1 often associated English proficiency with the feelings of freedom, frequently using the term, "free" or "freely."

If I could speak English better, I'd feel more free because I could do what I wanted without having to ask others for help.
(Young-Soo Park, Cohort 1)

I've often seen young people traveling freely around neighboring countries. Because they're fluent in English, they can easily meet and communicate with people from diverse backgrounds. I think this is really great, and I wish I could do it just as freely.
(Jong-Su Kim, Cohort 1)

Both to Mr. Park and Mr. Kim, speaking fluent English means communicating freely with others from diverse backgrounds without the help of others. Considering their historical background where they believed they could not continue to learn English due to the various constraints, such as financial or family obligation, it may be quite natural that they often associated abilities to speak English fluently with freedom.

4.1.2. Envious of proficient English speakers

Similar to Cohort 1, Cohort 2 also expressed the feelings of regret not to learn English more; however, feelings of envy newly emerged regarding their English learning experience. During the 1970s and early 1980s, a period when the Cohort 2 was undergoing formal education, the Korean economy experienced progressive growth. Along with this growth, more English learning materials became available to Cohort 2, compared to the era of Cohort 1. Amid this prosperity of more opportunities to learn English, there seems to be a discrepancy between those who were more proficient and less proficient learners: that is, some participants came to have more opportunities to interact with English-speaking people. In the era of Cohort 2, these people who could speak English, even if not fluently, were regarded as exceptional. This led some peers to feel envious or to believe those speakers were flaunting their abilities. For instance, Ms. Jung seized the opportunity to join a foreign company with an English-speaking environment. However, she felt that some people were critical about her attempts to produce native-like pronunciation. One incident of her drifting apart from a friend after they traveled abroad together serves as a representative case of this phenomenon.

While traveling together, we often quarreled. For example, there was a sign that said 'No Entry' in English, but she couldn't read it. So, I told her not to go inside, and she got angry, shouting, 'I told you my English wasn't good!' I think she felt inferior about her English.
(Mi-Kyung Jung, Cohort 2)

This happened because Ms. Jung was the only one who spoke English, which led her friend to reveal feelings of inferiority. Subsequently, Ms. Jung found herself reluctant to speak English in front of other Koreans.

On the flip side of feelings of envy, English proficiency can be seen as a source of pride for its fluent speakers, as exemplified by Mr. Moon.

When I had the chance to communicate with foreigners, I felt proud of showing off my English skills, but now I don't feel that way.
(Hye-Jung Moon, Cohort 2)

The belief that people perceive fluent speakers of English as showing off or something to be envied confirms that Korean society is increasingly placing importance on English fluency: Fluency in English is seen as an enviable commodity that people strive for. However, despite its growing importance, developing communicative

competence was not widely accessible to everyone during this period. Consequently, Cohort 2 started to regard English proficiency as a form of power, believing that it enables them to access information, navigate challenging situations, and interact effectively with others.

4.1.3. Despair over lack of proficiency

Cohort 3 witnessed Korea's remarkable development as it became a significant player in the global market. In the era of globalization, the importance of language proficiency and specialized skills had increased. In response to the changing socioeconomic environment, higher education became more prominent and expansive, leading to a proliferation of English learning opportunities, in addition to schools, such as private institutions and cram schools. However, despite the flood of plentiful English learning opportunities, they started to feel more despair over their lack of English proficiency:

I just continued doing what I had always done [when I took a conversation class], so I felt like I wasn't making any progress. I knew a lot of grammar and had studied hard, but speaking was completely different. I couldn't understand spoken English, and it felt like there was a wall I just couldn't break through.

(Jun-Young Park, Cohort 3)

As Mr. Park mentioned, the initial reaction of most Cohort 3 participants to the speaking classes was confusion. They struggled to develop productive skills because they felt speaking English was entirely different from what they learned in school. Mr. Cho explained what made his adaptation difficult.

When people speak English, I find myself focusing on grammar issues, such as why there's no 's' in the third person singular or why 'should' isn't omitted in the imperative voice. This focus hinders my speaking ability because I always check whether something is grammatically correct before I actually speak. I heard it's better to just speak freely without overthinking, and not to worry about making grammatical mistakes. However, having focused on studying grammar, I care too much about following the rules.

(Sang-Jun Cho, Cohort 3)

Mr. Cho specifically mentioned his dislike of making mistakes, which, as Cohort 3 pointed out, stemmed from learning habits that emphasized achieving the highest scores possible in a test.

In order to compensate for their lack of English speaking skills, Cohort 3 shows the tendency to invest in their children's English education instead. At the time of the interviews, most of them were engaged in active parenting and naturally expressed concern about their children's English education. Mr. Cho, for example, contrasted his failure to speak fluent English with his daughter's fluent speaking skills:

We went camping, and there was a foreign family in the tent next to ours. My daughter had no trouble playing together with them.... She went over to their tent, ate with, and talked with their parents.... Watching her, I felt assured that it was the right decision to send her to an English kindergarten. It seemed much better for her to focus on speaking, unlike me—I had focused on grammar and experienced failure. My English knowledge felt useless.

(Sang-Jun Cho, Cohort 3)

As seen in the case of Mr. Cho, the other participants from Cohort 3 show high interest in their children's English education. Even the Hyun-Soo Sim, who had not been married at the time of interview, was keenly interested in early English education of his future children as follows:

That's about one or two years before entering elementary school, right? If the child doesn't feel stressed during that time, I think it's really good for them. If you create an environment where they can catch it easily, it gives the child an opportunity to learn English quickly without stress.... English is something you can't avoid using in middle and high school, so giving them an opportunity to get exposed to it early is beneficial.

(Hyun-Soo Sim, Cohort 3)

4.1.4. Ashamed for not speaking English well

The feelings of their own failure to improve English speaking abilities as well as investment in their children's English education have been more intensified in Cohort 4. Cohort 4 had more opportunities than the prior cohorts both in public and private education sectors. In the late 20th century, South Korea, often referred to as the 'Miracle on the Han River,' achieved rapid economic success and ascended to the ranks of developed nations. In adapting to global dynamics, the Korean government implemented significant educational reforms. These reforms included introducing English as an extra-curricular subject in elementary schools and integrating technology into the education system. Most students gradually became adept at using computers to access the internet during class and were provided with a variety of resources including online exercises, English-language media and others. In this plethora of English learning resources, Cohort 4 seems to be more ashamed of not being fluent, despite these much favorable conditions to learn English.

I've been learning English for a long time, but I always felt that I'm not good at it. I started learning English at a young age, so my parents might have expected that my English could be good. . . but I couldn't speak English, which made me feel a bit ashamed....I've learned English a lot more than my parents' generation, so I might have an expectation that I should be better.

(Hye-Rin Jeon, Cohort 4)

This kind of lack of communicative competence is a common issue among many Koreans; however, it appeared that participants of Cohort 4 were particularly sensitive to this deficiency and displayed a lack of self-confidence in their English abilities. Although they achieved high scores on English exams like CSAT and TOEIC, they highlighted their lack of proficiency in English.

I struggle to engage in deep conversations because my English isn't fluent; I can only manage simple phrases when traveling. I'm amazed by those who speak English fluently and clearly feel the difference between us. It seems that people exposed to English from a young age find it easier to learn.

(Ji-Hoon Yoon, Cohort 4)

As Ms. Jeon's and Mr. Yoon's experiences show, Cohort 4 seems to have higher expectations regarding their English proficiency, compared to the previous generations, like Cohort 1 and 2, and experience a loss of confidence when comparing themselves to nearby fluent speakers. The presence of more fluent English speakers in their families, peer groups, and workplaces seems to undermine their confidence.

Cohort 4's so-called failure to improve their English speaking ability has often led to their strong passion for their children's early English education. Specifically, it seems that English-language kindergarten was a common and hot topic for them. Interestingly, all participants, including one who was not yet married, were already considering English-language kindergartens for their children's future. For example, Mr. Yoon, who often spoke about his struggles with learning English in school, did not want his children to face the same difficulties. He believed that early education of English, such as attending an English-language kindergarten, could provide a smoother learning experience than what he had previously experienced.

Since I started learning English late and found it difficult, I want my child to start learning English early, so it won't be as challenging. I believe it's beneficial to begin learning English alongside Korean.

(Ji-Hoon Yoon, Cohort 4)

In response to this changing need, a large number of English kindergartens have recently been established in Korea. Consequently, these institutions have become an important option for the English education of children across all participants of Cohort 4.

4.1.5. Feelings of confidence

Compared to the other cohorts, Cohort 5 demonstrate feelings of confidence toward their English learning.

I don't think English was that difficult for me. Actually, I've always believed that I can do something well on my own. . . . When it comes to English, I just think that if I study, I'll get better.

(Min-Jae Noh, Cohort 5)

Even when I just said anything, the foreign professor still tried to understand me. That made me feel more confident, and helped me to speak English.

(Yu-Na Lee, Cohort 5)

I gained confidence and kept thinking, 'I can do that, too.' I'm not afraid of speaking English.

(Ji-Hoo Ham, Cohort 5)

All of them show some kind of confidence in speaking English, unlike their predecessors. Mr. Noh believes that if he keeps practicing, he will not have much trouble speaking English; Ms. Lee does not have difficulty with making herself understood to the foreign professor; and seeing a foreign friend speak quite good Korean in a year, Mr. Ham gains the confidence that he could speak English as well as his foreign friend speaks Korean.

These participants' confidence in English ability may originate from a more affluent English learning environment than their predecessors. Under the newly-reformed national curriculum, English became a mandatory subject from elementary school to the participants of Cohort 5. Furthermore, it is quite common that some of them

were introduced to English learning even before starting elementary school, and they participated in diverse activities to enhance their English skills, like watching performances in English and enrolling in English immersion programs. Moreover, by living in the Digital Age, they have benefited from access to digital learning tools, such as language learning applications and video lecture platforms, which have further enriched their learning experience. Now, as university students or recent graduates with busy schedules, Cohort 5 continue to enjoy learning English flexibly at their own pace, using platforms like YouTube, Netflix, and social media. It was found that these platforms serve not only as educational tools but also as an integral part of their leisure activities in the interviews with most participants of Cohort 5:

I was advised to watch English-speaking home shopping channels on YouTube to learn English. I started watching them for about two months, and they quite helped me improve my listening skills. I also enjoy listening to soccer commentators from international matches. It feels great when I understand what they're saying.
(Min-Jae Noh, Cohort 5)

I pay for an English learning app every month; It's like a combination of a vocabulary notebook and quizzes. I don't think I would study vocabulary without it. The app offers a lot of features, such as review exercises and speaking practice.
(Hyun-Woo Lee, Cohort 5)

Mr. Noh and Mr. Lee illustrate that they actively used digital platforms to learn English, both for their academic needs and personal hobbies. Given the scarcity of learning resources when Cohort 1 was studying, it is clear that times have changed significantly in terms of English education in Korea. With these plentiful resources, Cohort 5 seems to choose both the content and timing of their studies in their own way, which definitely helps them to have more confidence in their English speaking skills. However, we should be more cautious when assessing their confidence in English proficiency compared to other cohorts, as they were still young and had a long way to go before reaching the same age. By then, they may have encountered setbacks and failures in their English learning, even though they were confident at the time of the interview.

4.2 The Role of English in Korea: No Practical Usage

As seen above, our participants' emotions regarding their English learning appear to range from a desire to learn more, which was often found in Cohort 1 to feelings of despair or guilt for not speaking well found in Cohort 4. These emotions seem to intensify due to increasing expectations for English proficiency across generations. Despite these heightened feelings and attitudes toward the importance of English over time, we found that the role of English itself remains relatively stable across generations in the Korean context. No matter which cohort they belong to, most participants complained that what they have learned at schools did not foster English speaking skills. In the schools that the participants attended, they were primarily taught how to solve problems in English tests, focusing on reading comprehension and grammar.

As I moved up to the next grade, the grammar rules became more difficult to learn, and I lost interest (in learning English). My head ached because it all felt like mathematical formulas. That's why people say there's a problem with English education.

(Hee-Sook Jung, Cohort 1)

I only had vocabulary and grammar tests, which weren't really about communication. . . . I could score well just by memorizing entire text passages. However, I forgot everything after the exam, so it felt pretty useless.

(Jung-Hee Yoo, Cohort 2)

I didn't like most of the teachers, who were more focused on just teaching the material rather than ensuring our understanding. What I learned was not practical for real life, but was solely for passing exams.

(Sang-Jun Cho, Cohort 3)

Studying English was always a struggle for me, and the methods we used in school didn't really prepare me for real life. Even after all the hard work I put into the CSAT, I felt like I was left with nothing.

(Ji-Hoon Yoon, Cohort 4)

I mostly understand what others say or write, but I struggle with expressing myself. It feels quite silly. I believe that being able to express my thoughts is important, but Korean education mainly focuses on listening and reading, which I see as a problem.

(Hyun-Woo Lee, Cohort 5)

It is quite natural that Ms. Jung from Cohort 1, Mr. Yoo from Cohort 2, and Mr. Cho from Cohort 3 received grammar-oriented English education at school, for the First, Second, and Third National Curricula under which they were educated English mostly emphasized grammar teaching as seen in Table 2. However, it is quite surprising that even Mr. Yoon from Cohort 4 and Mr. Lee from Cohort 5, who were taught English under the new national curricula that began to place more emphasis on students' communicative abilities, complained about the impracticality of what they learned at school for communicating in English.

Their complaints about impracticality of English knowledge gained from school in real-life situations closely relate to their realization that English speaking skills are utmost important as follows:

Even though my knowledge of grammar was limited, frequently interacting with foreigners and reading books was more helpful. I believe that prioritizing speaking is essential; merely memorizing grammar rules is not as useful.

(Young-Soo Park, Cohort 1)

I noticed that the English skills of my male seniors considerably improved after they went backpacking for about a month. They said that they were able to improve their English skills in America by constantly communicating and watching English TV series.

(Eun-Jin Cho, Cohort 3)

To be honest, as a freshman, I felt really lost because my grades in classes that required speaking skills were low. So, I decided to practice speaking and try to communicate more with native English-speaking professors. That's when I realized how crucial the ability to express myself was for

achieving fluency in English.
(Min-Jae No, Cohort 5)

Mr. Park from Cohort 1 realized the importance of acquiring communicative competence through his interaction with foreign customers at the workplace and emphasized that this should be the main focus of English education. Mr. Cho from Cohort 3 came to realize the importance of speaking abilities in English, after noticing that his seniors who went backpacking trips to America spoke English far better. Even Mr. Noh, one of the youngest participants in this study, felt the necessity of English speaking ability once he interacted with English speaking professors at college. As seen in these examples, all of them came to believe that English speaking skills are the utmost important through their direct experiences with interacting with English-speaking people or indirect ways of seeing whose English has improved after travelling abroad.

Ironically, however, despite their firm belief in the importance of English speaking skills, none of the participants felt any compelling pressure to put effort into improving their English speaking abilities at the time of the interview.

[My English abilities] have weakened since I started distancing myself from the language. There's no compelling reason for me to speak English now, so I don't feel the need to learn it. If I traveled more, perhaps I would start learning it.
(Jong-Su Kim, Cohort 1)

Now, I find myself hesitating to speak and feeling nervous. I believe this is because of the infrequency of my exposure to the language.
(Mi-Kyung Jung, Cohort 2)

I eventually stopped learning English and gradually distanced myself from it. I wanted to focus on other things when I had time, as I didn't think I would often speak English for the rest of my life.
(Jun-Young Park, Cohort 3)

My motivation [to learn English] quickly faded after returning home. This was because I became a parent, and traveling abroad might not be feasible for a while.
(Hye-Rin Jeon, Cohort 4)

I'm not afraid of starting to learn English; rather, I believe I can do it whenever I want. My delay in starting is simply because I don't feel any immediate pressure to do so.
(Ji-Hoo Ham, Cohort 5)

Mr. Kim from Cohort 1 used to have many opportunities to speak English with foreigners while he was working, but he does not need to speak English right now unless he travels abroad. Ms. Jung from Cohort 2 used to speak English quite well and in a great deal when she was working for a hotel, but now she does not need to speak English anymore. Mr. Park from Cohort 3 used to be intensely interested in improving his English skills by participating in an English immersion program, but lost this interest once he got a job and had dismal expectations that he would not use English for the rest of his life anymore. Similarly, Ms. Jeon from Cohort 4 had a high interest in learning English while traveling abroad, but once she came back, she lost it. Even Mr. Ham from Cohort 5 does

not feel the immediate need to learn English, although he is quite confident about his English learning.

This current lack of motivation to practice English speaking skills, although they advocated for importance of English speaking skills and complained about impracticality of English education in Korea, insinuates that English plays a unique role in the Korean context, which is not necessarily for communication as most participants of this study apparently argued. Instead, English is often used as a screening tool in high-stake situations, when important decisions should be made on who is more eligible for a certain position, such as getting admitted into universities, being employed by a company, or being promoted to a higher ranking position. Mr. Park from Cohort 1 states that he was learning English extensively to go to university when he prepared for college. On the other hand, Ms. Lee from the same cohort mentions that she did not need to study English because she went to a vocational school that mainly prepared students for specific jobs, not for college entrance. These two different cases even within the same cohort clearly demarcates the purpose of English in the Korean context, that is to screen students who are eligible to study at the university level. The same kind of purpose of English in Korea remains stable across generations.

Mr. Bae: In an English class, from the first day, I was forced to memorize all the sentences, although there were stories and explanations about grammar. Then, the teacher would call on a student to come to the front and memorize the sentences. Unless we were good at it, we got corporal punishment.

Ms. Yu: If we memorized the sentences successfully, we were able to get good grades on the exams. But once the exams were over, we forgot what we had memorized.

(Mr. Bae & Ms. Yu, Cohort 2)

As shown in Mr. Bae's and Ms. Yu's excerpts, even the participants from Cohort 2 learned English for the purpose of screening, this time for school exams the purpose of which was to rank students based on their academic abilities.

Since English serves the specific purpose of screening people at high-stake situations in Korea, it has often been observed that once they passed this screening, they were seen to discontinue learning English. One of the example cases is Mr. Cho from Cohort 3.

I stopped learning English 15 years ago. While preparing for a job, I went to a private academy to study for the TOEFL or TOEIC. But once I met the required scores, I stopped. . . . But now I'm studying English again. My company suddenly asked me to submit test scores for a promotion. It was not easy to resume studies after 15 years of stopping.

(Mr. Cho, Cohort 3)

Mr. Cho discontinued his English education once he secured a job. When he was in a job market, he was supposed to prove his English ability in the format of test scores, as in TOEFL or TOEIC. This shows that English proficiency is used as a tool of proving his ability in a competitive job market with the other candidates, which is still true nowadays. Once Mr. Cho got employed, however, he did not have to continue to work on his English abilities for 15 years, unless he was required to submit his English scores for promotion. Again, being promoted at the workplace means competing with the other colleagues based on limited resources available to them; in this competitive environment, English ability screens a good candidate among a multitude of potential competitors.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

This study explored how Korean learners perceive English learning and how these perceptions vary by generation through an examination of their overall experiences with learning English. The analysis of their interview data reveals the following findings. Firstly, it is important to note that participants' emotions regarding their English education have changed across generations. Cohort 1 generally showed regrets not to learn English more: in their times when English learning materials and resources were scarce, so many of them did not pursue their English learning once they graduated from school, unless they had a chance to interact with people outside Korea. While witnessing younger people traveling abroad and freely communicating with foreigners, they often equated English ability with freedom they were not able to enjoy in their times. However, as the later groups have enjoyed better English learning materials—more diverse institutions and teaching methods other than the ones used at schools, they have met more proficient English speakers than themselves among their acquaintances. For example, Cohort 2 became envious of these people; Cohort 3 despaired over not obtaining the same level of proficiency as others did; and Cohort 4 often felt even guilty or ashamed not to speak fluently as others did. In order to compensate for their failures to obtain such a great English fluency themselves, they tended to invest attention and money into their children's English education, specifically, their early English education based on the belief that the sooner, the better.

Through these parents' generations' devotion to their children's English education, Cohort 5 became more confident in their English abilities. This high confidence may originate from their more chances to study English, such as YouTube or internet materials, in addition to chances to interact with foreigners, such as their foreign friends and professors even in Korea. This may indicate some promising consequences, that is, Korean younger generations may be equipped with better English speaking abilities than their parents or previous generations. However, one should be cautious in arriving at this hasty conclusion, for there is still some possibility left that their perceptions on English learning may change negatively as their predecessors as they age. A clearer picture can be obtained through a longer life-long research on them.

Secondly, although the participants' emotions with regard to their English learning vary depending on their cohort groups and have had higher expectations for their English proficiency from generation to generation, it was discovered that the role of English is quite limited in the Korean context, which does not change a lot across generations. Almost all of the participants showed grumbles toward what they learned at schools in Korea, which does not prepare them for communicating with foreigners. This kind of dissatisfaction with what they learned at schools was also found among other EFL learners as well (Herwiana and Laili 2021). Although all the participants valued communicative ability in English, as reported in many other perception studies on EFL learners (Alkaff 2013, Larasati and Simatupangn 2020, Tahaineh and Daana 2013, Zulfikar et al. 2019), this study discovered the irony that none of them had any current intention to develop their English communicative skills at the time of the interview. They primarily studied English for school tests, college entrance exams, jobs, or workplace promotions. Once they achieved these high-stake goals, they stopped learning English. For example, Mr. Cho stopped learning English for 15 years once he got a job; however, he resumed his English studies after a 15 years' gap because his company required an English test score for promotion. This episode clearly demonstrates that English is viewed as a tool that verifies one's own abilities, whether they are academic or job-related ones. This finding is quite similar to what Tahaineh and Daana (2013) found in their Jordan participants who learned English mainly for instrumental reasons such as seeking for better education or job opportunities, not for integrative reasons.

This study has several limitations, however. First, the number of participants in each cohort is quite small. A qualitative study usually collects data until it arrives at a saturation point at which no further collection of data

alters the whole picture of the findings. Although this study assumed that four participants of each cohort were enough to arrive at that saturation point, further investigation of more participants in each cohort might have revealed differences or given a clearer picture. Second, the individual differences might have affected the analysis. Although the participants from the same cohort experienced similar societal, political, and economical changes, it is evident that each individual has unique characteristics and different perceptions resulting from these differences. Lastly the time span between the participants in a cohort was very narrow in this study. The broader range of participants in terms of age within each cohort may uncover more diverse experiences of Korean learners of English along with more ample evidence. A larger sample size of diverse participants from each cohort in future studies would help mitigate these limitations.

Despite these limitations, this study tries to explore how Korean English learners' perceptions on English converge and diverge across generations in a given context, by outreaching learners of various age groups. Without understanding the specific role English plays in Korean society, L2 learners may not be free from the effects of what Phillipson claimed to be linguistic imperialism. While criticizing Burchfield's (1985) saying, "English has also become a lingua franca to the point that any literate educated person is in a very real sense deprived if he does not know English" (p. 160), Phillipson (1992) argued that not everyone on the globe needs to learn English in order to be considered literate. The participants of this study increasingly felt the necessity to improve not only theirs but also their children's English speaking skills to align with the global trend of English as an international language. However, their interviews revealed that these skills are not as essential within Korean society, as they initially expected. Although the participants placed greater emphasis on developing English speaking ability among younger generations, their actual use of English in the Korean context remained limited, primarily serving as a screening tool in critical life moments, rather than a communication tool. Therefore, L2 learners should exercise caution regarding this kind of blind enthusiasm for learning English, as they might be influenced by linguistic imperialism—the dominance of English driven by its economic, political, military, and communicative power—at the expense of their mother tongues.

Additionally, with a proper understanding of the role English plays in a given society, researchers and English teachers can better determine what to teach and how to teach it. Based on this understanding, they can raise learners' awareness of what they can expect from English education as well as what they cannot, enabling them to focus more effectively on their goals and their needs in English learning. Furthermore, this study has demonstrated that learners' perceptions, in particular, emotions with regard to English education, have changed in response to societal changes and globalization. Therefore, those involved in language teaching, such as language education specialists, language policy makers, curriculum developers, should explore learners' perceptions and emotions and make appropriate adjustments accordingly to align with the changes in their perceptions. For example, this study revealed that Korean learners sought to improve their English-speaking skills despite the language's relatively limited use in society. In this case, a twofold effort is necessary: first, ensuring that learners accurately understand the realities of English in Korea, rather than blindly pursuing English education, and second, adapting English education in schools and society to better align with their needs. This includes incorporating more instruction focused on communicative purposes and providing more real-world application opportunities, such as international networking, to help learners practice English in meaningful contexts. Such efforts are essential to minimizing the discrepancy between learners' expectations and the actual role of English in society.

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Appendix: Interview Script

Demographic Questions

- What is your gender identity?
- When were you born?
- Where were you born?
- Where did you grow up?
- What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?
- What is your current employment status?

Beginning of learning English

- When and how did first learn about English?
- When and how did you start learning English?

Learning English in school

- How did you learn English in school?
- What materials did you use in school?
- How were your English teachers in school?
- How were your English skills evaluated in school?
- How satisfied were you with learning English in school?

Learning English in private English classes

Yes

- Have you ever taken private English lessons?
- When did you start to take private English lessons?
- Why did you take private English lessons?
- How did you learn English in private English classes?
- What materials did you use in private English classes?
- How were your private English tutors?
- How were your English skills evaluated in private English lessons?
- How satisfied were you with learning English in private English lessons?

No

- Why did you not take private English lessons?

Feelings about learning English

- Do you enjoy learning English?
- What is the most interesting thing while learning English?
- What is the most difficult thing while learning English?

- Is it important to learn English?

Yes

– Do you want to learn English?

- Why do you want to learn English?

- What kinds of skills do you want to improve?

No

- Why do you not want to learn English

Examples in: English

Applicable Languages: English

Applicable Level: Tertiary