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Bilingual Teachers' Sensemaking of Their Roles under Multicultural Education Policy in Korea

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Abstract: This empirical study offers one aspect of sensemaking of the established multicultural education policy in the South Korean context, with particular focus on bilingual teachers' interpretation of their roles and curriculum expectations through negotiating the environment they face. Findings indicate that bilingual teachers' patterns of self-identification are transformed by facing the moment of exclusion in the school setting, which in turn affects their understanding of role and teaching practice. Facing the moment of exclusion, bilingual teachers exercise agency and actively engage in interpreting the information. The principal and Korean teachers' attitudes toward multicultural education are major interacting determinants informing bilingual teachers' acts of agency.

Key words: sensemaking of policy, teacher role, multicultural education policy

1. Introduction

Multicultural/bilingual education policy has been established in many countries. The policy can be implemented in different ways depending on the cultural context of school districts or institutional environment. Ample research has been conducted into how teachers implement the policy at the school and class level by actively constructing their understanding and interpretations (Porac et al., 1989; Vaughan, 1996; Weick, 1995, EEP A., 1990; Jennings, 1996; Spillane & Jennings, 1997; Spillane, 1999). This study adds another aspect of how bilingual teachers make sense of their role under the multicultural educational policy in South Korea. This study also identifies institutional factors affecting the bilingual teachers' sensemaking process, such as language, nationality, interaction with different others, policy message, and institutional culture.

2. Background

2.1 Current Multicultural Education Reform

In 2006, The Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development of the Republic of Korea recognized the existence of culturally — and linguistically — diverse groups of students in schools, and that those students from these diverse family backgrounds had suffered most due to their lack of Korean language proficiency and low socioeconomic status (Kang, 2011; Song et al., 2011). Accordingly, in 2006 that Ministry established the Educational Support Plan for Children from Multicultural Families (ESPCMF) and has revised it annually.

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2.2 Bilingual Teachers in the Reform

Bilingual education is part of the supporting project. By providing bilingual education, the government expects that multicultural students have better prospects of maintaining their home languages. According to ESPCMF, local schools designated by the Ministry of Education are the central axis in terms of surveying the demand for, and providing multicultural children with, bilingual education.

In 2008, South Korea officially initiated a program of preparing bilingual teachers, by recruiting first-generation immigrants, mostly foreign brides, as bilingual teachers. These teacher-candidates spoke both their home language and the Korean language; the underlying rationale was that foreign spouses' bilingual proficiency is a substantial resource to be used in schools to help linguistically marginalized students improve their academic performance and achievements.

Initially, the teacher-candidates were prepared for 900 hours over six months at the Seoul National University of Education, where teachers were commissioned by the Ministry of Education. The government then placed the bilingual teachers in 120 elementary schools which it, the government, had designated as "in need". In addition, if any local school requested such a teacher, the local office of education would send one. These bilingual teachers were the main policy implementers who would apply ESPCMF in schools.

The bilingual teachers teach classes in i) international understanding, ii) foreign language, and iii) bilingual education. The international understanding class — the only one taught during regular class time, although the class is not included in the regular curriculum — is designed to teach both native Korean students and multicultural students about diverse cultures and the concept of difference. In the afterschool classes such as foreign language class (considered as extracurricular activities), native Korean students learn a foreign language (i.e., that bilingual teacher's language). In the bilingual class, multicultural students learn Korean language with purpose of improving Korean language and their home language literacy.

2.3 Bilingual Teachers with Multiple Identities

Bilingual teacher teaching in public schools nationwide as of 2016 are from 13 nations: China, Japan, Taiwan, Russia, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, Vietnam and Uzbekistan. Qualifications required in the recruiting process are a university degree, and high-proficiency in Korean. Consequentially, most candidates have lived lengthily in Korea and mostly are females married to Korean men. Accordingly, they bring multiple identities and cultures to the school (e.g., foreigner, mother of multicultural children, teacher, etc).[1]

3. Sensemaking of Role and Policy

This study draws on sensemaking theory to explore how bilingual teachers negotiate curricular and role expectations in the context of the new policy reform, ESPCMF. According to sensemaking theory, teachers are the core element of the process of policy implementation, as they actively exercise their agency. Teachers select new information from the environment and render that information meaningful. In this process, teachers construct understandings and interpretations by placing new information into the preexisting cognitive framework or world view (Porac et al., 1989; Vaughan, 1996; Weick, 1995, EEP A., 1990; Jennings, 1996; Spillane & Jennings, 1997;

[1] The increased number of immigrant females in 1990s in Korea was the result of the population policy that encouraged the international marriage.

Spillane, 1999). That is, teachers as implementing agents interpret the policy signals by bringing "past organization of knowledge and beliefs to bear in the construction of meaning from present stimuli" (Spillane et al., 2002, p. 394), and in this process, teachers actively interact with the environment they encounter.

The process of sensemaking is therefore social in two respects (Coburn, 2001). First, teachers make sense of the messages through social interactions and negotiations, and they construct "shared understandings" (Coburn, 2001, p. 147). Second, sensemaking reflects organizational norms, values, traditions, and professional cultures (Lin, 2000; Porac et al., 1989; Barley, 1986; Spillane, 1998; Vaughan, 1996). These "embedded contexts" such as organizational norms, values, and professional cultures (Coburn, 2001, p. 147) are employed as a lens through which teachers make sense of new messages and respond to them. Patterns and conditions of social interactions are influenced by these embedded contexts. The sensemaking framework posits that teachers' shared understanding of policy signals, developed by interacting with contexts, deeply relates to unintended consequences of policy that occur in the process of policy implementation.

Coburn (2001) provided convincing evidence in her study that teachers in Stadale Elementary School reconstructed policy messages through their preexisting beliefs and experiences. She highlighted that formal and informal networks of teachers play central roles in the patterns and outcomes of collective sensemaking. Teachers in her study often reconstructed and reshaped policy messages through interactions, and developed new strategies for integrating approaches into their teachings. But the pattern of interaction and the accessibility to the new information can be different for teachers, and variations can produce different patterns of sensemaking among teachers. Youngs et al. (2011) provided a good example of how this different pattern of professional relationship between new general education teachers and special education teachers can generate variations of sensemaking among teachers. In that study, the access that novice teachers had to other individuals varied due to their teaching assignments and their locations in the school. Since the novice teachers were potentially vulnerable in that they needed to rely on help and feedback from experienced colleagues, vulnerability was the major factor that affected the process of novice teachers' sensemaking of their curriculum and instructional responsibilities. With the sensemaking framework, their study shows how professional relationships related to ways in which novice teachers make sense of their roles and curriculum expectations.

In sum, sensemaking theory suggests that, in their capacity as implementing agents, teachers read policy signals and understand their roles based on social interactions in the school. In this sensemaking process, teachers construct their understandings about their roles and responsibilities actively negotiating the environment they encounter; that is, they rely on professional colleagues and their feedback in determining their roles and practices. In the same vein, this research focuses on how bilingual teachers make sense of their roles in the context of the new policy, ESPCMF. As main implementing agents, bilingual teachers interpret their roles and the purpose of classes they teach, and they negotiate the school context which shapes their understandings of the role and the curriculum.

4. Methodology

4.1 Data Collection

I collected relevant data during two field trips, one in 2013, another in 2014. In 2013 for eight weeks June through July, I observed two bilingual teachers' classes in two different elementary schools. Neither school was

designated by the Ministry of Education as a core partnership school for multicultural education[2], but from parents and from Korean teachers there was a demand for bilingual teachers. Both Uzbekistan and Japanese bilingual teachers were open to observation and to sharing their teaching materials.

In 2014, I spent four weeks in Seoul, Korea to collect data. This time, data were collected through multiple interview sessions. Three teachers participated in these interviews; one each from China, Kazakhstan, and The Philippines.

Collectively in the abovementioned 2013 and 2014 in this research, participants' Korean language proficiencies and residence periods vary; their specific information is as follows:

	National background	Linguistic background	Korean proficiency	Residence period in years
Nataya	Uzbekistan	Russian	intermediate	10
Elena	Kazakhstan	Russian	intermediate	6
Myunsuk	China	Chinese	high	16
Noriko	Japan	Japanese	high	8
Youjin	The Philippines	English	intermediate	10

I visited two schools each twice a week and observed all possible types of classes, including the international understanding class, the foreign language class, and the bilingual class. Since both teachers covered the full range of grade levels (1–6), I observed all three types of classes in all grade levels except the first-grade class. I also stayed throughout each day with both teachers, lunching, carrying out informal interviews, preparing classes, etc. so that I could observe how the teachers learned and interacted with their Korean school environment.

Multiple Interviews with each participant were conducted in Korean and it ran 60–80 minutes. Given that Korean language proficiency among the bilingual teachers varied, I intentionally selected data for analysis, so as maximize validity of the interview data. If certain phrases or words were repeatedly present in many different ways, or if issues were articulated strongly, I selected them as valid data. In addition to observation and interviews, written materials are also collected which were used in the bilingual teachers' classes, such as activity sheets and lesson plans.

4.2 Data Analysis

Data analysis rests on interpretative and comparative analysis, and coding was via NVivo 8, the qualitative data-analysis software designed for extremely-rich text-based information.

By dismantling qualitative data into discrete parts, the data was closely examined and compared for similarities and differences (Strauss & Corbin in Saldana, 2010). In the first round, I inductively coded the interview data to identify how bilingual teachers define and understand themselves as teachers in opposition to different others, using the following codes: I/we, they. In this process, the focus was how the bilingual teachers positioned themselves as to collective identity in both the teacher education program and the school. In a second round of analysis, the data were analyzed to specify what causes and/or enables bilingual teachers to feel qualified as teachers. The following codes emerged: home language, Korean language, bilingual ability, foreign identity.

The data from classroom observation was also coded to examine how the bilingual teachers made sense of their roles related to the articulated purpose of the policy, ESPCMF and incorporated their understanding of their

[2] Core partnership schools for multicultural education are endorsed by the Ministry of Education, and the designated schools are obliged to adopt multicultural programs, such as multicultural classes, Korean language class for immigrant parents, education consultation, educational camps etc. (Ministry of Education, 2006).

roles into teaching in three different types of classes (i.e., the international understanding class, foreign language class, and bilingual class). The following codes were used: home-language maintenance, and learning ability. Throughout this analysis, I moved between interview and classroom data to find meaningful connection in terms of self-identification and teaching. To understand what can be the environmental factors affecting the sensemaking process in both institutions, I compared data from both institutions including interviews and data from classroom observation.

5. Findings

5.1 Learning to Be a Teacher in the Teacher Preparation Program

The ESPCMF policy created a new professional position of bilingual teacher. In the teacher preparation program, it formed a community of bilingual teachers and constructed a professional identity assigned by the new policy reform. In this section, the preparation program is identified as "the situation in which sense making occurs" (Spillane, 2001, p. 392) and as a place where individuals form, negotiate, and grow teacher identity (Varghese et al., 2009). In this sense, this section describes how bilingual teachers construct in-group identity as teachers with interpreting qualifications for teachers.

5.1.1 Identity Construction Informed by the Policy

Participants in this research impart great meaning to gathering together through the preparation program. They describe the preparation program as "new", and as a "chance to know and learn about other female immigrants. Since teacher identity is a fundamentally social process (Varghese et al., 2009), it is obvious that the teacher preparation program allows candidates room for interacting together and establishing their collective teacher identity. Ms. Myunsuk, a Chinese bilingual teacher who defines herself as a teacher, describes how sharing the social status of immigrant female and using Korean language to communicate with each other produced among them a sense of belonging:

> We are marriage-based immigrants, immigrant workers, who stay here as legal immigrants…The reason I was very happy about (it) was that I could meet people like me (female immigrant) from many different countries. We spoke different languages but we used Korean language to make conversation each other. I felt very happy (and) liked the feeling of not being alienated (Ms. Myunsuk, Chinese teacher, 2014).

In the process of teacher identity construction, they engage in what Lamont (2001) referred to as "creating boundaries" between "us" and "them". Lamont stated that people use criteria to draw boundaries between people to whom they feel superior and inferior, or who are similar or different. By drawing lines between themselves and different others, people define themselves and construct an in-group identity. Candidates for bilingual teachers employ evaluative criteria — Korean language proficiency and college degree — which are the qualifications ESPCMF required for the bilingual teacher position. Korean language proficiency is the major qualification that distinguishes them from different others, female immigrants[3] who cannot speak Korean well. Ms. Noriko, a Japanese bilingual teacher, claimed that "we could join the teacher preparation program since we could speak Korean well (unlike other female immigrants)". The bilingual ability required by the policy turns into an evaluative criterion among candidates with diverse language backgrounds.

[3] Study participants understand that ESPCMF targets female immigrants seeking employment in Korean society. Thus, female immigrants not possessing ESPCMF-required qualifications are different others for them.

A college degree is standard for the application for the candidates; it is the main certificate required for general teacher status in Korea. The ESPCMF also requires that candidates for the bilingual teacher position should have a college degree from their home country regardless the major. Participants in this research collectively interpret that they possess qualifications for being teachers and build an in-group identity as teachers by drawing a boundary between themselves and other female immigrants not possessing a college degree. Ms. Nataya illustrates this by saying that she "… has a Engineering degree from Russia and that is why I could apply for this job and become a teacher; my friend (a female immigrant) who did not have it could not apply this job". Given the small percentage of female immigrants in Korea with a college degree (Ministry of Education, 2013), few female immigrants are qualified to apply to the program, which was understood among the candidates as a quality distinguishing them from female immigrants without a college degree.

5.1.2 Identifying the Role of Teacher

The policy informed the candidates of the qualifications for being a teacher — a college degree and Korean language ability. They employed these qualifications to create an in-group identity as teachers by drawing on the boundaries between themselves and other female immigrants who are not qualified as candidates. In the preparation program, the candidates negotiate this collective identity and make sense of their roles as teachers through interaction with the environment which included teacher educators, other candidates, and the teacher preparation curriculum.

Candidates pointed out that they "learned" from teacher educators who continuously emphasized the responsibility that the bilingual teachers should help multicultural students maintain their home language. This they interpreted so: due to their bilingual ability, they can help students maintain their home language. Participants reflected that teacher educators value the foreign identity since those teacher educators expect that tensions between the different cultures that the multicultural students encounter in school can be eased and released via the presence of bilingual teachers who share the same foreign identity with the multicultural students[4]. This message from teacher educators encouraged the candidates to have positive association with their home language and foreign identity, which previously had been considered by female immigrants as factors that marginalized them in Korean society. The following comments from one bilingual teacher illuminate how the meaning of home language and foreign identity is transformed in her mind through the teacher preparation program:

> In the preparation program, I learned that different cultures and languages are an asset rather than deficit. I did not encourage my children to speak Chinese at home. I was worried that they can become *Wangtta* (being ostracized) in school. But I realized that I misunderstood. Some of the bilingual teachers' children speak Chinese very well and I envy them now… When I first came to Korea, I tried to hide the fact that I was from China. I did not know why, but I did not want to say I was different. Thus, I raised my children to become Koreans. But while in the preparation program, we (the bilingual teachers) realized that we cannot hide where we were from and it did not have to be. We realized that it (identity of foreigner) was our asset, not the thing we should feel embarrassed about. We became proud of who we were (Ms. Myunsuk, Chinese teacher, 2014).

She stated that from teacher educators she has adopted the idea that bilingual ability is a competitive power in the global market, thus is important for future generations. And Ms. Elena, the Kazakh, recollected that the candidates read the message repeatedly while in the preparation program and shared with other candidates the view that they are responsible for educating students, especially multicultural students, as bilingual by helping them maintain their home language. Based on this understanding, the bilingual teachers made sense of their roles

[4] ESPCMF targets both multicultural students and Korean students in terms of raising their sense of multiculturalism.

as teachers. As the term "bilingual teachers" indicates, the candidates interpreted that their bilingual ability is the important quality for teaching multicultural students in school and that their roles are to teach and help these students who share with them the same linguistic background.

5.2 Learning to Be a Second Class Teacher in School

The preceding discussion illuminates how the bilingual teachers collectively construct their teacher identity in the teacher preparation program by drawing on the boundaries. Being informed by the policy, the bilingual teachers interpreted that they are qualified as teachers with college degrees and Korean language proficiency. The interaction with teacher educators and other candidates in the teacher education program inspired them to make sense of their role.

This section now turns to an examination of how the school context served as a place where the bilingual teachers negotiate their teacher identity and reshape understanding of the role. The section focuses primarily on school environmental factors affecting bilingual teachers' understanding of the expected role and responsibility, how the bilingual teachers redefine themselves as teachers in relation to their roles, and how this idea is incorporated into their teaching.

5.2.1 Interaction with Embedded Contexts

The school environment including relationships with colleagues is a critical factor in teachers' understanding of their roles and responsibilities (Youngs et al., 2011). Although there are situational variations, participants in this study faced challenges that in turn made them create negative association with the term "multicultural". Three environmental factors challenging them in school are/were: i) physical isolation, ii) limited and weaker professional relationship with mentor teachers, and iii) lack of awareness of multicultural education among Korean teachers and the principal.

The bilingual teachers' room was separated from the Korean teachers' rooms and this physical environment caused a lack of interaction between bilingual teachers and Korean teachers. In reality, all participants in this study felt some emotional distance from Korean teachers. For example, Ms. Nataya, an (Uzbek) Russian bilingual teacher said "They (Korean native teachers and principal) do not know why I am here or what I am teaching; they are so busy with their own classes" (Interview, 2013). Physical isolation created not only the emotional distance from the Korean teachers, but less access to the Korean mentor teacher, which caused a limited and weaker professional relationship with the mentor teacher. Further, the mentor teachers did not have much experience in teaching multicultural students since they previously had not been exposed to a multicultural environment. The mentoring of bilingual teachers was merely one of many assignments rather than their fulltime job in their position in school. Mentor teachers did not provide clear guidance in terms of teaching and the expected curriculum. Ms. Noriko, a Japanese bilingual teacher, described her relationship with her mentor teacher as "official but indifferent".

The other challenge encountered in school by bilingual teachers is the lack of awareness of multicultural education among Korean teachers and their principal. As a result, the schools appeared reluctant to adopt the multicultural curriculum[5] such as the bilingual class and the international understanding class. Even if the curriculum was adopted, it was considered an extracurricular activity and subjected to frequent rescheduling. The international understanding class was canceled or frequently rescheduled at the request of Korean homeroom

[5] Multicultural curriculum includes bilingual class, international understanding class, foreign language class, all ESPCMF-designed. The principal has discretionary power to open any of these three classes.

teachers who felt they needed more time for their teaching. The overall mood and impression was that the bilingual teachers' class was not valued as much as other curriculum items. In fact, the idea of "less important" was adopted among bilingual teachers as well. For example Ms. Nataya stated "my class does not teach a subject matter. Thus it (course schedule) should be flexible (to be rescheduled) when it is necessary".

Such environmental factors as i) physical isolation, ii) limited and weaker professional relationships with mentor teachers, and iii) among Korean teachers and their principal a lack of awareness of multicultural education, are major challenges causing bilingual teachers to be excluded from the main Korean teacher community inside the school. Most participants said they felt less integrated into schools and this feeling of alienation triggers negative associations with the multicultural curriculum. In the following transcript, Nataya, referenced above, describes the feeling of alienation in her school and the term "multicultural":

Interviewer How do you like teachers in your school?

Nataya: The principal and Korean teachers kept saying "is it (multicultural curriculum) really effective?" Generally there is not much awareness of the multicultural curriculum among Korean teachers and principal. My classes are canceled or rescheduled quite often, so I need to always pay attention to the time table.

Interviewer How do you feel when classes are canceled?

Nataya: Well, I am OK, I am not teaching the subject matters and the multicultural classes are not included in the regular curriculum.

Interviewer: Do you mean multicultural curriculum is not necessary?

Nataya: No, I mean I just do not like the term "multicultural". I want this word disappeared. I do not know why people treat these (multicultural) students differently with separate classes. They (multicultural students) do not like the term attached to them.

While interacting with Korean teachers and the principal, the bilingual teachers experience exclusion and realize that the term "multicultural" attached to their classes is negatively understood among Korean teachers and sometimes even among students or parents. For example, in reality, Japanese bilingual teacher Noriko did not teach a bilingual class in the afterschool program because Japanese parents did not want the label of "multicultural" attached to their children by joining the class. From the environment of the multicultural curriculum, this study's participants perceived a negative message, which induced the negative association of multicultural curriculum and their teaching.

5.2.2 Exclusion and Teacher Identity

The preceding section described the bilingual teachers' interactions with the embedded context in school. They experience exclusion and its consequence is their negative interpretation of the multicultural curriculum. This section examines how bilingual teachers respond to the exclusion by drawing boundaries between themselves and the Korean teachers. In the process of boundary work, they enact agency to understand the policy, ESPCMF, and they reconstruct their teacher identities. The integration of self-identification into teaching is illustrated.

In the teacher preparation program, bilingual teachers constructed the in-group identity as teachers drawing on boundary work; they define themselves by distinguishing between themselves and different others. In this boundary-work process, evaluative criteria were Korean language proficiency and a college degree, the minimum policy requirements for teaching as a bilingual teacher in a public school. But the local elementary school with a different institutional culture from the teacher preparation program gives a different experience to the bilingual teachers. They experience exclusion in facing the challenges in school — physical isolation, limited and weaker professional relationship with mentor teachers, and lack of awareness of multicultural education among Korean

teachers and the principal.

"Exclusion is intrinsic to the constitution of identity" (Lamont, 2001, p. 430). In response to exclusion, the bilingual teachers reconstruct their teacher identity so as to regain self-worth. However, this time they draw on different evaluative criteria to distinguish themselves from the Korean teachers since the previously adopted evaluative criteria — Korean language proficiency and college degree — do not make a distinction between themselves and Korean teachers. The evaluative criteria they employ is home language and foreign identity, which were made into a positive association in the preparation program. The expectation from the teacher educators was a strong message that due to these qualities they possess they are qualified as teachers. This reconstruction of identity with different criteria is presented when bilingual teachers express what they see as their roles in teaching. For example, in Ms. Nataya's words,

> Some people question why our children should be taught by the foreigners who are not qualified as Korean teachers. But I think who teach the international understanding class is the most important. The outcome of teaching can be different. Students' attitude has been changed dramatically with my teaching. This is because I bring my foreign identity to the class (Interview, 2014).

As Nataya's comment indicates, she adopts the teacher educators' expectations learned in the teacher preparation program, namely that their foreign identity is a valuable resource in teaching. The bilingual teachers also emphasized that their bilingual proficiency was a distinctive ability actually lacked by their Korean-teacher colleagues. For example, Ms. Nataya said, "Even though my Korean language proficiency is not good enough, I think I am the only one who can teach the bilingual class (with their home language ability). Thanks to my bilingual ability, I can teach these students" (Interview, 2014).

5.2.3 Teaching

Bilingual teachers found that their value as teachers was in their difference, in particular qualities they have which those Korean teachers do not. With this idea of self-worth, they make sense of their roles which in turn are integrated into their teaching. Contextual factors affecting bilingual teachers' sensemaking of their role are the ambiguities of role expectation and curriculum expectation. These challenges are caused by uncertainties in the multicultural curriculum among Korean teachers and their principal, and lack of support from the school. In practice, these contextual factors created a space for the bilingual teachers to set curriculum goals by themselves and to interpret the results of their teaching. In this process of sensemaking of their role, they therefore rely on their newly-defined criteria which increase their self-worth. Their home-language abilities and foreign identities are considered as superb teaching sources; they focus more on how their home language and foreign identity are best used in teaching, than on actual possible outcomes generated by students through their teaching.

In the following cases, this section describes how bilingual teachers make sense of their roles in responding to the school context and how they incorporate it into their teaching.

In the bilingual class In practice, the bilingual class served diverse purposes in responding to the needs of the school context. The students' Korean language and home-language ability varied, therefore so did their needs. Bilingual teachers had to decide on teaching materials, including textbook/s, without proper information about the students. In this process they realized their role in teaching the home language was not meaningful in terms of maintaining bilingual proficiency. For example, Ms. Nataya taught Russian language to multicultural students because their parents requested it. Russian-language ability varied among the multicultural students and their Korean-language ability seemed equivalent to that of Korean students. Ms. Nataya's class focused on teaching

Russian and she created teaching materials appropriate to the students' Russian levels. She pointed out that the different level of home-language ability among multicultural students decided her to not evaluate her teaching based on the level of Russian proficiency the students reached. In her words, "The bilingual class has just a 'token value' in terms of developing home language" (Interview, 2014). Accordingly, her class is more likely to be designed to make the best use of her home language as a teaching resource. Since she is good at devising manual activities, she designed her class with varied activities such as origami, bookmark-making, etc. In this class, she allows enough time for the multicultural students to interact with her either in Korean or in Russian, but from students she did not expect specific outcomes in Russian-language development.

Ms. Elena, the Kazakh/Russian bilingual teacher, assisted multicultural children in study and work on their home assignments in the bilingual class. Multicultural students in her school were struggling academically due to their lack of Korean-language ability. Despite the multicultural students not seeming to have problems in their Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills — BICS — academically they *were* challenged due to their lack of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency — CALP[6]. Ms. Elena's bilingual class did not focus on learning language but on academic challenges faced by multicultural students. Like the preceding case of Ms. Nataya's class, her students' learning abilities and Korean language abilities varied. Ms. Elena, *by herself*, needed to develop lesson materials without clear information about students or about their general education classes; all this could have been learned through interaction with Korean teachers! Ms. Elena did not interact frequently with any Korean teachers. She stayed in the separate room for the teaching assistants. She could not estimate what kind of specific outcomes her students could produce, and had no chance to obtain any feedback that could have informed her of her teaching effectiveness. Therefore, in identifying the goal of her bilingual class, Ms. Elena considered how her language ability could be used best, rather than the result of her teaching. In her teaching, her Russian was a means to increase multicultural children's CALP. Developing or maintaining Russian language among multicultural children was not her teaching goal. In her words,

> In the bilingual class, I explain questions from the Math or Korean textbook using Russian, and explain the meaning of Korean terms. I expect they will catch up with other Korean students pretty soon. If they know how to speak Korean but do not understand Math terms, they struggle in the regular class. Thus, bilingual teachers need to assist multicultural children in studying while teaching Korean (academic) language (Interview, 2014).

In the international understanding class In teaching the international understanding class, bilingual teachers made sense of their role relative to their foreign identities. They declared their foreign identities to be wonderful teaching resources, since the international understanding class was conducted by introducing the concept of difference based on their own culture. Ms. Nataya and Ms. Noriko taught the concept of difference via examples of their home countries' cultures: language, food, traditional attire, architecture, etc. They emphasized their foreignness to help Korean students understand and experience "real foreignness" (Interview, 2014) which only they carry and present.

The bilingual teachers created and used a variety of teaching materials that could properly represent their

[6] Cummins (1980) discovered that when students learn a second language, there is a large difference between their ability to speak in casual conversations, and their ability to understand academic language needed to succeed in school. Casual conversation skills are referred to as BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) and the academic language understanding is called CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency).

home country[7]. They believed that proper examples of different cultures — i.e., genuine, accurate, and unbiased images of their home countries — could replace distortions and biases. Towards this, they designed their classes to optimize their foreign identities and the corresponding data, interesting aspects, and images.

Bilingual teachers also interpreted their foreigners-in-class presence as helpful in removing prejudice or bias against people from different cultures. After all, it exposed their Korean students to positive experiences with foreigners. Further, they posited that sharing their foreign identities with their multicultural students' mothers also benefited those students' emotional development:

> You know, if multicultural children do not have pride in their mothers' countries, they feel insecure about their half-identity and will conflict with their mothers. When they are ostracized because of the history of family, or are confused and insecure about who they are, they need bilingual teachers who share same identity with their mothers (Interview with Ms. Nataya, 2014).

> When Korean students see me, they greet me in Japanese language. And multicultural students see this, and feel that having a Japanese mother is not an embarrassing thing they should hide. This is a major contribution of the International Understanding class (Interview with Ms. Noriko, 2014).

6. Discussion

This study sought to understand how bilingual teachers make sense of their roles under the ESPCMF multicultural educational policy, and to identify institutional factors affecting the sensemaking process. With the concept of boundary work, the focus of this study is teachers' individual agency enacted in the process of making sense of their roles, that is, their self-identification as teachers in opposition to different others is related closely to their understanding of teachers' roles. The study documents how those bilingual teachers articulate their qualifications as teachers, which serve as evaluative criteria distinguishing action between themselves and other immigrants. While initial evaluative criteria — college degree and Korean language ability — directly are/were informed by the policy, the bilingual teachers intentionally changed that to home language and foreign identity to respond to the exclusion they experienced in school. Because the bilingual teachers created positive association with foreign identity and home language in the teacher education program, in the face of exclusion the idea of valuing that foreign identity and home language is reinforced to assert their dignity. This study identifies the institutional factors causing the exclusion, which in turn has affected the bilingual teachers' sensemaking of their roles in school. Encountering challenges of physical isolation, limited and weak professional ties with mentor teachers and other Korean teachers, and lack of awareness of multicultural education among their Korean colleagues and principal, the bilingual teachers pay more attention to how best to use their home language and foreign identity as teaching resources rather than to students' academic abilities or home-language maintenance.

Given that the position of bilingual teachers is relatively new in the Korean education context, this study primarily focuses on how the bilingual teachers learn and define their roles as teachers in both the teacher education program and in the school context. The findings suggest that while the ESPCMF teacher education program is a venue where bilingual teachers learn what it means to be teachers by constructing in-group identity, the school environment influences them to reshape their identities. This is because the pattern of sensemaking,

[7] Information and sources for teaching were from multiple channels external to the school such as the community of bilingual teachers, the Korean UNICEF, or other NGOs etc. and were circulated among bilingual teachers sharing the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

interaction with the embedded context such as norms and values in the community (Coburn, 2001, p. 147), differ between the context of the teacher education program, on one hand, and the school in which they work, on the other. Interaction between teacher educators and future bilingual teachers who share the same social identity as foreigners in the teacher education program is the major factor that affects the process of bilingual teachers' sensemaking of role. Contrarily, interaction with Korean teachers in their school settings has provided another lens through which bilingual teachers made sense of their roles.

The participants of this study experienced both moments of inclusion and exclusion due to different contexts of the teacher education program and the school. More significantly, findings presented here illuminate ways in which bilingual teachers respond to moments of exclusion in the school setting. To assert their dignity as teachers in the school, bilingual teachers draw on the boundaries between themselves and Korean teachers with evaluative criteria such as home language and foreign identity which has been associated with the construction of their in-group identity in their teacher education program. Facing moments of exclusion, the bilingual teachers exercise agency and actively engage in interpreting the information from the environment, or in making sense of the message from the context. Since individuals are not fully autonomous agents, environmental factors operate as interacting determinants that inform acts of agency (Bandura, 1997; Ray, 2009). In this sense, the school environment that challenged the bilingual teachers in this study is the major determinant that influences those bilingual teachers' agency. Embedded contexts and challenges they face are isolation, limited professional relationship with mentor teachers, and the Korean teachers' and the principal's weak understanding of multicultural education; these are strong signals to which bilingual teachers respond, and are to reconstruct their teacher identities with a different sense of teacher qualification.

Findings further indicate that Korean teachers and principals are important to creating school environments that positively can affect bilingual teachers' sensemaking of their roles. Bilingual teachers' feelings of exclusion are induced partly from the lack of awareness of multicultural education among the Korean teachers and principals. Given that principals can use their discretion regarding curricula, multicultural classes could be allocated more time so that multicultural students have more opportunities to learn and develop their home language. Principals and Korean teachers can create a more-supportive atmosphere by raising the awareness of multicultural education so that bilingual teachers may focus on students' learning rather than on their own teaching resources.

The policy does not directly facilitate the exclusion but the environment does. In the process of making sense of the policy, bilingual teachers see the negative association with the multicultural curriculum and experience the exclusion; they then engage in boundary work to respond to that exclusion. With this negotiation of identity, bilingual teachers define/redefine their roles and integrate that into their teaching.

7. Conclusion and Implications

This research sheds light on one aspect of sensemaking of the now-policy, ESPCMF, by the uniquely-formed occupational status: bilingual teachers. As main implementing agents, bilingual teachers interpreted their roles and curriculum expectations through the process of negotiating the environment they faced. In the process of learning/relearning whom they are, bilingual teachers construct teacher identity. This research focused on the pattern of self-identification and how this process is changed in, and by facing, the environmental challenges in the school setting. The limitation of using social identity theory lies in the reliance on static social categories (Ray,

2009). This study, however, allows us to look at the evolution of teacher identity and how the school's environmental factors produce an understanding of professional self.

This research informs us of particular constraints the school context generates relative to multicultural education: isolation, limited and weaker professional relationship with mentors and other teachers, and lack of awareness of multicultural education among Korean teachers and principal. In this sense, the Korean teachers' and principal's roles are emphasized in terms of supporting the bilingual teachers, which then also could counteract and/or buffer parents' possible resistance to the multicultural curriculum. Also of note in this regard is that in exercising their agency, the bilingual teachers actively sought an alternative beyond the physical school constraints.

Multiple personal and social factors relative to teachers' self-identification and making sense of their roles under the multicultural education policy are identified in this study: language, nationality, interaction with different others, policy message, and institutional culture.

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