

“Teaching to beat” in a Korean Academic High School

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This paper presents the results of an intensive two-year ethnographic study focusing on what teachers do when they teach in college preparatory academic high schools in Korea. The main concern is how they select, organize, and present classroom knowledge, while keeping order in the classes. Usually the teaching practices in academic high schools have been characterized as rote memory oriented, and this has become the major strategy to prepare the students for the College Entrance Examination (hereafter C.E.E.). This study, however, reveals that the practices are more than teaching students how and what to memorize. The teachers select what they judge important out of the nationally standardized textbooks, break it down, restructure it in a way that makes classroom knowledge readily “digestible stuffs”, and “put it into their mouths” so that the students can easily transfer well-digested bits of knowledge into scores on the C.E.E.. This teaching method is prevalent only among “competent” teachers across the school subjects.

I. Some Contexts Conducive to a Particular Form of Teaching

Teaching is an act of making knowledge accessible to students. The steps a teacher takes to prepare for classroom teaching are; first, to review the content of the textbook and then to seek appropriate ways to help the students to grasp the

content. Less experienced teachers devote more time to figuring out the text materials themselves. The next task teachers undertake is to design methods that fit the content. On the other hand, experienced teachers assume that the key factor in students' learning is their interest. They realize that no matter how hard they try to transmit the knowledge to their students, it is of no use if they fail to attract their attention on the subject matter. Teachers who realize the necessity of developing students' interest start to wonder how. They wonder whether they should develop interest in the subject matter on a personal level by having each student do his or her own individualized study, or should they analyze the needs and desires of the students and try to teach the class in accordance with those needs and desires.

Teachers usually use the former strategy. They explore various methods: such as having students speak to the class or discuss issues with peers or asking students questions to encourage higher-order thinking. But, teachers who have tried these methods have been faced with two disappointing responses from the students. One is that the method of making students think for themselves is boring and not effective in improving the C.E.E. scores. "Don't hassle us by asking us to think. The teacher should just figure it all out and explain it to us," is a response given by a significant number of students. Another response is to describe classroom interaction centered on discussion as "wasting time". In short, the college-bound students clearly see the "serious" ways of teaching as an ineffective way to prepare for what they consider to be the most important thing facing students, the C.E.E.. When the teacher asks a question meant to encourage students to investigate for themselves, the students respond by saying, "Let's go on with the texts". Teachers who are confronted with such responses usually decide to meet the students' immediate needs and do not draw on the students' intrinsic learning ability.

From the teachers' perspective, the students' request not to ask them to study independently but to instruct them in a way that will improve students' score on the C.E.E. is paradoxical. In order to get higher marks on C.E.E., students need to conduct intensive self study, something students do not want to do. Often teachers with relatively little teaching experience feel

trapped by the students' conflicting demands—demands which they know will hurt their students on the college entrance test. In other words, if teachers succumb to their students' request not to 'study' during class and to instead, entertain them, students' scores will suffer because less class time is devoted to actual learning. However, if teachers respect their students' request for high scores on the C.E.E. and concentrate on teaching the text, the students lose interest in class. To cope with this dilemma, teachers create a teaching method in which the students do not need to do an independent study but can still achieve higher marks. In the following section, the features of this teaching method will be presented. The ways of selecting, organizing, and presenting the content are of main focus. The strategy that teachers employ along with the method to keep order in the classroom will also be presented.

II. The Selection and Organization of Classroom Knowledge

The content, boundary, and emphasis of classroom instruction is decided by the C.E.E. itself and is geared toward teaching students whose main interest is getting a high score on the C.E.E. and not an in-depth study of the subject matter. However, the content of the exam is not a simple layout of one faceted facts but is an organized, systematic set of facts interrelated in a logical manner. The selection of the content of classroom instruction and the detailed method of organizing it are as follows:

1) *Limiting to the content of the textbook.* Teachers limit what is taught in the classroom to the 'content of the textbook', because if students are taught more than what is in the textbook, they become confused. Of course, at times during the course teachers will need to introduce materials not actually covered in the textbook. However, in such cases, the outside material introduced is limited to that deemed a necessary reference to the content of the textbook and to material that does not go greatly beyond materials presented in the textbook.

2) *Predetermining the level of knowledge.* Even if the content of the instruction is limited to the "content of the textbook",

teachers still face the question of how “in-depth” the material needs to be. These teachers set the level of instruction at what they deem the students need to know to meet the level of the C. E.E.. Once a chapter is finished, teachers end it by saying, “You know what I have said so far, and that is how much you need to know”. “That’s all you need to know”, is heard numerous times in a lecture taught by “competent” teachers.

The following is a scene where a male teacher, who teaches national ethics, is explaining the poetic spirit in Korean’ philosophical tradition, detailed in the second chapter of the textbook he is using. According to the textbook, “There is a wise, mythical way in our country, and it is called the poetic spirit. The origin of this thought which establishes this teaching is not only already written in detail in previous history but it is actually something which unites Confucianism, Buddhism and Zen teachings. It has come in contact with all living matter and has fortified them (Chinese characters).”

Next is a portion of classroom instruction dealing with this content.

Teacher: Try reading the Chinese characters!

(Many students do not read them correctly.)

Teacher: Isn't this difficult to understand?

Students: Yes!

Teacher: Write! 'It is to make the world a better place to live, to live like man should live. (A pair of four Chinese words) When these eight characters are written, to what do they refer?

Students: Poetic spirit!

Teacher: Even if you do not specifically know what poetic spirit means, if you see these eight characters you should know the word is about the poetic spirit.

A teacher who tells students, “This is about how much you need to know”, or “In this portion, this is all you need to know”, is a “competent” teacher who, by clearly defining what students need to know, enables the students to understand content of the textbook that is difficult to understand.

3) *Pointing out important portions.* A “competent” teacher not only decides the level of information that his or her students need to acquire from the textbook but also determines the most

important part of the textbook. Important parts of the textbooks are those contents are frequently dealt with on the C.E.E.. One of the differences between a "competent" and a "green" teacher is whether they know what is important and what is not. Teachers responsible for the upper grade levels worry that new teachers do not know what is important and what is not. When veteran teachers train student teachers they tell them "providing systematically organized outlines of textbook material on the blackboard and accurate examinations of these concepts are basically required". In addition, veteran teachers explain that all teachers should "point out the important information or emphasize it when they are explaining the content of a textbook". Teachers have their students underline, circle, or box what they deem particularly important by referring at length to other related information. Then, they tell the students to be certain to memorize the important material. They even tell pupils to just go ahead and memorize it even if they do not understand it. Students also want their teachers to point out general areas that are important for them to study. If teachers say "this is important", even students talking among themselves become quiet and quickly underline the specified information.

There are two reasons teachers believe they should just focus on the important information. One is that if teachers teach the entire content of a textbook in detail their students tend to either doze off or talk among themselves. This results in teachers losing interest in the class and in poorly instructed classes. The other reason is that texts meant to be taught over a three year period are now taught in only two years.

4) *Organizing the "stuff" in a logically connected, systematic, information-giving format.* The material selected by the above three processes is organized into a logically connected, systematic, information-giving format. Teachers write the systematically organized content of the day's lesson on the blackboard. They feel that not writing the material to be taught that day on the blackboard in a systematic manner is a sign of an unprepared teacher. This systematic transcript of the day's lesson is important, not only because it enables students who fail to follow the lesson for short intervals during class to re-focus their attention by simply looking at the outline written on the blackboard, but also, because it enables students to

systematically understand the lesson by looking at the outline on the blackboard. If a teacher does not outline the lesson systematically on the blackboard, once a student's attention strays no tool is provided to get him or her back on the right track. The following is an outline about existentialism in National Ethics class.

* Existentialism

1. Accuses modern industrial society of dehumanization
 - Strongly advocates the awakening of the self and the regaining of self reliance
2. Emphasizes the innate sincerity of humans
3. Opposes rationalism and positivism
4. Representatives
 - a. Nietzsche (God is dead)
 - b. Jaspers
 - c. Sartre (Existence preceds substance)
 - d. Kierkegaard, Heidegger, Marcel

Students also expect content of the lesson to be described systematically by the teacher. If teachers just explain the content of the textbook without outlining it on the blackboard, students believe that the class is not worth listening to. The following is what a freshman told the researcher during a class taught in such manner by a male teacher.

Researcher: Why is it so quiet?

Student: No one listening. Can't you feel it? This class is just a time to take naps, It's useless to listen The whole class is just reading the textbook. I would be asleep now too, if it hadn't been for you.

Another Nearby Student: (In a low voice) I just had a good sleep,

Students: Ha, Ha, Ha....

Student: (To Researcher) None of the material sinks in. It's not focused. It should be made interesting,,but it's not,

Students also evaluate teachers who do not outline the content on the blackboard and just explain contents in length as "teachers unskilled in teaching" and "someone who teaches insincerely". The following is a part of a conversation that the

researcher held with one of the students sitting in the back of the class.

Researcher: Doesn't the teacher outline the text for you on the blackboard?

Student: No, he doesn't. (Sarcastically) Isn't that great?

As can be seen from the above, teachers, after selecting what is important for students to study based on the content of the textbook used and the content of the C.E.E., conduct classroom instruction according to a systematically organized format for dispersing information. This form of instruction results from an interest in minimizing the study load of the student while ensuring that he or she gets good mark on the C.E.E..

III. The Presentation of Classroom K*nowledge

A teacher who systematically compiles the content of the lesson so that it fits into the boundaries of what students need to know can then explain it to students so that they can understand it clearly. Such teachers also predict the tendencies of the C.E.E. and vary the method of presentation according to the importance of the subject on the exam.

1) *Repetition of a simple question and answer session.* Teachers usually explain concepts to students, focusing on what is written on the blackboard. The majority of the teacher's questions are either those that can be answered with a simple yes or no or those that can be answered in short, simple phrases. Of course, there will invariably be some more difficult questions such as, "Why does human alienation occur?" which require a more lengthy answer. The frequency of such questions in a lesson is relatively rare. The following scene is that of a teacher explaining the blackboard outline of existentialism as mentioned above.

Teacher: On the bookshelves at home there are many books on existentialism. When was existentialism prevalent?

Student: The twentieth century.

Teacher: What was it influenced by?

- Students: The philosophy of life.
- Teacher: What is the philosophy of life also called?
- Student: Anti-rationalism.
- Teacher: Existentialism places more importance on the emotional aspects of life than the rational. What characteristics does modern society have?
- Students: Uh....
- Teacher: Didn't you learn about this in Social Studies?
- Students: Uh....
- Teacher: Whether you learned it or not, think about it.
- Student: Confusion of values!
- Teacher: Materialism. Sex...
- One Student: Too much sex!
- Students: Ha! Ha! Ha!
- Another Student: Alienation of man.
- Teacher: What does 'alienation of man' mean?
- Another student: Not looking after others because of egoism.
- Teacher: How is 'individualism' different from 'egoism'?
- Student: Uh....
- Teacher: Individualism is not simply pursuing self-interest. Individualism exists in contrast to totalitarianism. Individualism can wrongly become egoism. What other characteristics are there?
- Another Student: The crime rate is high.
- Students: Ha! Ha! Ha!
- Teacher: Alienation of man is something like when man steps out of his rightful place and something else is put in his place instead. Why does the phenomenon of alienation of man occur?
- Students: Because of an industrial society.
- Teacher: In more concrete terms?
- Students: Mechanization. Specialization.
- Teacher: It's what you learned freshman year.
- Students: Uh....
- Teacher: You're all giving me a blank stare just because I asked you something that you possibly learned freshman year? You look like you're wondering how you can possibly remember something you learned freshman year.
- Student: Exactly!

Teacher: As freshmen, you learned that the three major characteristics of the modern society are specialization, the division of labor, and the tendency to organize! Don't you remember?

The focus of existentialism is the denunciation of the phenomena of dehumanization and the reaffirmation and the awakening of the self". Underline that portion of your texts, and while you're at it, memorize that sentence. You have one minute. Understand the sentence and memorize it. If you memorize it now you'll be glad later. Even if you look at just those words you can tell existentialism is different from any philosophies before it.

Student:

Teacher: Haven't existentialists also offered an alternative? What was the alternative ?

Student: Self-reliance.

Teacher: The phenomena of dehumanization. Each man becomes like the part of a machine. Would existentialism have a positive or negative effect on a scientific, technical civilization?

Student: Negative.

Teaching becomes a simple Q & A session, because if teaching takes the form of simple explanation, the teacher loses the students' attention and there will be many students who will either doze off or start talking. Of course, senior students who "listen diligently, rubbing their eyes when they feel sleepy", do not need to be asked questions. Easily answered questions, which constitute a major portion of the lessons for sophomore and junior students, are not intended to stimulate students' interest in research but are rather to get students' attention, to prevent them from falling asleep. Teachers and students think that accepting and understanding the text material is the objective of class and consider raising doubts as "the act of a half-wit, which obstructs the smooth running of the lesson."

2) *Provision of familiar examples.* When students talk about the distinguishing characteristics of a "competent" teacher they say, "He gives us examples which enable us to understand the

material better”, and “When you listen to the examples he gives, you start to ‘get it’ and can understand more clearly.” So it appears that “good” teachers must understand the importance of giving examples. For instance, they know that when they explain a difficult concept, such as metaphysics, if they use examples students will understand the broader concept more easily. Examples teachers consider appropriate have three features. One is that students are familiar with the example from their daily lives. Another, is that the example is something that will not obstruct the flow of the general explanation. And finally, just as the questioning and the outlining of the lesson on the blackboard is solely done by the teacher, the examples should also be given only by the teacher. Below is a scene from a Korean class where a male teacher is instructing a group of first year high school boys, illustrating the material by using an example the students are familiar with from their daily lives. The teacher is explaining “explanation” from the chapter “Forms of writing sentences” in the textbook.

Teacher: Do you remember I have said: “The objective of explanation is designation, definition, exemplification, categorization and comparison?”

Students: Yes.

Teacher: This is a rod. Is it a designation or a definition?

Student: Designation.

Teacher: A rod is?

A student: Something to beat people with.

Students: Ha! Ha! Ha!

Teacher: (Laughing) Now, that is a definition!

Next is a scene in which a teacher of junior female students explains the following paragraph written in the national ethics textbook. “There exists a perception that, though nationalism can be the inherent ideology encompassed in other political ideas such as independent democracy, socialistic democracy, socialism and communism. It cannot be a separate and definite political idea.”

Teacher: Let’s say that there is Super Market. The store sells rice, barley and beans. Communism is equivalent to the sign Super Market and nationalism is rice, barley and beans. Nationalism is not the sign but it speaks

of its character. For example, though North Korea is a strict communist country, there is a strong nationalistic overtone to its political rhetoric, and our country, though a free democratic nation, also has strongly nationalistic elements.... Yet, though the United States is a free democratic country, you can't find nationalistic tendencies anywhere.

As can be seen in the preceding two examples, the two teachers explain the text to their students by utilizing examples that their students are familiar with from their daily lives, such as "rod" and "Super Market". Such examples should not be so long that they interfere with the flow of textbook instruction, for if the examples become too long the students do not consider them to be examples but rather, "other stuff." Students complain, "Because stories branch out and then branch out again, after a while we can't follow the story any more." The complaints of senior students are particularly strong on this point. The following is a scene in which sophomore male students are being taught, "The characteristic of the rivers of our country is that there is a large fluctuation in the quantity of water".

Teacher: In the case of places like Europe, rain instead of falling all at once, goes 'Drop. Drop. Drop.'

Students: He, he, he, he.

Teacher: It rains like it is not raining. In Europe, roads are made next to rivers, and boats can even travel on the rivers, because there isn't much change in their water levels. In our country, you can't travel by water. What does an English gentleman need to go out into the rain? Only an umbrella, a hat, and a trench coat. Since it doesn't rain much, that's enough. But a woman in Korea who drapes her sweater around her neck or hip when it is sunny looks like an air head!

Students: Ha! Ha! Ha! Men do the same thing!

Teacher: And if they do, they're totally crazy!

Students: Ha! Ha! Ha!

A Few Students: No!, They just have character!

Teacher: They don't have character! They're just crazy!

If the example moves away from the flow of the text and becomes too lengthy, students become distracted and even after they listen to the teacher's explanation, the lesson is doomed to become one in which they can't remember what they heard.

The reason that teachers believe that they should be the only ones asking questions and outlining the text on the blackboard and should also be the only ones giving examples, is that many classes would quickly fall apart if students were asked to give examples. A large number of the teachers follow the rule, "The teachers should be the only ones allowed to make a class laugh." The following is a comparison between two classes, both taught by female teachers. The teacher in the second example is considered in an evaluation by her peers and the principal of her school to "truly teach well."

Class where the students provide the examples (sophomore male students' grammar class)

Teacher: Demonstrative adjectives are 'this' and 'that', aren't they? Number 24! Give an example.

Number 24: Act crazy!

Students: Ha! Ha! Ha!

Teacher: Would you like me to send you to the student guidance office or to your homeroom teacher?

Class where the teacher provides the examples (sophomore female students' Chinese character class)

Teacher: This 'bu'(Chinese character) is the 'to burden' bu. When there is a big load for you to carry, what do you call it?

A Few Students: A burden

Teacher: Right! You say you are carrying a big burden.

Students: Yes.

As in the case of the sophomore male students, in a class where loud rebellious students control the atmosphere, teachers provide only a limited number of examples. Examples which will lead the students to shout out answers, like those concerning the opposite sex, are avoided. In such classes, instruction is simply pointing out what is likely to be on the examinations. This method of teaching, because it is a method in which the teacher cannot introduce examples to promote the

understanding of the text material, is thus no different than that employed by inexperienced student teachers.

3) *Provision of alternative perspectives only for compliant students.* If a single class is composed of students who want to study, in other words, if most students have an "attitude of willingness to listen to what the teacher has to say," then the teacher, in order to help the students understand the material more clearly, conducts the class in a fashion that induces the students to look at the text material from various perspectives. One teacher who teaches his class in such manner said, "I lead the class to think from all perspectives and to reason through the words of me, the teacher." Below is a scene where the forementioned teacher is explaining the relationship between liberal democracy, socialistic democracy, socialism and communism all of which are independent and definitive political ideas, to a class of junior female science and math students. All the students are good students whose probable destinations are middle class jobs after finishing college.

Teacher: One of the biggest problems of capitalism is the big gap between the 'haves' and 'have nots.' This has to be solved and one of the alternatives is socialism. Social democracy and communism both pursue the establishment of socialism but the methods they employ different. How are they different?

Students: Uh....

Teacher: What are the similarities?

Students: Uh....

Teacher: They want to get rid of personal property, the source of the material discrepancy between the wealthy and the poor. Capitalism is economic individualism. Communism wants to achieve the goal of socialism faster through revolution. Yet, going faster means being more violent. If men turn violent, then some men die. So what is the revolution for? Let us change society, gradually, through legislative bodies. This is why communists and social democrats argue. Communism slanders socialism more than vice versa. And, don't communists swear a lot?

Students: Ha! Ha! Ha!

Teacher: What do they say when they swear? Be clear about it! Are you going to change society or not, gray comrade! (By the way, you look like a bat!). Socialists say that communists are beasts wearing men's masks! Modified capitalism says that we should cautiously fix only those things that need to be repaired. Countries with strong social democratic traditions are France, Italy, and Germany. France is controlled by socialists! Who is the president?

Students: Uh...

Teacher: You are probably thinking that you don't need know!

Student: Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!

Teacher: I'm sure you have the general picture of the relationship between capitalism, socialism, communism, and social democracy by now. Although the concepts are clearly defined in the textbook, you must understand the relationship between them. You shouldn't ask later, like a middle school student, "Is communism also socialism?"

In a class where the content of the textbook is intended to be looked at from various perspectives, the teachers almost never ask questions that can be answered with a simple yes or no answer, but ask questions that can be only answered after being thought over. For example, "Social democracy and communism both pursue the establishment of socialism, but the methods are different. How are they different?", or "Communists slander socialists more. Don't communists swear a lot? What do say when they swear?" But, such questions are not thrown at students either to hear their answers or to stimulate discussion. They are intended to stimulate students to think more about the subject being studied or to enable students to understand pedantic explanations more clearly.

When teaching demonstration classes for student teachers who come to schools for training, experienced teachers also ask students questions that can be answered only after being thought over. Such questions are asked to hear students'

answers as well as to encourage the students must study the material to be covered in class ahead of time so that they can answer the questions. In everyday classes, in which the students rarely prepare for class (that is, preview the material), teachers consider asking the students questions that they need to think over before answering and then answering these questions themselves as the class progresses to be the most satisfactory method of instruction.

4) *Coaching the exact form of the exam question.* According to teachers, students expect instructors to know the styles of questions on the C.E.E.. Teachers who know this information are considered skilled teachers and those who don't are thought of as teachers who lack ability. When teachers do not know the forms that the exam questions take, their students seem to be "big and scary", but once they learn the various forms that the questions take, their students look "like children." What are the forms of questions that a skilled teacher needs to know? According to teachers who are often selected by the test preparation companies to sit on the committee that makes up the questions, the questions must have correct grammar, spelling, spacing, and not rely too much on common sense. Moreover, the questions and the answers must be such that they cannot be seriously disputed by any teacher anywhere in Korea. According to these teachers, for a question to become indisputable, it should not exceed the content and the reasoning covered in the textbook. If a teacher teaches senior students for many years, he or she will eventually carefully study old entrance examinations in an attempt to predict the entrance examination questions for that year. Not only do they learn what pages of the textbook are used to make the exam questions and how the questions themselves are generated, they also learn how wrong answers are formulated. Moreover, when they look over mock examination questions they can even recognize which questions are revised versions of those on former college entrance examinations, and also name the year in which the original question appeared.

5) *Variations in teaching forms across subjects.* Teachers categorize the curriculum into "important subject" (Korean, English, mathematics) and "other subject" areas. Students often

distinguish English and mathematics from subjects requiring memorization." Students also differentiate between "important subjects" and "other subjects" according to the weight that they carry on the C.E.E.. While a perfect score for an "important subject" is 55 to 75 on the C.E.E., a perfect score for "other subjects" is only 20 to 25. The difference in the weight of the scores on the C.E.E. leads to variation in the management of the educational process. More hours than required by regulations are allotted to the "important subjects", and supplementary classes are offered only for those subjects. Although mid-terms and finals, which are made up by teachers, are given for all subjects in the curriculum, tests which are given twice per semester (in months where there no midterms or finals) made-up outside the school, are given just for the "important subjects." When students reach the third year of high school, they take tests made-up outside the school in all subjects. Therefore, for the "important subjects", students' scores are compared to the national average throughout their first, second and third years of high school.

IV. Student Control

Although teachers continually ask simple questions and give the students examples they can easily understand to induce the students to focus their attention on the subject being taught, when such methods are not effective, teachers make students pay attention by using the instructional method of direct control. Methods of control teachers employ to make students pay attention to the discussion are coercive control, consent generation, and differential treatment.

1) *Coersive control.* The most elementary method that can be used to prevent the students from doing other things during class is by dealing strictly with them. Teachers know that if they are strict with students, the students won't be noisy in class because they are afraid of the teacher. The following is a conversation that took place during a break between first year female student teachers A, B, and C.

Teacher A: During my class, regardless of which class, they

sit and act well behaved. Class Number Eight behaves as they do because I am their homeroom teacher. If that weren't the case, the bigger students sitting in the back would probably be quite rowdy.

Teacher C: Class Number Five becomes quiet and subdued as soon as a serious expression crosses my face. There are all kinds of students in Class Number Seven.

Teacher B: Class Number Five and Seven are both noisy. the students in them talk too much.

Teacher C (To teacher B): That's because you don't make the students afraid of you.

The most effective method to make students fear their teacher is planting the image in students' minds that they can't be noisy during that teacher's class. In the case of male students, corporal punishment is the most effective way to drive home the concept that "you can't be noisy." If a teacher physically punishes a few students as examples at the beginning of the school year, the effect lasts throughout the year. Although there are a few teachers who believe that corporal punishment should not be used if it can be avoided, most teachers believe that students should be beaten occasionally. Teachers often hit their students simply because they cannot be controlled if they are not beaten. Hitting must be done at the right time with the right stance. Notably, if a teacher beats a student in an emotional fashion all this does is bring about bad feelings, moreover if a teacher hits a student while smiling and with a demeanor that appears to be insincere and not genuinely serious, the effectiveness of this form of discipline is negligible. Students see those types of hitting not as a legitimate discipline but as a personal attack. When hitting is timely, students appreciate what a teacher does to them. For teachers, a timely hitting is an art to be mastered through experience as well as a developmental task to be accomplished in order to become a competent teacher.

Also, whenever there are students who doze off or talk among themselves, teachers use corporal punishment as a deterrent. When a large number of students are talking, the teacher says, "Don't talk to your neighbor." When a large number of students

fall asleep, the teacher orders them, "Raise your heads," "Sit up straight!", "Wake the students who are sleeping", or even "Take a stretch." When students ask their teacher to tell them a good story, he or she puts off this request by saying, "You want ghost stories every day." Some teachers shout, "Be quiet!" or pound on the blackboard or on their desks when the students get too loud. In addition, when students keep on talking even when the teacher is explaining the text, the teacher sometimes says, "This is a question on the next exam." or "This is important". However, if it is not true, students ridicule their teacher's claim. They talk back by asking, "Is that going to be on the exam, Sir?". Such methods do not make students quiet down, and a skilled teacher does not employ these methods.

Teachers also control students through tone of voice and style of speech. A good voice is one of the qualities a teacher must possess. Such a voice is loud, clear and deep. If a teacher has a soft voice, students in the back rows can't hear well, and it is difficult for them to pay attention. High pitched voices make students consider the teacher calm, cautious and confident. A skilled teacher uses neither an honorific form of speech nor a condescending form of speech.

2) *Consent generating.* Although being strict with students is the surest way to ensure acceptable behavior, a strict teacher can easily arouse the animosity of his or her pupils. On the surface, when teachers are strict with their students everything appears to be alright. Inwardly, however, students are scared of that teacher and dislike him. When students don't like a teacher, teaching is not fun for the teacher. Teachers consider a good method of control one which prevents students from "doing other things" but at the same time enables the teacher to maintain good relations with his or her pupils. One of the ways a teacher can maintain a good relationship with his or her students is to "be strict when necessary, but be good to the students when they deserve it." Students call a teacher who uses this method of control "a stylish teacher". Teachers think that being democratic but making all the important decisions themselves is a way to avoid arousing ill-feeling but still control the students.

One way to "be strict when necessary, but good to students when they deserve it" is to appropriately control the break

between periods, during which the students either need to put all their efforts into studying or need to relax. The following are two of the principles adhered to by a teacher who knows when it is best to be strict and when to be lenient. One of these is that the teacher is the only one allowed to make students laugh, and the other is that when the teacher turns around to write on the blackboard, the laughter must stop.

In addition, teachers facing students as a class must appear strict. Yet, when they meet with the students on an individual basis they may become more congenial. Teachers need to deal strictly with a class because if teachers are too lenient problem students can speak out of turn and disrupt the class or sour its atmosphere. Notwithstanding, teachers believe that if they are excessively authoritarian with individual students, this will make it very difficult for teachers and students to reach common ground and very difficult to achieve any level of mutual understanding. If a teacher is "strict when necessary, but good to students when they deserve it", his or her students do not become bored with studying but instead enthusiastically concentrate on what their teacher is saying about the material at hand. Teachers describe students with such an attitude as "alive, but 'focused'" and comment that these students are active and lively but that the atmosphere of the classes they are in remains pleasant because such students are still polite. Teachers consider this classroom attitude the best possible for learning.

3) *Differential treatment.* Another method of controlling students to ensure they don't do "other things" and that they concentrate on their studies is to control students differently according to their background. Teachers use different methods of control according to the grade level and gender of their students. Since it is difficult to make every student develop an enthusiastic attitude toward learning, many teachers, instead of concentrating on changing the attitude of students who are unwilling to study just make certain that these students do not interfere with students who are willing to study. Such teachers say, "It is better if students who are unwilling to study sleep in class. If they are awake, they are just noisy." In a class where there are many students who are willing to study, teachers boost the sense of superiority of these students by saying, "This part is

hard, but because you are good students, you should all learn at least this much."

Teachers differ in their treatment of student behaviors by gender. They do so because male and female students have differing attitudes toward class. Female students are usually more willing to listen than male students. Because male students usually don't respond well to verbal reprimands, teachers generally implement more direct methods of control such as general punishment or even *physical striking*. Teachers need to resort to these relatively heavy-handed forms of discipline because once the students size up a teacher as a non-disciplinarian, even after that teacher reprimands them, the students just smile, not taking it seriously. However, to ensure that disciplined students don't develop hard feelings toward their teacher, on the same day that a teacher punishes a student an experienced teacher calls on that student and appeases him by asking in both a jovial and a mollifying fashion, "Didn't that hurt before?"

For female students more indirect methods, such as praise, are a more effective means of maintaining order than corporal punishment or reprimands. Female students are considered capricious and if reprimanded tend to quickly lose their good will toward their teacher. The following is a scene of a class of sophomore female students (Class Number Eight). It is being taught by a male teacher whom the students say is popular and quietly humorous.

Teacher: What were the inhabitants of Korea like in the Book of Late Han? They worked hard and played hard, didn't they?

Students: (Loudly) Yes!

Teacher: They were just like the students in Class Number Eight, weren't they?

Students: Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!

Teacher: I can't help laughing because I'm teasing you.

Students: Ha! Ha! Ha!

Such a teacher, even while explaining the content of the text, uses a variety of methods to control the students in a fashion that makes them concentrate on their studies. Methods of student control also reflect every teacher's goal of making as

many students as possible receive as high a grade as possible on the C.E.E.. Teachers are strict to ensure that students don't start doing "other things" and that students who are doing "other things" don't disrupt the class. Notwithstanding, teachers even in the process of disciplining, at appropriate points, help students relieve the tension of studying by cracking jokes. Of course, proficient and experienced teachers use different methods of control tailoring the method of control to suit the offender and the situation

V. Concluding Remarks

Effective teaching can be said to be the teaching of the text done in such a manner that it stimulates and motivates each student. Most high school teachers adapt the content of what is to be taught, the method of presenting it, and their method of student control to suit the needs and demands of students. What most high school students need desperately is good marks on the C.E.E. Still, most students do not want to study. Thus, teachers teach subjects and control students in a fashion that addresses those students who want to receive a good score but who do not want to study. The most effective method of instruction for helping students who do not want to study receive good grades on the college entrance tests is picking out the information that those tests focus on and presenting it in a manner that students can easily understand. Thus, teachers in high school limit their lesson goals to making students understand a limited amount of knowledge.

Such results tell us two things. First, they show us that in a class in which the typical classroom lesson is shackled by the C.E.E., knowledge is not simply memorized. Teaching through rote memory is a lesson form used by teachers lacking ability or is a form of teaching used in classes where students are not willing to study, are not controlled properly, and disrupt the class. Curriculum content is not taught simply for memorization but so that it can be understood easily. "Understanding" for students who are taught to understand a limited amount of systematically presented information is different from "understanding" as experienced by students who learn through

research. While "understanding" in a class using student research as the teaching tool is accompanied by the transformation of student attitudes and view points, "understanding" in a class using systematic instruction as the teaching tool is accompanied by logical thinking in regard to the material as reflected in examples from everyday life. Hence, the students' understanding takes place at a lower intellectual level. Moreover, though students who have participated in research oriented instruction will want to ask questions, students who participate in classes where the goal is making students understand systematically presented information, experience a "clearing of their heads", a feeling that they have no questions at all. If we consider the ability to teach information in a systematic fashion one skill of the many possessed by the "skilled teacher", because this ability to teach information in a systematic fashion can only be acquired after an extensive education or training program, then this ability to teach information in an organized, logical way can be said to be a type of teaching specialty. This particular specialty is different in character than the specialty of a scholar in a specific field. If we were to define the specialty of a scholar as an "open" specialty, then a teacher's specialty can be said to be a "closed" specialty.

Second, the above conclusions show that it is not just the C.E.E. which forces classroom instruction to become unifaceted. Students who have a great interest in getting good grades on college tests but "do not study" also force instruction to become unifaceted. Such students even go so far as to resist the very systematic instruction (aimed at information comprehension) that would help them receive better scores on the C.E.E. If a teacher can't control such students, he or she can't appropriately use examples to stimulate understanding of the textbook material, and, of course, can't lead the class in a way that induces students to think from various perspectives. With this in mind, the entrance examination is the prime culprit in the distortion of classroom instruction. It is also the motivational force that makes possible systematic instruction geared toward information comprehension. This point is proven by field studies which indicate that in technical and rural high schools, in which the majority of students aren't interested in the C.E.E., conducting liberal arts and science classes becomes nearly

impossible and some classes even appear to be study halls because of the significant number of students who resist studying. A similar situation exists in the United States, according to the results of research conducted by McNeil (1983). McNeil's work demonstrates that academic instruction rooted in the textbook content of American high school students more interested in doing either part-time work or finding a job is one faceted and abbreviated.

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