"AM I KOREAN AMERICAN?"
BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN
LIVING IN TWO LANGUAGES AND TWO CULTURES

BY

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore attitudes and practices regarding their heritage language and the dominant English language among Korean American immigrant families. Using the framework of Language Ideology (Silverstein, 1979), I had three research questions: a) why do parents send their children to a Korean language school, b) what attitudes do immigrant parents and their children show toward Korean and English, and c) how are the parents and children involved in the practices of these two languages? I conducted a survey of parents whose children attended a Korean language school in Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, where the number of Korean sojourners (temporary residents) exceeds that of Korean immigrants. Forty participant parents provided demographic information. They described their children's language-use patterns depending on interlocutors as well as their language proficiency in both Korean and English. The reasons for sending their children to the Korean language school were significantly different depending on the respondents' residential status. In comparison to the sojourners, immigrants tended to give more priority to their children's oral language development and Korean identity construction. I also conducted case studies of three Korean immigrant families with 3- to 5-year-old children, using interviews, observations, and photographs of children's work. The collected data were analyzed according to themes such as daily life, parental beliefs about two languages, practices in two languages, children's attitudes toward two languages, and challenges and needs. Despite individual families' different immigration histories, the three families faced some common challenges. Because of their busy daily routines and different lifestyles, the
immigrant families had limited interactions with other Koreans. The parents wanted their children to benefit from two communities and build a combined ethnic identity as Korean Americans. I argue that a Korean language school should expand its role as a comfort zone for all Koreans and Korean Americans. This study explores the heterogeneity among Korean sojourner and immigrant families and their language use and identity construction.
I dedicated this dissertation to my parents and heavenly Father.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Many children in the United States today grow up speaking two languages. In 2008, approximately 21% (2.7 million out of 10.9 million) of children aged 5 to 17 spoke a language other than English at home (ACS, 2008). Among the ten languages most commonly spoken at home, other than English and Spanish, Korean is ranked seventh, approaching 0.9% of the total population 5 of age and older (US Census Bureau, 2000). While some children successfully become bilingual, many others lose their mother tongue, becoming English monolingual (Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Tabors, 2008; Tabors & Snow, 2001). As successive bilinguals (Baker, 2006), most Korean American children are first exposed to English as a second language when they enter school around the age of 3. As the children step into the mainstream classroom, they may find that they are different in appearance, behavior, and language and feel that these differences are not acceptable. In order to belong in the classroom, they may quickly recognize that they need to speak English like their peers (Wong Fillmore, 1991). As English is used in other public communities beyond school, immigrant parents face practical challenges in fostering the maintenance of their children’s heritage language. The children have limited exposure to their home language (Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Tse, 2001) and tend to prefer speedy acquisition of English (Garcia, 2003).

According to the three-generation model of linguistic assimilation proposed by Veltman (1983), the first generation tends to speak their native language more dominantly than English at home, the second generation tends to be bilingual to some extent, and the third generation becomes English monolingual (Fishman, 1991). This pattern of minority language loss was observed in European immigrants and their descendents in the late 19th
and early 20th centuries (Magarati, 2010). Korean immigrant families are no exception. Maintaining Korean language needs more attention in contemporary Korean American communities that experience the transition between their second and third generations.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to explore attitudes and practices regarding their heritage language and the dominant English language among Korean American immigrant families. I investigate the perspectives toward bilingualism and biculturalism of both parents and their young children aged 3 to 5. This study also examines language practices that occur in a variety of daily contexts. Because I am interested in the retention of heritage language, I focus on immigrant families with young children who do not intend to return to Korea. In my preliminary research, I found that these families wanted their children to communicate well in Korean with other Korean speakers, particularly grandparents.

By using the framework of language ideologies (Silverstein, 1979) and a sociocultural perspective (Vygotsky, 1962), I explore Korean immigrant families’ lives. I describe how individuals' own beliefs and expectations about two languages are revealed in their everyday interactions and utterances.

Drawing on both theoretical and empirical literature on language ideologies and language socialization practices, I ask three principal questions:

1. Why do parents send their children to a Korean language school? Is there a relationship between their expectations and decision and other demographic variables (e.g., residential status, length of residency, yearly income, language competence)?
2. What attitudes do immigrant parents and their children show toward Korean
and English?

3. How are the parents and children involved in the practices of these two languages?

**Korean Americans**

After the 1965 Immigration Act, unlike the earlier Korean immigrant workers on Hawaiian sugar plantations, relatively young, well-educated, and affluent Koreans arrived in the United States. These later Korean immigrant families came to America, a land of opportunity and freedom, with hopes for a better education and career (Hurh & Kim, 1984). Many immigrants, however, lacking English proficiency, experienced downward mobility. According to a census report in 1990, 55% of Korean Americans aged 25 years or over had some college education and 80% of them had at least completed high school. These percentages were higher than those of their American counterparts, which were 45% and 75%, respectively. Despite their higher levels of education, Korean immigrants could not find jobs that matched their educational and professional experience. A major reason was language. Many of them decided to operate small businesses and were self-employed, where a high level of English proficiency was not required (Kim, 1988).

With the continuing improvement of the economy and technology in Korea since the late 1980s, as well as the new immigration laws in the United States, immigration trends and characteristics among Korean Americans have been changing. Korean companies attract the attention of many Korean professionals and keep them from leaving their homeland. Koreans who established a stable economic status for themselves remain in Korea. They no longer feel the need to emigrate. At the same time, migrant workers have not been allowed to immigrate under the restrictions of the Immigration Act of 1976. Instead, this law allowed immigrants to bring their family members to America through easier processes. Ninety
percent of Korean immigrants have come to America for family reunification since then (Barringer & Cho, 1989; Min, 1995). Compared to previous professional immigrants, this group has lower socioeconomic status and desires to improve the standard of living (Jo, 1999).

A noticeable feature in contemporary Korean American communities is that the number of non-immigrant families has increased. According to the 2009 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics (Department of Homeland Security), while 25,582 Koreans became legal permanent residents, 608,016 were nonimmigrant sojourners, including students, exchange visitors, temporary workers and their families. Most of them wanted to return to Korea after achieving their pre-planned educational or financial goals. Some of them, who were concerned about their children’s education, particularly English language acquisition, decided to leave their children in American homes or schools. For younger children, mothers stayed with them in America, while their fathers sent money from Korea in order to support their wives and children (Chung, 2008). Numerous mass media have described such Korean families as "wild geese" families (kirōgi kajok). These are seen as a threat to family stability and family relations due to long periods of separation (Digital Chosunilbo, 2006). Regardless of the risk, families who dare to make huge physical and financial sacrifices for their children’s education are still arriving in the United States (Shin, 2005).

Few studies indicate how this new trend of migration affects immigrant lives in contemporary Korean American communities. Different resident status may influence the Korean children's linguistic experiences in the United States, depending on their specific learning goals (Joo, 1999). In Chung's (2008) study, some long-term resident parents reported challenges in interacting with the short-term resident families, who came for their
children's English acquisition. Because the short-term resident parents wanted their children to practice English, they sent their children to the Korean language school, which many English-speaking long-term resident children attended. The long-term resident parents expected their children's Korean language ability to improve by attending the school but felt that their children were being used for the short-term resident children's English practice. Song (2010) found that the increasing number of sojourners influenced the Korean immigrant families' perspectives on the Korean language. With more opportunities to interact with native Korean speakers, some immigrant parents wanted their children to speak Korean as fluently as the sojourners' children. They thought that their children's Korean language ability would be an asset in the broader marketplaces brought about by globalization.

Children of the post-1965 Korean immigrants are entering their adulthood today. A high percentage of the Korean American population is 1.5-generation or second-generation immigrants, who immigrated as adolescents or who were US-born, respectively. The generation status may have affected individual immigration trajectories in terms of assimilation or acculturation to the host country (Magarati, 2010). For example, the earlier generation, who lived in Korea, is more likely to retain their Korean language, traditions, and culture than the later generations, who did not.

**Korean Ethnic Church**

A vast majority of Korean immigrants in the United States are affiliated with Korean Christian churches (Kibria, 2002). Older Koreans were initially exposed to Western culture and the English language by Christian missionaries. They connected with the Korean ethnic church when they first arrived in the United States (Jo, 1999; Kim, 1988; Min & Kim, 2000). The pivotal community role of the Korean ethnic church attracted Korean Americans (Hurh,
Beyond fostering religious faith, the Korean ethnic church provides a broad range of social, educational, and psychological support (Chong, 1998), similar to what Catholic churches did for other poor immigrant groups such as the Irish and Italians. The Korean church reinforces socialization practices sharing a variety of information and resources (Min, 1992; Shin, 2010). It also promotes the value of the relationship between language and ethnic identity through Korean heritage language schools (Joo, 2009; Lew, 2006; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Pak (2003) claimed that the Korean church is an important community for supporting bilingual and bicultural contexts for Korean American children. Some Korean churches or schools provide children with opportunities to learn traditional dance, Taekwondo, or Korean calligraphy. Children can connect to their heritage and develop their social identity as community members while learning the Korean language. For the second or later generations, with their limited Korean language proficiency, many Korean churches offer English services. It helps to unify the immigrant families and allows them to interact with other Koreans.

**Key Terminology**

1.5-generation Korean Americans. The term refers to immigrants who were born in Korea and who have taken up permanent residence in the United States since immigrating as adolescents (Hirvela, 2010). Although they are formally first-generation immigrants like their parents, their young age at arrival makes them distinct from both their parents and their US-born offspring. The 1.5-generation Korean immigrants tend to have parents with high socioeconomic backgrounds, who support their bilingualism and biculturalism, adding traditional and heritage values and social relations to the new ones of the host society (Hurh, 1990).

Sojourners. Sojourners are residing temporarily in the United States and intend to
return eventually to their native country (Song, 2010). To represent Korean Americans who have not settled in the United States, in this study I use the term sojourners instead of non-immigrants or temporary residents.

**Heritage language (HL).** All participant children in this study speak English better than Korean. Korean is not regarded as the first language for these children. Throughout the study, when referring to the Korean language, I use the term heritage language instead of first language (L1).

**Bilingual.** Because the participant children in this study are young and still in the process of acquiring language(s), it is appropriate to call them possible bilinguals. I use the term bilingual to describe their ability to use two languages.

**Code-switching.** Code-switching is defined as “[alternating] between two language systems in an utterance or conversation” (Perez & Torres-Guzman, 2002, p. 52). Bilinguals can choose one of their two languages (Gumperz, 1982), showing an understanding of each language’s grammatical rules and social norms in particular contexts (Bauer, 2000; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1996). Some researchers differentiate code-switching from borrowings that are used to fill lexical gaps, inserting a word from one language into a sentence in another language (McKay & Hornberger, 1996; Shin, 2010; Yoon, 1992). In this study, I use code-switching to refer to any kind or degree of combination of Korean and English uttered by the participants and their interlocutors.

**Significance of the Study**

Many researchers have explored language minority communities. They have emphasized the importance of maintaining the heritage language and culture. The current study has three distinctive features. First, the focal participant children are 3 through 5, which
is younger than the participants in previous studies. The preschool years are an essential period for oral language and emergent literacy acquisition in two languages (Baker, 2001; Perez & Torres-Guzman, 2002). Parents are the most influential “others” in these early years (Baker, 2006; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Young children are exposed to parent-directed practices associated with beliefs about and expectations of language. The linguistic experiences directed by immigrant parents influence the children’s own thoughts and behaviors regarding two languages, two cultures, and hybrid identities.

Second, this study explores the contemporary realities of Korean immigrants within the context of a growing number of sojourners in an American university town. In this area, immigrant parents may be relatively younger and more educated than those in metropolitan areas such as L.A., Chicago, or New York. With a strong desire for their children’s academic achievement, they seek better opportunities for their children’s education. To some extent, sojourners may affect the lives of immigrant families in terms of language socialization practices and identity construction. Focusing on Korean immigrant families, this study describes how interactions with others affect their attitudes about and practices of two languages.

Lastly, the study explores the individuals' language ideologies and practices regarding the minority language as well as the majority language. The study describes how language ideology is involved in language practices of Korean and English. The term language ideology is typically used at the social level to refer to beliefs of the larger group that speaks in a common language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). In this study, I describe individuals’ beliefs about English, Korean, Korean-English bilingualism, and code-switching through in-
depth cases of three Korean immigrant families.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

The underlying assumption of the study is that context plays an essential role for language acquisition and use. One’s attitudes and practices toward a language may differ depending on the embedded context. One may reflect one's language ideologies through a variety of interactions with other people in different settings. I will present related literature used in building the theoretical and practical framework of the study.

Language Ideology

Language ideology is defined as “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). It indicates how a language affects society or vice versa. Because language ideologies are “constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speaker” (Krosktrity, 2004, p. 496), different cultures and individuals have varied beliefs about languages (Song, 2010). Community members who speak the same language also share the norms and values of the language to some degree (Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997). The shared beliefs about what is or is not a real language can affect whether or not one can gain access to the speech community as a competent member (Lo, 1999). These language ideologies are highly linked with language socialization practices that young children are exposed to in daily routines (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Song, 2009; Watson-Gegeo, 2004)

English. Though a hegemonic language, English has been adapted in particular ways to many communities in which a local language other than English is spoken. Research has explored the influence of the status of English within a community in relation to local languages (Loveday, 1996). According to Park (2008), three main ideologies of English exist
in Korea. First, the ideology of necessitation identifies English as a shortcut to achieve economical, cultural, and/or political power. Within this view, a lack of English proficiency is regarded as a problem that needs to be fixed, despite the rare usage of English in daily conversations in Korea. Second, the ideology of externalization regards English as an exotic culture trait. English is treated as a factor that interrupts one’s ethnic identity construction. This contradicts the ideology of necessitation. These two opposing perspectives have aroused a debate about whether or not English should be an official language in Korea (Song, 2010). Third, the ideology of self-deprecation is placed between the first two ideologies in relation to English competence. Despite many years of English education, Koreans in general are ashamed of their poor command of English.

The ideology of necessitation is reinforced by the heavy desire for English acquisition, so-called English fever (yŏngŏ yŏlpung). Historically, three sources have accelerated the English fever in Korea. First, the process of national globalization (sekehwa) through the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics held in Korea, along with the economic crisis in the late 1990s, made Koreans realize the importance of English proficiency (Demick, 2002; Park, 2004). Second, in 1991, the Korean government announced that all elementary schools were required to teach English by 1995. In 1997, it made English a compulsory subject from Grades 3 to 6 with a national English curriculum and textbooks. Some elementary schools even began teaching English in first grade in 2005 (Jung & Norton, 2002; Paik, 2005). Lastly, experts argued that the focus of English education should move from grammar and rote memorization of vocabulary to practical communication skills (Chun, 1992). In order to provide students with more relevant and meaningful practices, local governments in Korea have built and operated English villages (yŏngŏ maŭl) or English-only towns, in which all
by 2015, there is a plan to open branch campuses of 12 prestigious Western schools on Jeju Island, where everyone will be required to speak only English (Choe, 2010).

The influence of necessitation, externalization, or self-deprecation varies in degree depending on situations in which individuals are placed. English in the United States is a badge of prestige that allows entry into the mainstream, avoiding alienation (Tse, 2001). As English is used in school and spread through media, immigrant children need rapid English acquisition (Li, 2001; Tabors & Snow, 2001). It may affect immigrant parents in changing their ideologies about English initially constructed in Korea as they attempt to make a life in the new world. Korean immigrant families may start to prefer English over Korean (Fishman, 1991; Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Tse, 2001; Veltman, 1983).

Some Korean children may be confused when they first enter the classroom in the U.S. They quickly recognize that their Korean is meaningless to English-speaking peers (Baker, 2006). In order to belong to their peer culture, children may choose English as their dominant language. Children’s experiences that are brought home from school often affect their families' decision about their home language. Shin (2005) examined language-use patterns of 251 Korean immigrant families. Their language choices reflected a quick shift to English between two generations. When the children asked for their parents' help, they used English (36.1%) or mixed utterances (43.2%) of the time and Korean only (20.7%). The parents responded to their children's requests in Korean (56.1%) or mixed Korean and English (37.8%). Language choice might be related to the immigrant parents’ own challenges to acquire English skills and survive in the English-dominant society.
Some studies investigated Korean Americans who came to the United States after 1965. Immigrant parents showed poor English proficiency (Hurh & Kim, 1984; Kim, Sawdey, & Meihoefer, 1980) and used English mainly for functional rather than social purposes (Kim, 1988). Since many immigrant parents have experienced downward mobility due to language, they want their children to benefit academically and socially by having a native-like English proficiency.

**Korean.** Other languages (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, French) are spoken in Korea. Nevertheless, Korea is considered “one of the most linguistically and ethnically homogeneous countries in the world” (Baker & Prys-Jones, 1998, p. 382). The perception of a homogeneous nation has been constructed from language purism and nationalistic attitudes through "the ideology of danil minchok, the unified people" (Park, 2008, p. 30). It is taken for granted that Koreans should speak Korean. Most Korean immigrants living in the United States keep this ethnocentric ideology. They often face challenges in interacting with their English-speaking children (Jo, 1999). Because Korean is one of many minority languages relatively devalued by the mainstream, some children refuse to use it. Despite their children's lack of motivation for learning Korean, immigrant parents want their children to speak Korean fluently with other Korean speakers. The retention of Korean is regarded as a way to express one's Koreanness, in terms of a strong connection between language and identity (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997; Kim, 2003; Shum, 2001).

**Bilingualism.** Immigrant families need to become bilingual once they have arrived in an English-dominant society. Their children are required to transit quickly between their home language for family and English for success in school. The immigrant children’s gradual English language preference and Korean language loss seem to be a natural process
(Cho & Krashen, 1998; Min, 1989). According to Crawford (1992), the Anglicization rate of Koreans is relatively higher than other Asian groups as they change to American pronunciation of Korean names.

There has been much debate over bilingual education in recent decades (Williams, 2010). Despite supportive evidence from research, politicians and the public media have pointed out the ineffectiveness of bilingual education (Baker & de Kanter, 1981). Bilingual education is regarded by some as a threat to the cultural and linguistic unity of the United States. Advocates insist that there is no harm to academic success by providing children with native language instruction (Hakuta & Snow, 1986). They claim that bilingual education helps minority children to establish a positive self-image and ethnic identity. By maintaining their heritage language and culture, children can be effectively more engaged in school activities and social relations. They assert that children in bilingual educational programs show better academic performance than children in English immersion programs, if all other factors (e.g., IQ, age, SES) are the same. Opponents argue that bilingual education leads children to be retarded in English acquisition and other academic areas. Failure of rapid English acquisition limits access to resources, privileges, or social mobility (May, 2005). In being stuck in their ethnic ghetto, minority language children are, at best, tolerated or, worse, marginalized by the dominant language group (Gupta, 1997).

Ironically, both parties favor the strong type of bilingual education such as dual language or a two-way bilingual immersion program (Cummins, 1999). Such programs provide children with instruction in two target languages on a daily basis. The goal is to promote bilingualism in all students, the majority as well as the minority. Some concerns, however, still exist about complex factors such as socioeconomic status, motivation, trained
teachers, or appropriate materials. In dual language programs, the ability of the minority tends to be underestimated, while that of the majority tends to be overestimated when they learn the target minority language (Faltis, 2002). It is also difficult to measure or evaluate the importance of social or emotional attitudes toward a minority language compared to academic achievement.

Under No Child Left Behind (NCLB), the reauthorized Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) (2002) requires schools to assess English proficiency for limited English proficiency (LEP) students every year, and the academic performance in English for all children who have been in the United States for three years or more. The obvious goal of this legislation is to place language minority children in mainstream classes, using and understanding English (Baker, 2006). Accordingly, teachers are reluctant to accept and support minority children’s native language use in the classroom and often push them to acquire English skills as soon as possible within an English-only policy. Many teachers even think that allowing the children to use their native language hinders their English learning (Shin, 2005). In reality, linguistic and cultural assimilation in the subtractive form is regarded as the norm (Lambert, 1978); balanced bilingualism in the additive form is a theoretical ideal (Niyekawa, 1983).

**Code-switching.** Immigrant parents seem to agree about the advantages of bilingualism. Their attitudes toward code-switching are different. Language mixing is often viewed as indicating less than full linguistic capability or a language delay in either language (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Many parents and teachers tend to be poorly informed regarding code-switching as a problem for bilingual children (Shin, 2005). Code-switching is simply treated as a natural process of shifting to English. Ro and Cheatham (2009) reported
that second-generation Korean students who often code-switch were more likely to use English and lose Korean in near future. However, some studies have shown that bilingual children systematically use two languages depending on context (Nishimura, 1995; Yoon, 1992). Code-switching allows bilinguals to build a linguistic perception of two languages and use it as a resource to convey accurate information and sociocultural attitudes to interlocutors (Gumperz, 1982). Bilinguals tend to use code-switching in speech to avoid conflicts with or to accommodate interlocutors who are not familiar with a target language (Park, 1990; Zentella, 1997). As an additional communicative strategy, bilinguals use code-switching to reveal their intent and emotions as monolinguals do through gestures, pitches, and tones (Gal, 1979).

In order to mix languages, bilinguals need to understand the syntactic rules of each language and linguistic-cultural norms (Bauer, 2000). Code-switching often reflects the social or cultural identities of the speakers sharing the norms of each language with a co-membership in the language community (Foley, 1997; Lo, 1999; Myers-Scotton, 1993). The use of Korean in bilingual discourse can be regarded as a marker of Korean ethnicity. As a honorific language, Korean requires speakers to use appropriate terms that announce their relational status to the listener or the third person, regarding kinship, age, intimacy, or power (Kang, 2003; Koo, 1992; Park & King, 2003; Sohn, 1981). Code-switching or shifting to Korean, encoded to social hierarchy, can be associated with the speakers’ understanding of Korean culture and identity (Shin, 2010).

**Sociocultural Approach**

According to Taylor (2009), culture has three features. First, culture continually changes over time. Language experiences of the later generation may differ from those of the
earlier generation. For example, unlike the older group, the current generation is accustomed to electronic texts and using the internet. Second, different cultures somewhat overlap with each other. Children from different cultural backgrounds may share common practices in the processes of language and literacy development. Third, variations exist within culture. In a Korean American community, children from middle-class families may be provided with more resources than those from lower-class families who are restricted by time and money (Kim, 1988).

These aspects of culture may explain how immigrant families are involved with language ideologies and practices in a particular way within their context (Bayley & Schecter, 2003). In general, most immigrant families may be struggling with cultural ambivalence, living in-between their ethnic culture and the dominant culture (Kibria, 2002). For example, parents who raise a child in an English-dominant neighborhood may need to put more effort into supporting the child’s Korean acquisition than those who raise their children in more Korean-dominant neighborhoods. One may expect children who are exposed to abundant Korean cultural practices to show positive attitudes and feel an ethnic pride toward their heritage language and culture.

From a sociocultural perspective, it is believed that language acquisition occurs through interactions between children and adults. Vygotsky (1962) asserted that society plays an essential role for conceptualizations, represented by verbal and nonverbal symbols. In everyday social events, children may experience varied language socialization related to cultural beliefs, values, and social order (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Children are required to understand behaviors, norms, and expectations embedded in their language. For example, Park and King (2003) asserted that children used polite expressions in an appropriate way,
internalizing norms and beliefs in daily interactions with parents and other adults in their community.

As active social agents, children participate in their own socializing processes (Corsaro, 1977; Piaget, 1952). Song (2009) explored Korean American children’s socialization into Korean terms of address. Children created socialization practices while internalizing the norms held by their parents. Identifying their status in relation to power and age, the children were able to understand the address terms in Korean. Interestingly, some children refused to use the Korean terms of address used for indicating a hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the listener. One child said the other's Korean name not using a proper address term (hyŏng, older brother) and using English pronunciation. The child was aware of his lower status but wanted to maintain an even relationship with the older brother. He intentionally dropped the address term and used English pronunciation. Attending an English-dominant school, he seemed to express a bicultural identity. Through interactions with other people, the children develop their own hybrid practices to fit the bilingual context (Bayley & Schecter, 2003).

While interacting with others in a social context, children construct concepts of self or social identity in relation to the backgrounds of others (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Park (2008) examined the socialization process in homes with three-generations in Korean American communities. Children expressed their lower status in comparison to their parents and grandparents through the use of the plain-level suffix –ta. When the adults used –ta to warn the children of undesirable behaviors or situations, the children followed their directions with respect. These practices helped the children to not only understand socially appropriate speech but also to develop a sense of self in hierarchical
It is necessary to examine how language minority children utilize their two languages in the developmental process of language and literacy across contexts and cultures (Pease-Alvarez & Vasquez, 1994). Language behaviors of individuals change as they interact with a variety of people in different contexts. Children in the same speech community may understand information in multiple ways, depending on their experiences and expectations in verbal exchanges.

**Implications of Sociocultural Perspective**

I share the Vygotskian view that language is socially developed and reinforced by interactions with people in different contexts. The focal participants of the study are Korean immigrant families who do not intend to return to Korea. For living in an English-dominant society English proficiency is necessary. I explore how social relations affect the participants' language practices across different settings, Korean school, American school, and home.

Language socialization is defined as “socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 163). I seek out both common and specific cases with and around Korean immigrant families in their daily lives. Individual parents and children attending the same Korean language school show different ideologies about a language itself, speakers of a language, and ways of understanding meanings in a language (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

**Parental Attitudes and Practices**

Despite the large population of Korean immigrant families in the United States, few studies have focused on their attitudes and practices regarding their children's language acquisition. The language acquisition process of bilinguals has often been studied in other
cultural groups. I reviewed studies related to language/literacy acquisition and identity construction, focusing particularly on parental roles in varied minority communities.

Shin and Kim (1998) examined the attitudes of Korean immigrant parents toward their elementary-school-aged children’s language acquisition. The parents placed great importance on heritage language maintenance and bilingualism for later academic achievement. They encouraged their children to receive bilingual education. Although the study fails to show how children keep their heritage language and culture, it suggests that parental attitudes toward language and culture are influential. Park and Sarkar (2007) explored parental attitudes regarding their second-generation children’s heritage language competence in a Korean-Canadian community. All participants valued the Korean language as a significant symbol of Koreanness. Parents strived to use Korean at home in order to, at the very least, foster their children's receptive language outcomes, regardless of their children’s insufficient oral language skills in Korean.

Many researchers have suggested ways that parents promote their children’s language and literacy development in bilingual environments. According to Blasi and colleagues (2005), minority children improve their literacy skills and vocabulary through reading books with their parents, playing board and card games, or watching educational television programs. Participating in community programs or sports activities may allow children to interact with others while speaking the target language in a nonthreatening situation. Interactive storybook reading between parents and children is central to bilingual and biliteracy development (Snow, Burns & Griffin, 1998; Tompkins, 2006). In a study of Hispanic children in Vancouver, Canada, Guardado (2002) pointed out the importance of parental input using different strategies to promote their children’s heritage language.
maintenance. When parents used more positive and entertaining methods, children tended to be motivated to maintain their Spanish.

Kondo (1998) examined six Japanese students in Hawaii who successfully maintained the heritage language when their mothers used Japanese in their routine lives. The mothers pushed the children to speak Japanese at home and also found opportunities to use it outside of the home. Despite maternal involvement, however, some children still lost their heritage language ability over time. In the Korean immigrant community, Joo (2009) found that parental roles were central in helping adolescents maintain their heritage language and in constructing an ethnic identity. When parents encouraged their children to attend Korean language school and use Korean at home, the children tended to show better Korean abilities.

In terms of the relationship between heritage language and ethnic identity, research has pointed out the responsibility of parents at home. Schecter and Bayley (1997) found that, in a study of four families of Mexican descent, all of the parents emphasized that their children must speak Spanish in order to maintain their cultural identity. The families, however, showed different language use patterns in Spanish, depending on their SES and the demographics of their neighborhoods. The middle-class children were the least successful in comfortably speaking Spanish. Children who grew up in an ethnically mixed neighborhood predominantly used English in interactions with parents and siblings. Song (2010) reported how immigrant Korean mothers supported Korean education for their children’s ethnic identity construction, while emphasizing English for living and success in the United States. They tended to give priority to mastering English rather than Korean, although their children’s Korean abilities were still insufficient.

Chinese-American immigrant children’s heritage language skills and identity
construction seem to be greatly affected by parental attitudes toward the heritage culture. Parents play an essential role in transmitting their heritage culture and language over generations in a positive and practical way (Lao, 2004; Luo & Wiseman, 2000). Li (2006) claimed that immigrant children should be provided with multiple resources in order to foster biliteracy development in the rich linguistic environment. This study suggests that immigrant parents need to develop a variety of strategies in supporting their children's heritage language and literacy skills.

**Advantages of Bilingualism**

Some research has indicated that bilingual children are stronger than their monolingual counterparts in cognitive development. Peal and Lambert (1962) found that bilingual children perform better than monolingual children in tasks requiring mental reorganization. In the Raven’s *Progressive Matrices Test*, bilingual children were more likely to use their imagination and fill missing places in a matrix. Bilingual children tend to be superior to monolinguals in tasks of metalinguistic awareness, cognitive flexibility, and divergent thinking (Carringer, 1974; Cummins & Gulutsan; 1974; Torrance, Gowan, Wu, & Aliotti, 1970). These studies were conducted using subjects who were balanced bilingual, that is, equally fluent in two languages. The assessment tools, however, were not reliable for all age groups (Hakuta, 1983) and because more than three decades have passed since these studies were performed, the findings should be re-evaluated.

Cummins (1981) argued that bilingual children can transfer their understanding of linguistic concepts and skills in the first language to the new language. They can use their previous knowledge and experience in learning their mother tongue as additional tools for the second language and literacy acquisition. For example, understanding the link between letter
and object in the first language can be used for learning in the second language. It is possible to simultaneously support the minority children’s language and literacy acquisition in both the mother tongue and the new language (Blasi, Giambo, & Szecsi, 2005).

The majority of bilingual studies have examined the linguistic interdependency hypothesis (Cummins, 1979) with children using two alphabetic systems, mostly Spanish or French. Bilingual children tended to transfer their phonological awareness across two languages. The phonological awareness skills in one language affected their reading ability in another language (Comeau, Cormier, Grandmaison, & Lacroix, 1999; Linsey, Maris, & Bailey, 2003). The interdependency hypothesis is questionable when the first language is different in both written characters and structure from English, such as Korean, Japanese, Chinese, or Thai. Bialystok and her colleagues (2005) found an advantage of bilingualism in reading for Spanish-English bilingual children whose two languages are written using the same structure. When other relevant variables were controlled, Chinese-English bilinguals did not show any benefit of bilingualism over monolingual in phonological awareness and reading. The authors concluded that advantages of bilingualism for early literacy skills depend on the writing systems of two languages bilingual children use.

The Korean writing system, Hangul, is an alphabetic syllabary that shapes a block of consonants and vowels corresponding with graphemes (Bialystok, Luk, & Kwan, 2005). Korean is a syntactically SOV language in that the verb is placed at the end of the sentence, while English is an SVO language. Unlike English, Korean has relative freedom of word order because particles attached to each element in a sentence function independently (Kim, 1997). Additionally, Korean is an honorific language (Park, 2008; Shin, 2010). One can find hierarchical relationships grammatically and lexically in Korean (Kang, 2003; Sohn, 1981).
These linguistic concepts may not transfer to English acquisition.

Deutscher (2010) brought up the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that one's mother tongue shapes one's thought. For example, the Korean language conveys hierarchical relationships between interlocutors through honorifics. Entirely different words denote sociocultural status between the speaker and the listener, or even a third person (Shin, 2002). It is important to assess and recognize the relationship between interlocutors and to use appropriate words and class markers (Koo, 1992; Park, 2008). As social positions and kinship are referred to by honorific forms including specific words, Korean-speaking interlocutors play obligatory roles in showing their social identity during conversation (Shin, 2010). Because English is a non-honorific language, English-dominant Korean children may face struggles in learning Korean.

Studies have consistently proposed that bilingualism is beneficial to the minority children's social and emotional development. Minority children who are competent in two languages tend to build a more stable dual identity than English monolinguals in accepting two cultures (Cho & Krashen, 1998). Cho (2000) reported that second generation Korean American children with good Korean language proficiency were aware of their heritage cultural norms, values, and traits. The heritage language proficiency allows minority children to link their ethnic community with the dominant community. It helps them to understand the subtle differences between the two cultures. Expanding their social network across two contexts, bilinguals better support the linguistic and cultural needs of others. Their experiences also make it easier for them to learn a third and fourth language and/or culture (Niyekawa, 1983).

As language is a sign of co-membership in a particular community, minority children may be required to communicate with their parents, grandparents, and siblings in their
heritage language. Among Chinese American immigrant families, Wong Fillmore (2000) found that language shifts in children negatively affected their family relations, due to miscommunication between parents and children and lack of a common language. Children who maintain their heritage language more likely feel that they belong to their family, community, and culture, than those who have experienced a loss of their mother tongue (Blasi, Giambo, & Szecsi, 2005; Jo, 1999; Oh & Fuligni, 2010). These findings change, however, if minority families use English as a common home language over different generations, for example, in the three-generation model (Veltman, 1983).

**Implications of the Literature**

The literature reviewed proposes that contextual understanding should precede understanding of immigrant children’s language and literacy acquisition. A sociocultural perspective examines how individual children utilize both the first (heritage) language and the second language (English) in interactions with their environment. To live between two worlds, balancing two languages, immigrant families may require intensive support for the less dominant language (Niyekawa, 1983).

Some studies that examined bilingual children and their families have addressed the point of view of the majority. Some English-dominant people regard a minority language as interesting but not relevant to their lives. They still, however, expect a child who comes from a home in which a minority language is spoken, to acquire English quickly, in order to belong to the dominant culture. In the remedial view, a minority language should be fixed before one enters into the mainstream English-speaking society. While struggling with political or economic power around bilingualism, immigrant children start to lose their heritage language, culture, and identity. Through the present study, I provide the dominant
group with an opportunity to listen to the concerns and needs of a minority group. Their challenges and needs for education should not be underestimated.
Chapter 3
Research Design

The Setting

I conducted my study in Champaign County, Illinois, which has a large Korean population.\textsuperscript{1} Approximately ten Korean restaurants, three grocery stores, two ice-cream shops, three hair salons, and one karaoke bar are operated by Koreans in this area.\textsuperscript{2} There are also four Christian churches, which provide Korean services to temporary resident families and immigrant adults who are more comfortable speaking Korean than English, and one English-speaking Catholic church with a large Korean-speaking congregation and a Korean-speaking deacon. One Korean cultural center on the University of Illinois campus offers information on such topics as education, health service, and cultural events for university students, staff, and their families.

The main setting of the study was the sole Korean heritage language school, which is located in a Korean church but operated independently by volunteers. It consisted of 11 classes with a total of about 80 children aged between 3 to 10 years. Each classroom had a lead teacher, and some larger classrooms also had a teacher aide. Many of the teachers had worked in the school for several terms. Some teachers were experienced teachers in Korea, but most of them had worked in the secondary schools, not the primary schools. Class materials, including workbooks and assignments, were mostly developed by the teachers. Most of the classrooms for older children used national curriculum textbooks that are actually used in Korean classrooms and imported from

\textsuperscript{1} In Champaign County, the largest urban areas are the cities of Champaign and Urbana, where the campus of University of Illinois is located. Savoy Village, where many Korean immigrant families are living, is included. (Because of the small sample size, demographic data of Savoy village alone does not appear.) According to the 2000 US Census data, in the County, about 1.5\% (2,637 of a total of 179,669) of people are Korean.

\textsuperscript{2} Other businesses include shoe repair, tailor, dry cleaning, apparel, and accessories.
Korea. During the consecutive two semesters, the older children needed to complete the assigned workbooks following the same Korean national curriculum as their Korean counterparts in Korea.

For three hours every Saturday morning, for 13 weeks over a semester, students engaged in Korean literacy activities (e.g., journal writing, Korean alphabet (Hangul) workbook, picture book reading). Young children from 3 to 5 spent most of their time writing consonants and vowels and matching words with pictures. For example, looking at the picture of a butterfly, they needed to write the first syllable, 나 (/na/) for 나비 (/na-bi/, butterfly). While the children were writing, teachers supervised and often asked them to correct a miswritten letter. Older children usually took a dictation test that evaluates memory, grammar, vocabulary, and writing skills.

Grade level in the Korean language school was determined by the students’ age and their Korean language proficiency as measured by teachers and parents. For example, a 6-year-old child who rarely speaks Korean was placed in the 4-year-old classroom with the agreement of both teachers and parents. Many older English-dominant children were placed in the preschool classrooms and worked with younger peers who were more comfortable speaking Korean than English.

**Recruitment and Selection Criteria**

I recruited all participants from the Korean language school for both the survey and the in-depth case study. Because I was a teacher in the 4-year-old classroom before starting this study, I was already acquainted with some parents. While I conducted the survey with all parents of the school, for the case study, I decided to seek three volunteer families who met the following criteria: (a) Parents are Korean immigrants who were
born in Korea and came to the United States without the intention to return to Korea in the future; (b) parents are competent in both Korean and English; and (c) children are 3 to 5 years of age and regularly attend both the Korean language school and some kind of American school (e.g., daycare center, preschool, kindergarten) during the study period. Since my focus was on Korean-English bilinguals who are exposed to Korean first at home and then exposed to English later on, either outside the home or in school, I excluded interracial families in which more than one language is spoken to children from birth.

To find the focal participant families, I sent a recruitment flyer to parents with children aged 3 to 5 in the Korean language school, after first obtaining permission from the principal and teachers. When parents provided me with contact information and alerted me to their initial interest, I explained the purpose and procedures of the study in detail via the phone or email. According to previous studies, some demographic factors such as SES, length of residency, or maternal education level are significantly related to parental attitudes toward their mother tongue and the majority culture and language (Blasi, Giambo, & Szecsi, 2005; Luo & Wiseman, 2000). Parental beliefs and values also affected their language practices in interactions with their children (Kondo, 1998; Tse, 2001). In order to choose three families, I considered these demographic characteristics. Additionally, I considered the number of siblings and the children's age assuming that these variables would be associated with their language use patterns. I supposed, for example, a five-year-old child exposed to an English-only environment may prefer to use English more than a three-year-old child who spends most of his time with Korean-speaking parents at home. When I initially met the selected parents, I asked for their
consent for interviews, observations, and photographs of their children's work. For the focal children, I asked for parental permission for the study.

**Research Instruments**

I developed research instruments in the form of surveys and interview questionnaires. For a survey questionnaire, I used the social background survey questions from Chung (2008) and made some modifications in order to answer my own research questions. The questionnaire consisted of 38 items related to demographic background including language proficiency in English and Korean. Participant parents graded their own and their children’s language competence in Korean or English across four domains: speaking, listening (understanding), reading, and writing, on a scale of 1 (very low) to 5 (very high). They also answered questions about their attitudes toward Korean language school and Korean resources.

I first constructed semi-structured interview questionnaires in English and then translated them into Korean. Two other Korean-English bilinguals proofread the Korean version and translated it back into English in order to ensure maximum accuracy in both languages. In interviews, I used Korean with parents. In interviews with children, I purposely used both Korean and English to estimate their language proficiency and language use patterns. I first asked general questions to start a conversation in Korean. If a child was not able to understand my question, I changed to English. Regardless of the language I used, all children responded in English.

In the first interview with parents, I used their survey responses to double-check their demographic background and initial responses. Although interview questions were pre-planned, I modified them after each interview session based on the participants’
previous answers. Using open-ended questions, I encouraged the participants to talk about their lives. For example, I asked individual parents to describe their daily routines then I moved to the next questions about their social network and church involvement. In interviews with the young children, I used some props, such as books or toys, in order to draw their attention and provide a non-threatening situation. I also allowed children to use drawings as a supplementary tool to explain their thoughts (Graue & Walsh, 1998).

**Method**

In order to answer the first research question, I conducted a survey with parents in the Korean language school. A range of data was collected to establish common or specific characteristics within the Korean American community and to better understand cultural phenomena (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996). The survey data gave me some ideas about what I would have to watch for during fieldwork (Miles & Huberman, 1994). For example, I found from the surveys that immigrant parents are more likely to consider their children’s identity construction than non-immigrant parents. In interviews with individual immigrant parents, I explored their beliefs on the relationship between language and identity in more detail.

For the second and the third research questions, I conducted three case studies, which is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003, p. 13). Through my case study of the focal immigrant families, I sought to provide “a deeper understanding of a particular case” as well as “an insight into an issue or refinement of theory,” emphasizing the “uniqueness of the situation” (Stake, Bresler, & Mabry, 1991, p.11). Employing a multiple-case design
containing three cases, I give a comprehensive account of each case as well as cross-case comparisons.

The data for this study were generated through interviews, observations, and photographs of children’s work. In listening to the participants, I explored their thoughts, feelings, and memories. Allowing the participants to narrate their own stories rather than just answer my questions provided them an opportunity to describe “culturally specific images of self as well as the ways in which those are conveyed and evaluated” (Miller et al., 1990, p. 295).

In observations, I took the role of participant-observer. When the classroom teachers asked me to help with errands or to do routine work, I actively did the work in order to reduce any disruption of activities. In the Korean language school, particularly because I had been a teacher for 4-year-olds, some children naturally asked me to do something for them. I responded to their needs, but only if requested to do so. In the American school, I first discussed my role with the principal and the classroom teachers before observing. Participant observation as a data-collection strategy allowed me to understand the children’s perceptions in reality as expressed by their behaviors (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996).

During observations, fieldnotes, a digital camera, a digital recorder, and a camcorder were used as supplementary tools. To assure accuracy of data, I showed participants fieldnotes or audio/video clips as a way of participant retrospection (Rampton, 2003). Informal conversations with participants helped me to clarify their thinking and feelings and expand on their views about a situation or an event (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Additionally, photographs of the children’s artifacts or worksheets
provided information about experience, knowledge, or values of the subjects that would further help me to fully describe the embedded culture. Using these multiple methods of data gathering improved the accuracy and trustworthiness of any emergent data.

**Procedures**

I first contacted the principal of the target Korean language school to recruit the participants for survey and in-depth case study. With the principal’s approval, I provided the teachers with information about my study and asked their help to distribute the survey questionnaires to the parents of their classrooms on the first day of the semester. The teachers gave an envelope to individual parents when they picked up or dropped off their children. I collected them two weeks later, when parents returned the completed forms in sealed envelopes to the teachers. Meanwhile, the teachers added a reminder for survey submission in their regular weekly letter to home.

For the case studies, I began my observations of the focal immigrant children across three different settings (i.e., Korean language school, American school, and home) as soon as I received consent from individual parents and teachers. In Korean language school, I observed individual children for a total of 8 hours on average. Taking notes, I videotaped the focal children’s discourse and behaviors in interactions with other peers and teachers. In the American schools, using a digital recorder, I took notes on individual children’s language use patterns, language practices, and interactions with other peers or teachers. I stayed about one hour per visit, for a total of 6 hours per child. In the homes, I observed individual children’s interactions with other family members such as parents, grandparents or siblings for a total of 10 hours on average. In all of these three settings, I

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3 Interestingly, children did not pay attention to me recording them with a stationary camcorder so much. Since they might have been exposed to videotaping from an early age, children seemed not to be embarrassed at all. To record their ordinary behaviors, I sometimes left the room for a while keeping my camcorder turned on.
took photographs of the focal children’s language-related artifacts or worksheets.

When I visited individual homes for observations, I also conducted six 30-minute interviews with the parents each time. Attempting to build rapport with them, I asked about their own immigration story, their beliefs about learning and its use in both Korean and English, and their practices in two languages in general. Parents talked about their children’s experience in Korean language school and specific plans during the school break.\(^4\) I finally asked about the challenges and needs in raising their children in the Korean American community.

Meanwhile, I interviewed the focal children once in either the Korean language school or in their home.\(^5\) In a separate room without other people including their parents, I asked the children to draw anything to comfort them. I made a connection between their drawing and my interview questions about using and learning two languages. For example, when Hyejin was drawing her favorite princess, I reminded her of her pretend play of princesses with other Korean friends in American school in English. I drew out her thoughts about her use of English with other Korean friends at either Korean or American school. During interviews with the parents and the children, I often asked follow-up questions in order to clarify their intent or the meaning of words.

**Data Analysis**

I analyzed my collected data through three stages. First, I evaluated the survey responses and coded the individual participants’ responses. I measured meaningful demographic characteristics with frequencies or percentages. One goal of the survey was

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\(^4\) Korean language school for the fall semester ended the week before Thanksgiving day and would resume on February in the new year.

\(^5\) Out of concern for nonthreatening atmosphere, I pulled out the individual children to a cozy room, which is often called a "secret place" by the children in Korean language school. Otherwise, I interviewed in their own bedroom in home.
to summarize the characteristics of the Korean parents who send their children to the Korean language school. I explored what demographic variables affect their expectations of the Korean language school and their practices at home. Specifically, I grouped the survey respondents based on their residential status. I finally compared responses of the immigrant group with those of the sojourner group item by item seeking differences or associations between variables. Analyzed survey data guided the construction of my interview questions for the immigrant families.

Second, I examined the interview data based on the survey results that determine similarities between the immigrant group and the sojourner group. In my analysis of the interview, I focused more on the individual participants' immigration history. I examined their specific experiences that affected their attitudes and practices regarding their use of and adjustment to two languages and two cultures. I described personally meaningful events that were not addressed with the numerical data obtained from the survey. Ongoing analysis of the interviews was integrated with the initial survey findings and additional data through observations and photographs of children's work for each case study.

Finally, I analyzed in-depth cases of three focal immigrant families. I examined observational data and relevant artifacts while simultaneously collecting them in the field (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). In fieldnotes, I included comments about my own feelings, thoughts, and ideas for my next phase of data collection. These were used for summarizing collected data and the emergence of further important points. Selected portions of audio or video clips were transcribed and coded into meaningful categories. The data were “broken down, conceptualized, and put back together in new ways”
(Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 57). Descriptions drawn from various data sources were used to create individual profiles of the participants. All data involving the same family were grouped and compared within and across the three cases (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Schecter & Bayley, 1997).
Chapter 4

Survey Results

I conducted the survey to provide background and context for the case studies. The survey was designed to examine parental thoughts about sending their children to Korean heritage language school and the relationships between their decisions and other demographic variables. More than 60 survey questionnaires were distributed to the parents of the sole Korean language school in this study area. Forty parents (65%) voluntarily participated in the study. I first describe demographic characteristics of the respondents to understand the Korean American community in general. I then present some significant group differences on specific demographic variables (e.g., occupations, children’s age and birth country, Korean church attendance). Focusing more on the group of immigrant families, lastly, I describe some significant relationships between the reasons for sending their children to Korean language school and demographic and individual variables.

The fathers' mean age was about 38 years, while the mothers' mean age was about 36.5 years. The maximum number of children within the participating families was three. Table 1 shows the mean ages of their children. As shown in Table 2, length of U.S. residency ranged from 3 months to 35 years. As some parents were born in the U.S., the respondents' arrival age ranged from 0 to 43 years. Both fathers and mothers who were born in Korea arrived in their twenties (27 years and 23 years, respectively).
Table 1. Age of parents and children (years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>First child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Valid</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>37.98</td>
<td>36.53</td>
<td>6.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Parents’ length of U.S. residency & arrival age (years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Length of U.S. residency</th>
<th>Arrival age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>10.82</td>
<td>12.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td>34.00</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents answered questions that asked whether and when they would go back to Korea. Twenty five respondents were immigrant families, while 15 were sojourner families who intend to go back to Korea in the future. Using criteria from Chung (2008), I distinguished short-term and long-term sojourners according to their estimated time of staying in the U. S.—short-term sojourners, less than three years, long-term sojourners, longer than three years (Table 3).

Table 3. Residential status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short-term sojourner</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-term sojourner</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the group of immigrants, three respondents reported that they did not know whether they would go back to Korea eventually. Four respondents considered the possibility to return to Korea, the remaining 18 respondents had no intent.
As expected, because the respondents were recruited from a university town, they showed relatively high education levels; all fathers and mothers were at least college graduates. Many parents reported their occupations as graduate students, professors, or researchers. In the short-term sojourner group, fathers were temporarily at the university (i.e., visiting scholars) or at a company while two mothers were teachers and three were stay-at-home mothers. In long-term sojourner families, most fathers were students (75%) while their wives were stay-at-home mothers (75%). Fathers and mothers of immigrant families were working in a variety of fields. Figure 1 shows the respondents' occupations depending on their residential status, long-term sojourner and immigrant.\footnote{For occupations, only the group of long-term sojourners was compared to the immigrant group. In contrast to short-term sojourners who will return to Korean in three years, some of long-term sojourners who stay longer have the possibility of becoming immigrants after achieving their academic or career goals.}
Long-term sojourner families (n=8)

Immigrant families (n=25)

Figure 1. Long-term sojourner and immigrant families' occupations
As I looked at the occupations of immigrant families, many parents (52% of fathers, 36% of mothers) were engaged in academic areas, like sojourners. Despite some diversity, the remaining parents were mostly professionals as shown below.\footnote{Two fathers who were business owners were running Korean restaurants near the university campus.}

\textit{Table 4. Father's and mother's occupation in immigrant families}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professor/faculty</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officer/company worker</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medical doctor/pharmacist</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>84.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business owner</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>92.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professor/faculty</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officer/company worker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medical doctor/pharmacist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stay-at-home mother</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>92.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business owner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>96.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I also found several significant group differences in demographic variables, depending on their residential status. The first-born (hereafter first) child’s age was significantly different between groups ($X^2(40, 2) = 13.064, p = .001 < .05$). The first child of long-term sojourner families (Mean rank = 8.44) were the youngest, while those of short-
term sojourner families (Mean rank = 29.57) were the oldest. There was no significant relationship between the second and third child’s age and residential status. *Table 5* shows mean ages of the respondents’ children according to their residential status. This result seemed to support Chung’s (2008) study that examined short-term sojourner families in the same Korean American community. According to her, parents planned to come to the U.S. when their children were between first and third grade. They expected the period of time to be most appropriate for their children to maximize English acquisition and catch up on Korean literacy later when they returned to Korea. Long-term sojourners were more likely to have their first children in the U.S. while pursuing their pre-planned goals (*Table 6*).

*Table 5. Children’s mean ages depending on residential status (years)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential status</th>
<th>First child's age</th>
<th>Second child's age</th>
<th>Third child's age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>short-term sojourner</td>
<td>Mean 8.06</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimum 5.42</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maximum 10.00</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N 7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-term sojourner</td>
<td>Mean 4.60</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimum 3.58</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maximum 6.00</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N 8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immigrant</td>
<td>Mean 6.79</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>2.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimum 3.50</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maximum 9.58</td>
<td>6.58</td>
<td>6.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N 25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Mean 6.58</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimum 3.50</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maximum 10.00</td>
<td>6.58</td>
<td>6.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N 40</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. The first child’s birth country depending on residential status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential status</th>
<th>Birth country</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short-term sojourner</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within residential</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>status</td>
<td>% within first child’s birth country</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-term sojourner</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within residential</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>status</td>
<td>% within first child’s birth country</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immigrant</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within residential</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>96.0%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>status</td>
<td>% within first child’s birth country</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>92.3%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within residential</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>status</td>
<td>% within first child’s birth country</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First and the second children’s language use patterns were also significantly different, depending on their residential status. Because the third children were too young to speak, their language use patterns were disregarded. First child’s language use patterns with their parents were significantly different between short-term and immigrant groups ($\chi^2(40, 2) = 17.903$, $p = .00 < .05$). While the children of short-term sojourner families mostly spoke Korean, the immigrant children mostly spoke English with their parents as assumed.

In terms of language proficiency, the mothers’ levels of speaking, listening, and reading, and writing in English were significantly different depending on their residential status.\(^9\) According to their self-reports, the immigrant mothers were best and the long-term sojourner mothers were worst. Similarly, first child’s language proficiency in both Korean

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\(^9\) speaking ($\chi^2(40, 2) = 15.918$, $p = .00 < .05$), listening ($\chi^2(40, 2) = 16.119$, $p = .00 < .05$), reading ($\chi^2(40, 2) = 9.526$, $p = .09 < .05$), writing ($\chi^2(40, 2) = 8.283$, $p = .16 < .05$)
and English differed significantly depending on their residential status. Immigrant parents reported their first child's Korean proficiency as lower, but their English proficiency as higher than short-term sojourner parents.

Contrary to my initial expectation, 76% of the respondents were not engaged in the Korean ethnic church. As shown in Table 7, 6 of 25 immigrant families regularly attended Korean church. It seemed to contradict other studies that reported that most Korean American immigrants tended to go to an ethnic church to build social networks or to get living resources, beyond their religious interest. One noteworthy thing was that all of the 6 families were involved with the university — doctoral student (1 mother), professors (3 fathers, 1 mother), and researchers (2 fathers, 2 mothers). In order to send their children to the Korean language school, which is located in a Korean church, some immigrant parents might have some contacts with church members, including the principal and some teachers.

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10 For the second child, only their writing level in Korean was significantly different depending on their residential status. For the third child, their language proficiency in both Korean and English did not differ depending on their residential status.

11 In reading and writing levels, long-term sojourner parents reported that their first child’s language proficiency in both Korean and English was lower than that of other groups. It seemed to be related to the factor that the children of long-term sojourners were younger than those of other two groups.

12 Like two fathers who indicated their occupations as pastor of American church, some respondents may attend American church. Because the focus was not affiliation with Christianity but with Korean ethnic church, however, I did not add a subcategory that asks the kinds of church.
I found some significant relationships between the reasons for sending their children to Korean language school and other variables. In the initial survey questionnaire, the parents were asked to rank seven reasons according to their priority. I coded each number in reverse (i.e., 1 to 7, 2 to 6, 3 to 5, 5 to 3, 6 to 2, and 7 to 1). That is, the transformed number 7 refers to the strongest reason for sending their children to Korean language school. On average, the participating parents chose reason_2 (to develop literacy skills) as the most important reason (Table 8).

Table 8. Mean scores of the reasons to send their children to Korean language school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>to develop oral language proficiency (reason_1)</th>
<th>to develop literacy skills (reason_2)</th>
<th>to engage in the Korean community (reason_3)</th>
<th>to be aware of Korean culture and values (reason_4)</th>
<th>to get Korean educational resources (reason_5)</th>
<th>to strengthen their Korean identity (reason_6)</th>
<th>to connect with Korean church (reason_7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>5.85</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Korean church attendance depending on residential status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential status</th>
<th>Regular attendance of Korean church</th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>short-term sojourner</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within residential status</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within regular attendance of Korean church</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-term sojourner</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within residential status</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within regular attendance of Korean church</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immigrant</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within residential status</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within regular attendance of Korean church</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>79.2%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within residential status</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within regular attendance of Korean church</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interestingly, there were significant differences in reason_2 (to develop literacy skills) and reason_6 (to strengthen their Korean identity) depending on residential status. According to the results of Kruskal-Wallis H test, in reason_2, short-term sojourners (Mean rank = 31.50) tended to give the highest score, while immigrants (Mean rank = 17.32) tended to give the lowest score ($X^2(40, 2) = 9.085, p = .011 < .05$). Immigrants (Mean rank = 24.24) gave the highest score to reason_6 (Mean rank: short-term = 11.71, long-term = 16.50, $X^2(40, 2) = 7.906, p = .019 < .05$). Table 9 below shows the raw mean scores of the reasons in the three groups.

Table 9. Raw mean scores of the reasons depending on residential status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason Description</th>
<th>Short-term Sojourner</th>
<th>Long-term Sojourner</th>
<th>Immigrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To develop oral language proficiency (reason_1)</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 6 Mean 5.00</td>
<td>Min. 3 Max. 7 Mean 5.50</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 7 Mean 5.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To develop literacy skills (reason_2)</td>
<td>Min. 7 Max. 7 Mean 7.00</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 7 Mean 5.63</td>
<td>Min. 2 Max. 7 Mean 5.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To engage in the Korean community (reason_3)</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 5 Mean 2.71</td>
<td>Min. 2 Max. 6 Mean 4.25</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 7 Mean 3.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be aware of Korean culture and values (reason_4)</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 5 Mean 2.86</td>
<td>Min. 3 Max. 5 Mean 4.25</td>
<td>Min. 2 Max. 7 Mean 4.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To get Korean educational resources (reason_5)</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 6 Mean 3.14</td>
<td>Min. 2 Max. 6 Mean 3.13</td>
<td>Min. 2 Max. 7 Mean 2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To strengthen their Korean identity (reason_6)</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 5 Mean 2.71</td>
<td>Min. 2 Max. 6 Mean 3.50</td>
<td>Min. 2 Max. 7 Mean 4.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To connect with the Korean church (reason_7)</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 1 Mean 1.00</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 7 Mean 1.75</td>
<td>Min. 1 Max. 7 Mean 1.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Depending on yearly income, the respondents had differently concerns about their children’s literacy development (reason_2). While the group with yearly incomes less than
$25,000 (Mean rank = 3.25) gave the lowest scores, the group with yearly income, between $75,001 and $100,000 (Mean rank = 27.39), gave the highest scores.  

The results of Spearman’s rho test showed parents' length of residency in the U.S. was associated with two reasons at a .05 significant level. There was a significantly negative relationship between fathers’ length of U.S. residency and reason_2 (r = -.542, p = .000 < .05), while there was a significantly positive relationship with reason_6 (r = .538, p = .000 < .05). The longer the fathers’ length of U.S. residency, the lower priority was given to reason_2 (to develop Korean literacy skills) and the higher priority was given to reason_6 (to strengthen Korean identity). In the mothers' case, the results were the same. Similarly, when fathers’ arrival age was younger, the respondents tended to place a lower priority on their children’s Korean literacy development (r = .597, p = .000 < .05), but a higher priority on Korean identity construction (r = -.411, p = .008 < .05). For mothers, the results were the same again.

Parents’ English language proficiency was also significantly associated with several factors. When the fathers’ listening level in English was higher, the respondents tended to give a lower priority to reason_2, to develop their children’s Korean literacy skills (r = -.344, p = .030 < .05), but a higher priority to reason_7, to connect with the Korean church (r = .338, p = .033 < .05). When the mothers’ listening level in English was higher, the respondents tended to give a lower priority to reason_2, to develop their children’s Korean literacy skills (r = -.323, p = .042 < .05), but a higher priority to reason_6, to strengthen their Korean identity (r = .455, p = .003 < .05). That is, the parents who understood English well

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13 $X^2(40,4) = 12.364$, p = .015 < .05, Mean rank: $25,001-50,000 = 23.00$, $50,001-75,000 = 21.30$, more than 100,000 = 13.78
tended not to expect their children to develop Korean literacy skills in Korean language class as other groups of parents did.

When the mothers’ reading level in English was higher, the respondents tended to give a higher priority to reason_6, to strengthen their Korean identity ($r = .369, p = .019 < .05$). Similarly, when the mothers’ writing level in English was higher, the respondents tended to give a lower priority to reason_2, to develop their children’s Korean literacy skills ($r = -.317, p = .046 < .05$), but a higher priority to reason_6, to strengthen their children’s Korean identity ($r = .343, p = .030 < .05$). Interestingly, fathers’ English literacy skills were not associated with the reasons. One possible reason would be the different roles of parents at home. Because mothers tend to help their children’s literacy practices more often than fathers at home, mothers’ literacy levels in English could affect their expectations about their children’s Korean literacy development. For example, a mother with low proficiency in reading or writing Korean may not be able to help with her children’s Korean homework. The mother may think that Korean literacy development is demanding for both her child and herself.  

Across all linguistic domains (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, and writing), there were no significant relationships between parents’ Korean proficiency and the reasons.

Children’s Korean proficiency was significantly related to several factors. First child’s speaking level in Korean was positively associated with reason_2, to develop literacy skills ($r = .371, p = .018 < .05$), but negatively associated with reason_3, to engage in the Korean community ($r = -.313, p = .048 < .05$). When they indicated that their first child’s speaking level in Korean was low, the parents tended to give a lower priority to their children’s

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14 In Chapter 5, the mother of the Park family mentioned this issue in her interview (excerpt on November, 2, 2010).
15 Similarly, the first child’s listening level in Korean was positively associated with reason_2 ($r = .340, p = .032 < .05$), but negatively with reason_3 ($r = -.376, p = .017 < .05$).
Korean literacy development, but a higher priority to Korean community engagement than other parents whose first children spoke Korean well. These parents may regard Korean language school as a core place to practice Korean while interacting with other Korean speakers. On the contrary, the parents with a first child who spoke Korean well were less likely to consider Korean community engagement. The result seems to go along with Chung’s (2008) again. In her study, the short-term sojourner mothers sent their children to Korean language school in order to stimulate the children’s English use while interacting with other English-speaking peers in the school. The parents with English-dominant children consequently felt that their children were used by the short-term sojourner children to help practice English.

First child’s reading level in Korean was positively associated with reason_2, to develop Korean literacy skills ($r = .530, p = .001 < .05$), but negatively with both reason_4, to be aware of Korean culture and values ($r = -.392, p = .012 < .05$), and reason_6, to strengthen Korean identity ($r = -.336, p = .034 < .05$).\(^{16}\) When they indicated that their first child’s reading level in Korean was low, the parents tended to give a lower priority to their children’s Korean literacy development, but a higher priority to both Korean cultural awareness and Korean identity construction than other parents whose first children read Korean well. For the second child, only reason_2 was associated with their Korean proficiency in speaking ($r = .504, p = .009 < .05$), listening ($r = .417, p = .034 < .05$), and writing ($r = .391, p = .048 < .05$). For third child, there was no significant relationship across all linguistic domains. They seemed too young to produce either Korean or English.

\(^{16}\) Similarly, the first child’s writing level in Korean was positively associated with reason_2 ($r = .346, p = .029 < .05$), but negatively with both reason_4 ($r = -.462, p = .003 < .05$) and reason_6 ($r = -.323, p = .042 < .05$).
Children's language use patterns depending on the interlocutors were significantly associated with several factors. In families with several children, when their first child mostly used Korean with siblings, the parents tended to give a higher priority to reason_2, to develop Korean literacy skills ($r = .415, p = .035 < .05$), but a lower priority to reason_6, to strengthen Korean identity ($r = -.525, p = .006 < .05$). For second or third child, there was no significant relationship with the reasons. On the contrary, when their first children mostly used English, the parents tended to give a lower priority to reason_2 ($r = -.415, p = .035 < .05$), but a higher priority to reason_6 ($r = .525, p = .006 < .05$). For second child, the parents tended to give a lower priority to reason_2 ($r = -.419, p = .033 < .05$). For third child, parents tended to give a higher priority to both reason_4, to be aware of Korean culture and values ($r = .816, p = .025 < .05$), and reason_6 ($r = .756, p = .049 < .05$), but a lower priority to reason_5, to get resources for children’s Korean language education ($r = -.816, p = .025 < .05$).

Similarly, when their first child mostly used Korean with parents, the parents tended to give a higher priority to reason_2 ($r = .314, p = .048 < .05$), but a lower priority to reason_6 ($r = -.550, p = .000 < .05$). For the second child, the parents tended to give a lower priority to reason_6 ($r = -.497, p = .00 < .05$). For the third child, the parents tended to give a higher priority to reason_1, to develop oral language proficiency ($r = .836, p = .019 < .05$) but a lower priority to reason_3, to engage in the Korean community ($r = -.801, p = .030 < .05$). When first child mostly used English with their parents, however, the parents tended to give a lower priority to reason_2 ($r = -.323, p = .042 < .05$), but a higher priority to reason_6 ($r = .549, p = .00 < .05$). For the second child, the parents tended to give a higher priority to reason_6 ($r = .502, p = .009 < .05$). For the third child, the parents tended to give a
higher priority to both reason_4, to be aware of Korean culture and values (r = .870, p = .011 < .05), and reason_6 (r = .835, p = .019 < .05), but a lower priority to reason_2 (r = -.827, p = .022 < .05) and reason_5, to get resources for children’s Korean language education (r = -.870, p = .011 < .05). In terms of correlations among children's language use patterns, there was a significantly positive relationship in either Korean or English. For example, when the first child used more Korean with their parents, the second children also tended to use more Korean (r = .882, p = .00 < .05).

When their first child mostly used English with other Korean-speaking adults, the parents tended to give a lower priority to reason_2 (r = -.348, p = .028 < .05). For the second child, there was no significant relationship. For the third child, the parents tended to give a higher priority to both reason_4, to be aware of Korean culture and values (r = .870, p = .011 < .05) and reason_6 (r = .835, p = .019 < .05), but a lower priority to reason_2 (r = -.827, p = .022 < .05) and reason_5, to get resources for children’s Korean language education (r = -.870, p = .011 < .05).

When their first child mostly used Korean with friends, the parents tended to give a higher priority to reason_2 (r = .378, p = .016 < .05). Conversely, when their first child mostly used English, the parents tended to give a lower priority to reason_2 (r = -.378, p = .016 < .05). When their second child mostly used English with friends, the parents also tended to give a lower priority to reason_2 (r = -.441, p = .024 < .05). For the third child’s English usage with friends, the parents tended to give a higher priority to both reason_4, to be aware of Korean culture and values (r= .816, p=.025<.05) and reason_6 (r= .756, p=.049<.05), but a lower priority to reason_5, to get resources for children’s Korean language education (r= -.816, p=.025<.05).
Lastly, I examined correlations among the reasons for sending their children to Korean language school within the immigrant group. The most interesting result was that reason_2 (to develop literacy skills) was negatively related to reason_3 (to engage in the Korean community). The immigrant parents who gave a lower priority to their children’s literacy development tended to give a higher priority to their children’s engagement in the Korean community. These parents seemed to expect their children to have more opportunities to interact with other Korean speakers instead of emphasizing their literacy achievement, while their children attended Korean language school.

In terms of the reasons not to send their children to Korean language school, the respondents considered scheduling conflicts more than other reasons. Although there was no significant difference by residential status, many immigrant parents reported that homework was a challenge (Table 10).

Table 10. Percentages of the respondents considering homework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential status</th>
<th>Homework</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within residential status</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within homework</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>% within residential status</td>
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<td>25.0%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within homework</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
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<td>48.0%</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>% within homework</td>
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<td>85.7%</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td></td>
<td>% within residential status</td>
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<td></td>
<td>% within homework</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(^{17}\) reason_1 & reason_5 (r = -.418, p = .038 < .05), reason_1 & reason_7 (r = -.474, p = .017 < .05), reason_2 & reason_3 (r = -.435, p = .03 < .05), reason_2 & reason_7 (r = -.446, p = .025 < .05), reason_4 & reason_5 (r = -.483, p = .014 < .05), and reason_5 & reason_7 (r = .706, p = .00 < .05)
While short-term sojourner parents disregarded their children’s interest in going to the Korean language school, both long-term sojourner and immigrant parents reported that they would not send their children to the Korean language school if their children lost interest in learning Korean (Table 11).

Table 11. Percentages of the respondents considering lack of interest in learning Korean

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>% within residential status</td>
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<td>85.7%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>% within lack of interest in leaning Korean</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-term sojourner</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>% within residential status</td>
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<tr>
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<td>13.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>immigrant</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>59.1%</td>
<td>73.3%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>% within residential status</td>
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<td>55.0%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>% within lack of interest in leaning Korean</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beyond the given four reasons (i.e., low interest, homework, schedule conflict, and registration fee), some parents indicated "no close friends in class" or "irrelevant curriculum" as other possible reasons.

In terms of Korean resources, the respondents indicated a variety of things. Children of immigrant families were less likely provided with Korean input from siblings than other groups ($\chi^2(40, 2) = 7.492, p = .024 < .05$). However, most immigrant parents indicated that they had Korean picture books (88%), Korean music (72%), and Korean movies/ DVDs
(64%). About half of the respondents provided their children with internet access in Korean (56%) and Korean TV shows/dramas/cartoons (52%).

The reasons for sending their children to the Korean language school were significantly different depending on resources in Korean. According to the results of Mann-Whitney U test, depending on Korean input from parent(s), there was a significant difference in the mean ranks of reason_1 (U = 2.000, Z = -2.339, p = .019 < .05) between groups. The respondent parents who spoke Korean with their children (Mean rank = 21.45) were more likely to expect their children to develop Korean oral language proficiency than the parents who spoke English (Mean rank = 2.50). There was a significant group difference on the mean ranks of reason_2 (U = 121.000, Z = -2.082, p = .037 < .05), depending on whether or not their children watched Korean TV shows, dramas, or cartoons. The respondents who did not provide the opportunity (Mean rank = 23.46) tended to expect their children to develop Korean literacy skills more than others who did (Mean rank = 16.06).

Depending on whether or not they provided their children with Korean music, the mean ranks of reason_4 (U = 89.500, Z = -2.560, p = .010 < .05) were also significantly different between groups. If they said yes (Mean rank = 23.69), the respondents were more likely to expect their children to be aware of Korean culture and values than others who said no (Mean rank = 13.88). Lastly, there was a significant group difference on the mean ranks of reason_6 (U = 276.500, Z = 2.199, p = .028 < .05), depending on whether or not their children access internet in Korean. The respondents who did not provide children with internet access in Korean (Mean rank = 24.86) were more likely to want their children to strengthen Korean identity than others (Mean rank = 16.93) while attending Korean language school.
Within immigrant families, parents who spoke Korean with their children were more likely to expect their children to develop Korean oral language (U = 1.000, Z = -2.390, p = .017 < .05) and be aware of Korean culture and values (U = 2.500, Z = -2.115, p = .034 < .05) than parents who spoke English. Immigrant parents who did not provide their children with Korean picture books wanted their children to strengthen Korean identity through Korean language school more than others who did (U = 7.500, Z = -2.226, p = .026 < .05).

**Summary**

The goal of the survey was to explore reasons why parents send their children to Korean language school and to see whether their reasons varied according to demographic variables identified in the literature. Forty parents responded to the survey.

The results of the survey showed that the families were not homogeneous. Depending on their length of U.S. residency and their plans to return to Korea or not, I divided the respondents into three groups: short-term sojourners, long-term sojourners, and immigrants (see also Chung, 2008).

The immigrants differed significantly from the short-term and long-term sojourners, who planned to return to Korea in the future. For example, while all the long-term sojourner fathers were affiliated with the university, as students (6), visiting scholars (1), or post-doctoral researchers (1), the immigrant fathers had wide range of occupations (*Table 4*).

Contrary to my initial expectation, immigrant families were less likely to attend Korean church than the sojourners. Parent reports of their children’s language use patterns and dominant language also differed significantly, depending on their residential status. As expected, the immigrant children tended to speak more English than did sojourner children.
Similarly, immigrant parents' English language proficiency was significantly higher than that of other parents.

I found significant relationships between parents’ reasons for sending their children to Korean language school and other variables. As a whole group, respondents ranked \textit{reason}_2 (to develop literacy skills) the highest of seven possibilities. Specific reasons, however, differed depending on several variables: parents’ length of U.S. residency, children’s Korean language proficiency, and children’s language use patterns in the context of different interlocutors.

In general, parents with English-dominant children tended to give a lower priority to their children's Korean literacy development than did parents with Korean-dominant children. English-dominant families placed more emphasis on their children's identity construction, Korean cultural awareness, and Korean community engagement than did Korean-dominant families. Immigrant families, many of whom had been sending their children to the Korean language school for several terms, wanted their children to gain social rather than academic benefits from Korean language school, particularly through interaction with other Koreans.

The most distinctive feature between groups was that immigrant parents reported the importance of their children's Korean identity construction more than did sojourner parents. The three groups also had different perspectives about the roles of the Korean language school. Short-term sojourners emphasized their children's Korean acquisition, both spoken and written. Long-term sojourners and immigrants were similar; both groups were more concerned about their children's engagement in the Korean community and their awareness of Korean culture and values than the short-term sojourners.
Most parents responded that they might stop Korean language school because of scheduling conflicts. Interestingly, within the immigrant group, the challenge of completing homework was given as a possible reason for removing their children. All parents reported that they provided their children with a variety of Korean resources. There were some significant relationships between the kinds of resources and the reasons parents sent their children to language school. For example, depending on whether or not they provided Korean music, the mean ranks of reason_4 (to be aware of Korean culture and values) differed significantly between groups.

The three groups – short-term sojourner, long-term sojourner, and immigrants – had different goals for their children’s Korean acquisition and for sending them to the Korean language school. Short-term sojourner families, who would go back to Korea soon, wanted their children to advance their Korean literacy skills so they would not be behind their peers when they returned to Korea. Immigrant families, who had no intention of returning to Korea in the near future, wanted to their children to strengthen Korean identity by interacting with other Korean speakers. They were more concerned about their children’s social development as Korean Americans than about their learning Korean at the language school. Long-term sojourner families fell somewhere between short-term sojourners and immigrants and shared some features with both groups. For example, both short-term and long-term sojourner families wanted their children to speak Korean well and to be able to read and write Korean. Long-term sojourners, as well as immigrant families, wanted their English-dominant speaking children to be able to interact socially with other Korean speakers and to establish Korean identity that valued their heritage culture.
A common perspective across the three groups was a concern about their children's futures. Whether planning to return to Korea or to come to or remain in the U. S., parents wanted the best for their children. Sojourners wanted their children to be able to do well in school when they returned to Korea. Immigrant wanted their children to do well in American schools, even if that meant focusing more on their English than their Korean.

This study shows that one cannot accurately describe the "Korean community" in Urbana-Champaign without attending to its complexity and to the range of its members and their goals. An awareness of the different groups that make up that community is necessary in order to understand the daily lives of Korean American immigrants and the tensions that exist within and between the groups that make up this "community."

In the following chapter, I describe the daily lives of three immigrant families to understand how they live in this community. I explore both the visible and invisible dimensions of their lives as Korean Americans as well as the various interwoven dimensions affect their maintenance of their Korean identity and their adjustment to and within an English-dominant society.
Chapter 5

Three Korean Immigrant Families

In the previous chapter, I described the backgrounds of Korean American families who send their children to Korean language school. In this chapter, I focus more on three specific cases of immigrant families that lead to further discussion about Korean American communities in next chapter. Because children spend only three hours at Korean language school one day each week, I planned to have three focal children at most for case study, arranging one-hour observation per child every visit. A week after sending a recruitment flyer to families of children age 3 to 5, I received responses from three mothers. Because of the stringent criteria, no more parents volunteered. Regarding the parental immigrant status as one of important factors that affect their beliefs and practices in Korean and/or English, I decided to study all three families, who have had different immigrant experiences.

The collected data through interviews, observations, and photographs of children's work show some aspects of their practices in two languages on a daily basis. In the background section, I first introduce each family and how they came to the United States as immigrants. In the following sections, I describe each family's daily life including social interactions in general and then move to beliefs and actual practices in two languages. Finally, I describe the challenges and needs they face living as Korean Americans living in Urbana-Champaign.

In excerpts or vignettes, English words used in original Korean utterances are italicized. Korean words inserted in English utterances are translated to English in square brackets right after. All names are pseudonyms. If a child's name is English, I use an English pseudonym.
Kim Family

**Background.** Both Mr. Kim and Ms. Kim are 1.5-generation Korean Americans who were born in South Korea and came to the United States with their first generation parents and own siblings. Mr. Kim's family first went to Argentina and moved to Maryland when he was 14 years old. His parents decided to move to Chicago to live near their relatives when he was 15 years old and attending high school. Mr. Kim entered the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) as an undergraduate. Ms. Kim immigrated with her parents and elder siblings to Bloomington, Illinois when she was 13 years old. For high school, she went back to Korea for three years. She was admitted to UIUC and met Mr. Kim in a multi-ethnic church\(^{18}\) that offers English service only. They built their relationship in a bible study group and got married. After graduation, Mr. Kim worked as an engineer at a mobile phone company, and Ms. Kim worked as a system analyst at an insurance company in Chicago for three years. The couple then moved to Missouri for Mr. Kim's medical studies. They celebrated the birth of their first child Hyejin in 2006 and came back to Illinois two years later. When Hyejin was three, Jaewon was born. After caring him for about one year, Ms. Kim began a new job as a system analyst. Mr. Kim is a family medicine resident at a local hospital and will start his professional work at the same place in June, 2011.

**Daily life.** The family usually wakes up around 6 am. While Ms. Kim dresses and feeds two children, Mr. Kim goes to the hospital. At 7:15 am, Ms. Kim gives them a ride to the school and reads the Bible as soon as she comes back home. From 8 am to 5 pm, Ms. Kim works in an insurance company. On the way to home, she picks up children and comes

\(^{18}\) It is described as a Korean American church (named as AAC) in Abelmann's (2009) book, *The intimate university.* Although Korean Americans are the biggest portion of the church members, a growing number of diverse ethnic groups (largely pan-Asians) attend now.
back to home around 6 pm. While Ms. Kim prepares dinner, Mr. Kim usually comes home from the hospital. Hyejin prays for great food in English and eats her dish by herself. When Ms. Kim cleans up the table and washes dishes, Mr. Kim plays with Hyejin and Jaewon, mostly speaking English with them. Hyejin likes to play tennis with a balloon or draws princesses on her note pad. Ms. Kim bathes the children and changes their clothes to pajamas. In the bed, Ms. Kim reads aloud books to Hyejin in either Korean or English at her request. When Hyejin falls asleep around 9:30 pm, Ms. Kim usually starts her remaining office work.

On Tuesday, the parents have a bible study offered by the Korean American church (as mentioned above) at 7 pm. Most members are Koreans or other Asians such as Chinese, Japanese, or Taiwanese. They usually gather in a leader's house. While parents are reading the Bible and sharing daily lives with reflection on Bible passages using English only, their children play in a separate room for about two hours. As extra activities, Hyejin goes to AWANA, a nonprofit Christian ministry program for children that provides bible study on Wednesday, and she goes swimming on Thursday. On Saturday, Hyejin attends Korean language school from 10 am to 1:30 pm. It is her only time to hear Korean outside of the home. In Sunday school at the Korean American church, Hyejin listens to an English sermon and participates in some activities volunteer teachers provide. Some Korean teachers speak only English regardless of their good command of Korean.

**Parental beliefs about two languages.** Language development has been an issue for the Kim family since Hyejin started to say her first words. The parents were concerned about her language delay. Compared to the same aged children speaking either Korean or English, Hyejin was behind. Ms. Kim longed to interact with Hyejin in any language.
Ms. Kim: Well, I don’t know but her talk was so late…because she was exposed to two languages (I think). Due to her late development, we (parents) wanted to interact with her anyway, even in English. Instead of thinking that Hyejin needs to speak Korean well, we wanted her to communicate with us in either Korean or English…By the way, I had not thought about how to promote her Korean speaking until recently. (Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, December, 28, 2010)

Ms. Kim used some American sign language, such as more, please, and thank you with Hyejin at the beginning. When Hyejin finally could express some words in oral English, the parents were forced to provide her with more English input. Additionally, her early experience in a daycare center since she was 9 months old expanded her exposure to English. When she turned three and became an elder sister, the parents decided to send Hyejin to Korean language school. They wanted her to interact with her Korean-speaking grandparents more. From the first two years experience at Korean language school, the parents were satisfied with her writing of her name in Korean. Although Hyejin rarely produced new Korean words at home, they thought positively that she would perform better with time.

Ms. Kim recently felt a remarkable change in Hyejin's attitudes toward Korean language school and Korean learning. Her best friends in an American school, Yuna and Sangmi, are also attending Korean language school. The girls always sit next to each other. Ms. Kim saw Hyejin as motivated to learn Korean by advanced Korean-speaking peers. Ms. Kim believed that Hyejin became interested in writing Korean words since she had learned the Korean alphabet, mostly consonants. During the last summer break, Hyejin was asked to complete one page of a Korean workbook every day under Ms. Kim's supervision.

In an interview, Ms. Kim mentioned that she has relatively low expectations about Hyejin’s Korean literacy development. The parents provided more emphasis on her oral language development than reading and writing Korean, desiring to communicate well with grandparents living in Chicago and Champaign and other Korean speakers. Ms. Kim felt the
loss of Korean input from grandparents. She continuously asked her parents to use Korean with her children, but they seemed to be forced to use English when Hyejin responded to them in English. The parents are now thinking about sending Hyejin to Korea along with her paternal grandparents during a summer break.

Ms. Kim: I think I am not so greedy that Hyejin should write Hangul [Korean alphabet]. I want her to understand Korean to communicate with grandmother and grandfather, and further with other Koreans...It would be wonderful to write it...but, writing and reading...(laughing)...anyway, [I hope] she would speak and listen well...Therefore, father [her husband] said...it may not be enough to send her to Korean language school because we have not spent so much time [with her], it may not help her master it....[I know] I should do my best, and...later if she has an opportunity to visit Korea to learn [heritage] culture...Parents-in-law told us that they would bring them to Korea for about one or two months to learn Korean, or [you know] there is a Korean language program in Yonsei university, when she is in undergraduate [she can take the class there]...She may learn more effectively during a short period of time.

Ms. Kim: I want grandmother and grandfather to use Korean [to children]...uh...[They] might think that Hyejin cannot understand them [their Korean], so they've consistently used English although I told them she is able to understand what they said. They [grandparents] really feel comfortable in using Korean...[They] seem to feel burdensome to use English, so [I have told them] please use it [Korean] comfortably...However, they tend to use more English with Hyejin and Jaewon. It might be because Hyejin uses English. Automatically...[they might feel that] I should use English when the child [Hyejin] speaks English. Because kids speak English, [I hope] grandmother and grandfather use more Korean...Then, [you know] children tend to use more Korean if they think these people [grandparents] speak only Korean. It is regrettable [that grandparents do not provide children with sufficient Korean input].

(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, January, 27, 2011)

Ms. Kim showed a strong belief about the importance of using proper address forms in Korean. Although she understood Hyejin may face a big challenge in learning the whole honorific system, Ms. Kim wanted her to produce some basic phrases in interactions with the elderly people. Ms. Kim seemed to value most respecting other people, including the parents themselves. When I once mentioned that some native Korean speakers do not use honorifics with intimate persons who are older than them, Ms. Kim simply responded that Korean
Americans (including herself) tend to be conservative about the issue, feeling bad or shameful.

Ms. Kim: Yes [I feel bad]. I will teach her address forms. It seems so important. That's why I have not let her know my [real] name. It is okay that [children] call their mother's name here...[But], it looks rude to me. (laughing) Sometimes, she asks me that what mother's name is or what father's name is. I rarely talk about parents' real name...Using address forms seems important. They are still young...mother's name is mother [for them] (laughing). It might be easier to them.

HK: How about honorifics?
Ms. Kim: I hope they use honorifics to some extent. [You know] basic words such as hello, please, yes, goodbye. Well, Hyejin would be able to do that much....It may be difficult to learn the whole honorific system. Difficult...but, [I wish] Hyejin properly [or completely] use honorifics, basic things at least.

HK: Actually, some native Korean kids tend not to use honorifics with their parents or other intimate adults.
Ms. Kim: Maybe not.
HK: It may be challenging to push your children to learn honorifics. Isn't it?
Ms. Kim: Yes...yes...It may be a more conservative characteristic of Korean Americans [than Koreans of origin country].

(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, November, 15, 2010)

The parents regarded peers as the most influential others who support Hyejin’s Korean usage as she comes to spend more time with peers in school than with parents. Interestingly, however, Ms. Kim showed a somewhat negative attitude toward Hyejin's using Korean in the American school. She was concerned about her daughter’s segregation or isolation from the majority English-speaking peers. Both parents asserted the importance of their children's not losing any opportunities that their American counterparts might have throughout schooling because their children's Korean interfered with their English proficiency.

Ms. Kim: She seems to be stimulated [to use Korean] by peers in school while playing with them. "Uh, my friend speaks Korean [like me]. It's fun." [It seems] to foster her...to learn and furthermore to be interested in Korean more...Korean can be used with peers as well as mother and father...knowing it...

HK: If Hyejin speaks Korean with other Korean children in American school, what do you feel?
Ms. Kim: In my perspective...it would be good to use English in front of Americans and to use Korea in front of Koreans...[She may] be isolated...I usually like that way...but, well...it's not so wrong...if it is possible [to use a dominant language in a particular setting]...
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, December, 28, 2010)

Although the parents saw a relationship between Korean and Korean identity, they admitted Hyejin’s difficulties in using Korean as a second language because they live in an English-dominant society. The parents placed more priority on developing her Christian identity than her ethnic identity. Ms. Kim thought that it is too early to think about her ethnic identity construction.

Ms. Kim: By the way, she is still so young...I regard it most importantly to raise her to become a good Christian...Because it is important...I have not considered that she is Korean or American so much.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, November, 15, 2010)

**Practices in two languages.** Hyejin stays in her American school from 7:30 am to 5:45 pm five days a week. In her preschool classroom, are three more Koreans, Eunsu, Yuna, and Sangmi. The assistant teacher, Ms. Lauren, is a Korean-English bilingual fluent in both languages. Hyejin plays with Yuna and Sangmi most of time. The girls like to stay in the housekeeping area. They pretend to go to the mall and shop. Although both Yuna and Sangmi speak Korean well, they only use English with Hyejin. (When I visited the classroom, Sangmi sometimes approached and talked to me in Korean because I was her teacher in Korean language school last year.) They use each other’s English name (i.e., Hannah for Hyejin, Sarah for Sangmi). Ms. Lauren also only uses English with the children, but she often shifts to Korean in conversations with their Korean-speaking parents.

HK: Have you heard that Ms. Lauren speaks Korean?
H: Ms. Lauren speaks Korean, but not Ms. Katie.
HK: But whenever I visit your school, Ms. Lauren never talked to me Korean.
H: That's okay. [She smiles.]
HK: I thought that she is not good at speaking Korean.

65
H: She knows how to speak a little bit Korean.
HK: Have you heard it?
H: She was talking to Yuna's daddy and mom.
HK: So Yuna's mom and dad speak Korean? When they visit your classroom, Ms. Lauren speaks Korean to them?
H: They speak Korean.
(Excerpt from interview with Hyejin, December, 2010)

On the way from school to home, Ms. Kim asks Hyejin some questions about her day in school. Ms. Kim first uses Korean but shifts to English soon while listening to and responding to Hyejin's English utterances. As soon as they come back to home, Ms. Kim goes to the kitchen and turns on a local Christian radio. When Ms. Kim prepares dinner, she asks Hyejin in Korean to set the table. Hyejin follows her direction well. During dinner, the parents talk to each other in Korean or code-switching. In order to get their attention, Hyejin occasionally uses Korean (i.e., 엄마 /ŏm-ma/, mom; 아빠 /a-ppa/, dad). In responding to Hyejin’s English utterances, Mr. Kim mostly uses English. By practicing some phrases, Ms. Kim tries to use more Korean than does Mr. Kim. Hyejin lately has been asking her mother for Korean equivalents to English words (e.g., 공주 /kong-chu/, princess; 앵무새 /aeng-mu-sae/, parrot). Around 7 pm, Hyejin's paternal grandfather rings up every night. When he wants to talk to Hyejin, she shows some reluctance because of a fear of speaking Korean. Ms. Kim lets her say something in Korean such as hello, miss you, or good night. When Hyejin listens to her grandfather talk, she blankly answers yes using a Korean honorific form.

Hyejin is allowed to watch movies on Friday nights only. She has some Korean DVDs but rarely chooses them. After watching a short video (e.g., Barney, Super Why, Wiggles), Hyejin usually does her Korean homework for Korean language school. Ms. Kim helps her understand questions and write appropriate words by reading aloud the directions. Before going to bed, Ms. Kim reads aloud picture books to Hyejin. Although Hyejin has many
Korean books sent by her aunt living in Chicago, she mostly picks up English books. Ms. Kim sometimes reads stories in translated Korean as well as English. Hyejin recently got a new tape with famous Korean songs for children. Ms. Kim bought it for her in the airport when she came back from a mission trip in Bangkok, Thailand, with a stopover in South Korea. Hyejin likes singing the songs following some funny rhymes or lyrics.

Hyejin shows me her audio player and a tape with Korean songs.
Hyejin: I can hear more Korean.
She looks at me hearing a song.
Hyejin: This is 꼧 démarche [kkong kkong kkong/, adverb that describes the shape of being frozen hard].
Hyejin repeats after the rhyme, 꼧 démarch in keeping time.
Another song is playing.
Hyejin: This is the funniest one. Oh, this is not. I will tell you what the funniest one is. You have to wait for a little more.
When the song is over, Hyejin shows a big smile.
Hyejin: This one is the silly one what I like.
Hyejin sings along the chorus, "엄마, 엄마, 엉덩이가 뜨거워~~!!" [Mom, mom, my butt is getting burned]
(Vignette from observation at home, December, 2010)

**Hyejin's attitudes toward two languages.** The preschool, has no strict English-only policy. The lead teacher, who is European American, has worked with many Korean or other Asian children in her 10 years of teaching. The assistant teacher, Ms. Lauren is a fluent Korean-English bilingual and often talks to Korean-speaking parents. Three Korean children Eunsu, Sangmi, and Yuna are also fluent Korean-English bilinguals and attend the Korean language school like Hyejin. Nevertheless, Hyejin rarely uses Korean with other Korean-speaking peers although she spends time with them most of the time. It seems to be related to her limited Korean proficiency instead of her negative attitudes or reluctance about Korean.

When I visited her class, she once expressed her pride in using Korean.

Eunsu: I love my Korean teacher. She is there.
Shane: My mom can speak Korean a little bit, but not much, not that much.
Andrew: I speak Korean.
Eunsu: You don't speak Korean. Korean is not English or Spanish.
Hyejin: Andrew, if you speak Korean, you go to Korean school.
She continues her talk.
Hyejin: Yuna, Cloy, Sophia, and me, we all speak Korean.
Hyejin: (Looking at Andrew) You know where is Korean school?
Hyejin pretends to draw a driving map to the KLS.
Anthony: (following her motions) Tell me what's this.
Hyejin: You don't know Korean school, right?
Anthony: No.
Hyejin: Take a car. Follow me.
Hyejin: (To David) Do you know how to speak Korean?
She shakes her head.
Hyejin: Why?
David says nothing.
(Vignette from observations at American school, November, 16, 2010)

Hyejin seemed to regard the function of Korean language school as the same as American
school; Korean-speaking children should go to Korean school as English-speaking children
attend an American school. Her own distinction between Korean school and American school
seemed to affect her practices in either Korean or English. Hyejin tended to use English only
in the American school, but she seemed to make an effort to speak Korean outside of the
school.

In Korean language school, Hyejin is a good performer who concentrates on her own
work without any reluctance. Sometimes she looked disappointed about her lack of Korean
when other children were scrambling to answer the teacher's questions in Korean.¹⁹ Beyond
learning Korean, Hyejin seemed to develop her Koreanness or Korean identity through

Korean language school.

Two mothers come into the classroom with snacks for children. One of them is an
American. Eunsu says to Hyejin that it is silly to see American people at the Korean
language school. Hyejin agrees with a smile saying, "Only Korean people can...stay
and teach." When Hyejin starts her talk about her mother, Eunsu says that the mother
is only American at 한글학교 [Korean school]. Hyejin listens to her and points to the
mother saying, "She only says English."

¹⁹ In her Korean classroom, there are 15 children (9 girls, 6 boys). Hyejin is one of four English-dominant children. Four
children mostly speak Korean. Remaining seven children are relatively regarded as balanced Korean-English bilingual.
In her astonishment, Hyejin seemed to express her belief that Korean language school is an important place for all Korean people to gather and share their heritage through language.

At home, Hyejin does not produce new words much. According to Ms. Kim, however, she shows increasing interest in speaking Korean.

Ms. Kim: Yet...she does not produce [Korean] talk so much...[She seems] to have more interest [in Korean]...[She] likes doing worksheet..."엄마 [ŏm-ma, Mom], let's do Korean. 아빠 [a-ppa, Dad], let's do Korean. 엄마, 나 한국말 해 [Mom, I am doing Korean now]. It is one of utterances Hyejin uses most often. I mean, she speaks Korean, but not many new words.

(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, November, 4, 2010)

Actually, in an interview with me, Hyejin showed confidence about her Korean ability. Using a drawing of Hyejin and her friends, Yuna, Sangmi, and Eunsu, I asked who was the best in speaking Korean. Hyejin put some lines to indicate each child's Korean proficiency. She seemed to believe that her Korean was as good as her peers.

Hyejin draws two lines under her name.
Hyejin: English and Korean.
HK: Okay, I will write E [of English].
Hyejin takes out my pen and draws a longer line.
Hyejin: I can speak this much Korean.
Hyejin draws more lines in the middle of the paper.
Hyejin: Yuna can speak this much Korean. Sophia can speak this much Korean.
HK: So, Sophia is better than Yuna?
Hyejin: All of us are better. [All of us are good in Korean].

(Excerpt from interview with Hyejin, December, 21, 2010)

Challenges and needs. Although the parents expressed that parental input is important to foster Hyejin's Korean learning and use, they often felt that English works better than Korean in commanding something. In terms of language tension between two languages, the family seems to choose English. Despite their awareness of parental input for maintaining their children's Korean, the parents seemed to prefer English in order to provide children with clearer directions.
Ms. Kim: She tends to react more when I use English. It seems...more natural (?)...to use English in scolding or disciplining her...feeling not so cold...I feel that it [using English] makes clear. I don't know why...Because I am 1.5-generation...maybe...when I scold her...it seems to work...
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, December, 28, 2010)

Ms. Kim: By the way, usually, in the evening, she is tired, starving, and wants to take a rest after school...[Because] she feels free, she tends to take parents for an easy mark, not to follow my directions...it's time to feel tiredness. I mean, I tend to use more English anyway.

HK: Do you mean that you use English to give clearer instruction when they are not in mood to accept Korean?
Ms. Kim: Yes, I feel like that.
(Except from interview with Ms. Kim, January, 27, 2011)

Ms. Kim once mentioned some needs about the Korean language school system including curriculum. She was concerned about strenuous work at the upper levels that focus mostly on Korean grammar.

HK: Is it okay to help her Korean homework?
Ms. Kim: It's so difficult....so difficult, and so demanding. [You know] I and Sangmi's mother asked teachers that how many children would move up into higher level of class last week....It would be better to Hyejin [to remain in the same class]. Sangmi may be different [from Hyejin's situation], but some children do not need to exactly follow curriculum instructed in Korea. Those children [who need that] may perform well though. They may be familiar with such curriculum. Therefore, to me, it is most important to speak, listen to and speak, it is most important. Writing may help speaking and more learning [Korean]. By the way, it seems going so fast. So fast....but she may learn through...Then, [you know] P4 class is a big deal. I mean, it would be better to divide the course into several sessions...may lessen (parents and children's) burdensome...
(Excerpt from interviews with Ms. Kim, November, 4, 2010)

Additionally, Ms. Kim showed a concern about the possibility that Hyejin may be exposed to undesirable behaviors due to inconsistencies in the rules of her American school and her Korean language school. In reality, since Korean language school is held only once a week, it is hard to maintain rules to manage or control the class. Some children tend to act spoiled because of permissive teachers.

Ms. Kim: I really appreciate Korean language school. Teachers are awesome. One
concern is that...Korean school is held only once a week...Children should be disciplined when they need. I have some concerns about whether they would be good performers without losing manners. In Korean school, teachers tend not to scold children, so they show some rude behaviors like that... (Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, December, 28, 2010)

**Summary.** The Kim family consists of 1.5-generation parents and two second-generation children. In their adolescence, the parents experienced some challenges in acquiring English and adjusting to immigrant life. By means of English higher education, they became fluent Korean-English bilinguals. In their work places, Mr. Kim and Ms. Kim, as a medical doctor and an insurance company worker respectively, use English exclusively. When Hyejin had difficulties speaking her first words in Korean and English, the parents used American sign language. Over time, the family primarily came to use English at home. Despite their desire for Hyejin to communicate with her grandparents in Korean, the parents find it difficult to speak Korean consistently with Hyejin since she tends to accept English commands or instructions more readily. The parents tolerate her English preference, but they strongly encourage Hyejin to use proper forms of address in Korean.

The parents seem to be satisfied with Hyejin's improvement in both oral and written language through the Korean language school. They think that peers have influenced Hyejin's increasing interest in learning. Hyejin has three friends who speak both Korean and English fluently in her American preschool classroom. Because all of them attend the same Korean language school, Hyejin seems to understand that Koreans can speak more than one language depending on their contexts or listeners. The parents have positive attitudes toward the Korean language school in general, but they have a concern about the intensity and occasional irrelevance of some aspects of the curriculum that reduces Hyejin's motivation to learn. Although they consistently seek opportunities to provide Hyejin with more Korean
input, they do not want Hyejin in a pull-out Korean heritage language class in the American school. They are concerned about her segregation from the mainstream classroom of English-speaking peers and teachers. The parents want Hyejin to become a well-rounded citizen in the English-dominant society without missing any learning opportunities that her counterparts experience. In order to foster her Korean development, the parents have a plan to send Hyejin to Korea later. Although they value Korean language retention and Korean identity construction, the parents tend to place a higher priority on their children’s Christian identity than on their ethnic identity.

Lee Family

**Background.** Mr. Lee first met Ms. Lee when he visited Korea during summer break while he was studying in Canada. With marriage, Ms. Lee quit her teaching at an art studio in Seoul and followed Mr. Lee to assist him. When they came back to Canada together, they were considering immigrating. While earning his doctoral degree, the family had their first child, Jordan, in 2001. When Mr. Lee took a faculty position at UIUC, the family moved to Urbana, Illinois in summer 2005. The American professor who recruited Mr. Lee helped their settlement (e.g., buying a house and a car). For Jordan’s education, Ms. Lee applied ahead to several institutions before moving. Jordan was able to attend a university-based daycare center immediately. In 2008, when Jordan had just turned seven, the family had Mark. Until Mark attended the daycare center at two, Ms. Lee concentrated on taking care of the family at home. The family finally decided to live permanently in the U.S. where they have no relatives at all. While Mr. Lee devotes his time to teaching and research, Ms. Lee is looking for an opportunity for a job in her field of expertise, the visual arts.

**Daily life.** In the early morning, Ms. Lee is busy awakening children, getting them
ready to go to school, and preparing a lunchbox for Mr. Lee. Around 8:10 am, Mr. Lee and Jordan leave home to go to school. Ms. Lee drops off Mark at the daycare center and goes to a park to do light exercise for a half hour. Then she usually spends her time in a local pottery studio as her hobby until Mark’s school ends. Making use of her teaching experience in pottery classes in Korea, she often helps other amateur artists. At 11:30 am, Ms. Lee hurries to pick up Mark. As soon as they come back home, they have lunch. While Ms. Lee is washing dishes, Mark is watching a short movie (e.g., Dora). For about an hour, they take a nap together. Around 3 pm, Ms. Lee goes to pick up Jordan by walking with Mark. On the way home from his school five blocks away, Jordan talks with his mother and Mark about his day, using English only. After having a light snack, the boys play video games (e.g., Wii Sports, LEGO Harry Potter) together for about one hour. Jordan gives instructions to Mark.

In the late afternoon, Jordan regularly goes to sports activities such as swimming, soccer, basketball, or ice-skating three days a week at least. Mark always follows his brother and takes age appropriate classes if possible. The sports clubs have no Korean-speaking members. Mr. and Ms. Lee give them a ride in turn. When the boys come back home around 6 pm, the family has dinner. After dinner, Mr. Lee usually works in his room. Jordan does his homework by himself and then asks his mother to check its completion. Around 7 pm, Ms. Lee bathes children and helps them get ready to sleep. In bed, while Jordan reads books by himself, Mark usually talks with his mother or sings a bedtime song he created. When the children fall into deep sleep around 9 pm, Ms. Lee goes to her bedroom.

**Beliefs about two languages.** As first-generation immigrants, both parents have faced language and cultural barriers while adjusting to their new life. Because of their struggles, the parents tended to accept Jordan's English preference from his birth. With a
good command of English, Jordan successfully passed some language proficiency tests for immigrant children and attends a public school without an ESL program. He was further prompted to use English while interacting with other English-speaking peers. Mr. and Ms. Lee decided to send Jordan to Korean language school when he was in kindergarten. Despite parental expectation about his outcomes, Jordan has never decreased his fear of or reluctance to speak Korean.

Their child-rearing experience with Jordan has affected the parents' attitudes toward Mark's language development. Ms. Lee wanted Mark to learn Korean first because she was concerned about his quick shift to English through schooling like Jordan. However, she was not able to persist in using Korean with him since he started speech-language therapy in English. When Mark was one and half years old, a doctor recommended a hearing test. He produced less than 10 words in both Korean and English at the time. The therapist finally asked the parents to practice some words and patterned sentences intensively with Mark. This made the family use mostly English at home. Although Mark reached the appropriate developmental level in the recent evaluation, Ms. Lee decided to continue his speech therapy. Ms. Lee wanted to offer sufficient time to Mark to listen to accurate English instead of her limited English with poor pronunciation.

Ms. Lee: I had to use more English words with Mark because you know speech therapy...it needs continuous practices of using words. After then Korean talk decreased. [Before his therapy], I mostly spoke Korean at home, both father (my husband) and I [did]. Father [actually] used to speak half Korean and half English. Starting his speech therapy, I have reduced Korean talk intentionally or unintentionally...(in a louder voice) in order to produce an effect. [Mark] used to point out a picture of a lion or a turtle in books [when I named it in Korean]. But, several months later, after having speech therapy, he couldn't do that. He shifted to English in a few months. After then...then...increasing [English] more and more...now...(pause) [The] speech therapist said that Mark does not need it any more. He can continue or not. She told me, "[It's] not bad, it's up to you." So, I said he would do [continue therapy]. Because my pronunciation may be wrong, it would be better for him to have
more [accurate] English practices.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, November, 10, 2010)

Although Mark tended to lose an opportunity to listen to Korean in his early years, Ms. Lee believed that he would become a more balanced Korean English bilingual than Jordan. When the family tried to use a Korean-only policy on weekends, Jordan showed some reluctance. Mark, however, showing interest asked his mother to speak Korean. However, Ms. Lee seemed to feel difficulties with supporting his Korean learning and said that Mark would speak Korean when he is fully motivated or comfortable with growth.

HK: Does Jordan use Korean with you?
Ms. Lee: Rarely not. "Let's use Korean on Saturday." Then, he occasionally speaks Korean. He tries, but in the written language form...[like] "Mom...I did something." Well, he can slowly speak what he wants to say. Thereafter on Sunday. [when I ask], "Korean on Sunday?" [He says], "No." But, he tries to speak [Korean]. "I never do that." He said so before, but he used to make sentences [in Korean]. Then, Mark says [to me], "한국말 해. (Speak Korean)." Maybe not like that, just "한국 (Korea)." When I unconsciously used English, [he said] "한국 (Korea)." [So I asked], "Do you want me to speak Korean?" Then he says, "Yes." He often answers in Korean recently. I was surprised. There was no learning process [apparently], [but] he did every day. It was interesting because Jordan didn't do that at the age.

HK: Mark seems to have much interest in Korean.
Ms. Lee: Yes, he would become bilingual...He will be good. If I teach [Korean] well, he would do [speak Korean] well. [But], I can't do. (laughing) He will do [speak Korean] if he feels comfortable while playing and growing up [in Korean].
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, November, 3, 2010)

When I visited the home one day, I heard Mark calling his father’s name. Although the parents were embarrassed, they did not take it as seriously as I expected.

Mark: Are you 민수 (Min-soo, father's name)?
Ms. Lee: Look at him. He calls father's name [carelessly].
The father is frowning at him.
Mr. Lee: Mark, don't do that.
Mother looks at me and says.
Ms. Lee: He [Mark] calls [father] in an English way [that is non-honorific].
(Vignette from observations at home, December, 31, 2010)
Later, I asked for Ms. Lee's thoughts about dropping honorific pronouns and terms of address, reminding her of this day. Ms. Lee said that Mark will be able to use address forms in a proper way in the future. She seemed to accept that her children were going through a developmental process of figuring out the differences between two languages. She thought that Mark was not ready yet to understand the concept of honorifics. Ms. Lee seemed not to expect a habitual use of honorific address forms during early years. She believed that Mark would be aware of Korean values, particularly respecting the elderly, while learning the honorific system through trial and error.

HK: Do you feel bad when Mark directly calls mother's or father's name?  
Ms. Lee: Not at all. It's just because I have not taught it to him...The thought comes up that [I need] to teach it....ah...(pause) Korean courtesy (politeness)...Using honorifics is so difficult. Jordan knows about it. He has a little sense about both honorific and familiar forms of language...[Nevertheless], it is too difficult to teach a clear distinction between two forms. Jordan just adds -요 [/yo/] to make the honorific form. He is just thinking and making sentences like "Mom, give me strawberry please." By the way, it needs to teach later that calling mother's or father's name carelessly is ill-mannered...Jordan may be aware of it....Mark is still too young to understand the concept. I am just pleased at his awareness of my name...It's his [developmental] stage. When he grows up, I will let him know it. It is impolite to call mother's or father's name on street. I may explain what address forms need to use properly. Well, the day will come when he grows up more. Now...it may not [work]...not necessary...
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, January, 21, 2011)

Ms. Lee recently noticed that Mark tends to shift to Korean if he wants to get attention or help from mother. She mentioned that Mark seemed to recognize a minor change in her mood or reaction to his Korean utterances.

Ms. Lee: Mark calls me 엄마 [/ŏm-ma/, mom] when he asks something my favor. I may look happy when he calls me in Korean. He comes to me saying 엄마 엄마 when he needs to get attention or play the baby...If I am focusing on others, he talks to me all of a sudden in Korean such as "이것보세요 [Please, look at this]" or "이거 [this]." Sometimes he just uses a full Korean sentence, for example, "사과 좀 주세요 [Give me an apple, please]." as he used to use Korean all the time. (laughing). I first pretend not to hear that and then look at him with a surprise, "뭐라고? 사과? [What? Apple?]". I mean...Mark seems to use that [the Korean utterance for his needs]. (laughing).
Ms. Lee regretted that she did not assert a Korean-only policy at home when Jordan was young. Because Mr. Lee was respectful about the child's English language choice, she could not help following his husband.

Ms. Lee: For Jordan, it was a turning point when he started his daycare. If father forced it...I did emphasize Korean usage [at the time]. When father said that it is the child's choice so do not force him [to use Korean], I had to follow him. He might think ahead that children would be stressed if they lack English proficiency.

When Mr. Lee was informed about bilingual development from an expert, the parents agreed that they needed to provide more Korean input to Mark, especially in early childhood.

Because Mark mostly spends time with Jordan and has no Korean friends in neighborhood, the parents thought that they were the most essential resource for his Korean development.

However, Ms. Lee still thinks that it is too late to use Korean now when they need to offer quick responses to their children's English utterances.

Ms. Lee: One day he [the father] heard from an expert, “No, if both parents are Korean, you should speak Korean. If you need to explain something to your children, it would be beneficial to use Korean.” After getting such a conclusion, he tends to support Korean use...[But], it’s too late...too late. Father [my husband] tends to speak more English. He tries to speak Korean correcting [his English], but it doesn’t work well. Until he was in kindergarten, I used to speak more Korean, [but] in the first, second grade, with increasing talk, he has not understood Korean more and more. Then, I have used more English. Even though I know that he can understand Korean, but it’s too hard [to speak Korean only]. When they [the children] ask something in English ‘hururuk’[she gestures and makes sound common in Korean language to indicate quick shift to English, like ‘hwick’], I just respond to them in English ‘hururuk.’ Finally, I am dragged by him.

Practices in two languages. Mark attends a university-based daycare center that diverse children attend. In his 3-year-old classroom, 10 of 16 children are from families speaking a language other than English. Mark is the only Korean. For three hours, teachers encourage children to freely choose their own activity except for the circle time in whole
group. Mark stays in manipulative or blocks area the most. He usually plays alone but accepts other peers who come into his play without any problems. Although his English speech is not conventional sometimes, he expresses what he wants without hesitation. When others do not understand his utterances, he repeats and clarifies the talk.

Mark goes table by table. He goes to the art table with tapes and Popsicle sticks in a variety of colors. Mark cuts tapes with a pair of scissors using two hands. He tears off tape. He rolls the red tape around a Popsicle stick. He puts a handful of sticks in his right hand at one time and puts them on the table. He tries to cut an orange tape but fails. T1 [the lead teacher] comes to him and lets him know how to cut the tape with a scissor.

T1: Put the tape like this and down and cut with a scissor.

Two girls and a boy are gathering around the table. However, there is no interaction. Each child focuses on his or her own work. Mark often looks at others doing but does not say anything.

T1: Mark has a lot of sticks. One, two,..., six.

Mark does not respond to her. He makes some wind-like sounds with his tongue.

Mark: I have orange and red. They are swinging.

T1: They are swimming?

Mark: No, they are SWINGING.

T1: Oh, they are SWINGING.

Mark: (looking at the teacher) Okay, I do this long. Okay?

Mark quickly folds and stretches the tape holding each end with two hands.

Mark: flap, flap, flap.

T1: Oh, you can make a noise.

Mark does not show any response.

T1 and two children leave the table. Mark and one girl sitting next to him are remaining.

Mark: (looking at the girl) They are swinging.

Jane: Oh.

Mark swings the tapes several times.

Mark: Wait a minute.

Mark: Hey, look at me.

Jane sticks the black and green roles of tape on the table and swings them as Mark does.

(Vignette from observations at American school, September, 30, 2010)

When his half-day class is over around 11:30 am, Ms. Lee picks him up. On the way home, she talks to him in Korean while he responds to her in English. Until his elder brother comes back home, Mark spends most of the time with his mother. While having lunch and
taking a rest, Ms. Lee uses some simple phrases in Korean (e.g., What do you want to eat? Do you need more?). Mark answers some in Korean (e.g., yes/no, more, this) but mostly in English. Although Ms. Lee values her effort to promote Mark’s Korean learning, it is not easy to put it into practice. She thinks that pressure does not work for Mark who is strong willed. It is hard to help him do Korean school homework because he does not understand why he has to do the assigned pages at the moment. Ms. Lee easily gives up doing something when Mark does not want it. Mark recently watches some Korean movies for children with pleasure, which are downloaded from websites. He seems to understand the story through visual effects.

When Jordan is present, Mark rarely speaks Korean. Jordan directs most conversations with Mark often pointing out his incorrect use of English. If the parents do not understand Mark’s English, Jordan clarifies for them. Because Jordan is his best friend, Mark has not needed to find others to play with. The Lee family mostly interacts with Jordan’s friends and their families through play dates. Some of them are Asians with fair English proficiency, but none are Korean. The boys have no opportunity to hear Korean from others other than their parents. They take for granted using English all the time. The only exception is when they attend Korean language class for three hours a week.

In Korean language school, Mark is one of the good performers listening to the Korean-speaking teacher and doing tasks by himself. Because of his lack of Korean proficiency, however, Mark tends to behave in a way which interrupts class sometimes. I visited his classroom at the beginning of the study, and the teacher seemed to be embarrassed by him. She had difficulty in interacting with an English-dominant child. The teacher seemed to be forced to use English when Mark did not speak Korean at all. When either
Korean or English did not work well, both the teacher and Mark seemed to give up on more communication.

The teacher teaches children how to write eyes and a nose in Korean. Only Minwoo answers and responds to the teacher's directions. The teacher often laughs actively responding to Minwoo’s comments. Mark casts a sidelong glance at Soeun and the teacher. While the teacher explains the words, He makes a weird sound 'chh-chh-chh' like a bird. When Minwoo answers again to the teacher's question, Mark stands up and suddenly reaches out his arm to the crayon box. "I need some color, purple." The teacher responds in English, "Purple? I think pink [is better]. Purple is too dark [to color the face]." Mark refuses her suggestion firmly, "No." Minwoo gives him the purple crayon, "This is purple." Mark receives the purple from Minwoo and throws the pink to the box. He peels the crayon and says looking at the teacher, "Hei, look at here. It's broken it." The teacher is lying down her head and simply says, "Oh, is it broken?" in Korean. Mark says, "Okay, it's okay." The teacher looks at him and says, "Okay?" The teacher continues her talk. Mark looks at what the teacher is doing. Minwoo talks about a folk tale related to a nose. The teacher actively reacts to Minwoo's talk adding comments and questions. Mark seats back and draws glancing at them sometimes.

(Vignette from observations at Korean language school, September, 4, 2010)

Mark's attitudes toward two languages. With schooling and speech therapy in English, Mark’s exposure to Korean has decreased. Extensive interactions with his elder brother have affected his use of mostly English at home. Attending Korean language school is one of main resources that support Mark's Korean development. According to his mother, last year he was an inconsistent student with low interest in Korean language school; he performed well one day but not the next. Recently, Ms. Lee feels that his attitude toward Korean language school has changed.

HK: Do you feel any improvement of Mark through Korean language school?
Ms. Lee: Yes, he is improved I think. I don't have him do something else at home. He seems to be improved only through practices at Korean language school, and he...likes it. He feels fun. He is having fun and trying to do [activities in Korean]. He never says, "I don't want to go to Korean school" despite his lack of Korean proficiency. He asks, "Which school do I go today?" Then I says, "It's Saturday, [let’s] go to Korean school." Then, he yells, "Hooray!" He is having fun.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, November, 10, 2010)

From observations across settings, I felt that Mark’s literacy skills are emerging in
two languages in spite of his dominant English speech. At Korean language school, I often
was impressed by his concentration on his work, particularly literacy practices with the
textbook. He listened to the teacher even when she was interacting with other children.
Comparing his work with others by himself, Mark tried to complete tasks correctly. Mark
often asked the teacher's help in writing letters without any hesitation. When he got it wrong,
he was a little disappointed. With a positive reinforcement from the teacher, however, he
finally reached the right answer.

Mark looks at the teacher teaching individuals how to write their name. His turn is the
last. He stares at how to write others' names not talking for several minutes. As the
teacher gives instruction to Soeun, he suddenly interrupts her explanation. "Hey, look
at here. Look at here...what I..." Mark points out his writing on the paper. The teacher
stops his speaking, "Wait. Okay, you did a good job. Mark, your last name is Lee.
How do you write Lee?" The teacher models writing of his name. Mark looks at her
with twisting his lips. He erases a letter saying, "I got a wrong." in a feeble voice. The
teacher says, "No, it's not totally wrong. You did a good job in writing 'ㅎ' (hi-ŭh).
While the teacher checks other children’s writing, Mark corrects his name copying
the teacher's writing.

(Vignette from observations at Korean language school, September, 4, 2010)

Although Mark rarely produced Korean in communications with the lead teacher or other
peers, he could repeat after others at the beginning of the study. As time went by, Mark could
speak the Korean phrases he heard from others.

The teacher helps each child make a mini book by cutting some at the center of paper.
The teacher says, "이렇게 하면 책이 되는 거야 [you can make a book in this way]." Mark says 책 [book]. He repeats the word several times."책, 책,..., 책 [book]." Minwoo
says,"나두 [me, too]." Mark repeats after him, "나두 [me, too]." The teacher asks
Soeun to write her name on the book. Mark says, "나두 [me, too]." The teacher
responds to him, "마크도 이름을 줄 줘야 [Mark, do you know how to write your
name]?" Mark says, "네 [yes]." Mark looks at his name written on his scissors. "이거,
마크 [This, Mark]." The teacher says it is his name.

(Vignette from observations at KLS, October, 23)

On my last visit to his American school, he asked me how to write some words to
make a sign. With some invented writing of letters, he completed a sign (Figure 2) for his
classroom by himself. The lead teacher was surprised at his improvement in writing and asked him with pride to share it with other peers.

Mark picks up a blue paper and a white pencil. T1 says that children need to clean up about two minutes later. He sharpens the pencil and comes to me with the paper and the pencil. Mark: I want to write clean-up.

HK: Okay, clean-up starts with 'k-k-' sound.
Mark looks at me.
HK: C~
Mark writes down C.
When I sound letter by letter, Mark writes it.
He writes a mirror-image N by himself.
He looks at me and waits for me sounding next letters.
HK: Up...U...P...
Mark writes U and P.
Mark: How to write "I clean up?"
HK: Just put 'I' here.
Mark writes 'I' below his first writing of 'clean-up.'
HK: Can you read me what you wrote?
Mark says each word pointing it with his finger.
Mark: I clean up. Stop. [name]. No, no,..., no. I spelled it.
Mark looks at me with a big smile. He writes his name next to the clean-up sign one more [His real name was removed in Figure 2]. The actual text is as follows. [All Ns were written in mirror image; ON refers to NO actually].

CLNUP [name]
I STOP  [name]
ON ONONON
ONONONON
ONONONON
Later, in a whole group, the lead teacher asked Mark to share it.

(Vignette from observations at American school, December, 14, 2010)
Figure 2. Mark’s Clean-up Sign

Challenges and needs. The Lee family is still adjusting to their environment since they arrived in the United States in 2005. Although they were already exposed to English in Canada, most of their neighbors were Koreans studying abroad like Mr. Lee. On a residential street in Urbana, however, there are no Korean-speaking people. Their children have no problem, but the parents feel some difficulties in interacting with other English-speaking people.

Ms. Lee: [Getting along with people is] so tiring. I feel much tiredness when I meet other people. Here, I often meet English-speaking people for several hours, then I totally...ah~~~ I am totally exhausted next day. For about a week, I have aftereffect [of meeting people].
(Excerpts from interview with Ms. Lee, October, 27, 2010)

Additionally, Ms. Lee once mentioned that she often faced embarrassing situations because of the awkward translation from Korean to English.

Ms. Lee: [You know] I always translate. When I translate [something]...for example...I say, “That’s not normal.” I meant that it’s weird...Once I said, “She is not normal.” to my [American] friend. She seemed to take it so seriously thinking that she [I mentioned] is irrational or may need a medication. (laughing) My friend looked embarrassed because she didn’t know how to react to me...Through the situation, I recognized that something was wrong. But, I didn’t know how to deal with the situation. Well, some people who have been acquainted with me for a long while just catch what I meant. In my translation, some problems come up. At the moment...the mother [my friend] felt puzzled...The meaning itself...may be totally different depending on how I use it.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, December, 29, 2010)
Ms. Lee is also struggling with seeking the best practices in raising her children because of some differences from how she was raised. In an interview, she mentioned that she has tried to offer the same practices to their children as other American parents do. By listening to other parents, she has changed her attitudes and behaviors toward their children. She felt that it is highly valued to encourage children’s self-confidence through praise in the U.S. She understands its importance, but it is still challenging to fully accept the American values that may conflict with her own values established in Korea.

HK: Do you feel some differences in living in the U.S., in comparison to South Korea?
Ms. Lee: Um...Details of my life might be changed. Particularly in raising my kids...If I would raise them in Korea, I think the parenting style might be quite different [from that here]. Therefore, while raising kids here, I'm usually talking to other American mothers about parenting. As Jordan is growing up, I mostly meet Americans and ask them many things...It's a different environment I experienced in growing up. I mean I ask them whatever, many questions. Are you doing this or that? In order to exchange information, I've asked many things...I applied many things I received from them to my parenting. Because you know, they may compare with each other. If they visit other friends, they [my kids] may compare...In that perspective, I am trying to change my parenting style...

HK: Do you find many differences in parenting between Korean and American?
Ms. Lee: (thinking for a minute) well...if I really look for differences..."You are doing well. Great." Praising...actually, even if he is not...[I say like] you are doing well...Like that, I made an effort to praise him. Rather than scolding or talking to him directly, in an indirect way, in a smooth way...or rather than pointing out his lack, I foster his good thing. I consider more on his self-confidence. In comparison to other children, I was worried about a lack of his confidence so much. By the way, because of frequent changing of my thoughts...Of course, it is somewhat correct, but it does not change what I have received while growing up [you know]. Therefore, I devoted to change [my parenting attitudes].
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, December, 22, 2010)

Ms. Lee also pointed out the different language tone between Korean and English.

She felt that English is more polite than Korean and appreciated the use of habitual words such as thank you, excuse me, or sorry.

Ms. Lee: The tone [of English] seems to be so different from that of Korean. English seems to be more polite [than Korean]. The feeling about the language itself...And,
these people [Americans] teach “Thank you, excuse me, sorry” many times. My kids are not trained so much [to use these phrases], but they are growing up looking at how others do. [You know] Korean is not like that. [For example], with an emotion, “[You should] say sorry to me.” English is different from Korean in terms of the language tone.

(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, December, 29, 2010)

Similarly, Ms. Lee thought that Korean seems more unfriendly than English. She felt that English picture books tend to focus on fun while Korean picture books are didactic. In an interview, she mentioned that that makes it difficult to read Korean picture books to her children. She felt that some characters’ names and contents were not relevant to their children.

Ms. Lee: The focus is very different. Here, focus is on fun things such as silly sound. [You know] Korean pictures books look unfriendly focusing on stories. Characters are named like 토실이 [/to-sir-i/] instead of 토끼 [/to-kki/, rabbit]. There are many awkward pronunciations. Reading those things, I myself tend to lose my interest. Mark does not react to the books. Like books of other counties, not in the mother tongue, it has decreased to read Korean books. However, I think more to read them while sending him to Korean school. I tended to read more English books. I often find new books and check them out from library, but there are the same books [in Korean]. I always think about reading Korean books to children, but there is no fun...Science books...I understand the concept of those books, but examples do not make sense. In order to meet children's developmental levels...it's not a fictional book nor a non-fictional science book...It's difficult to read Korean books anyway because there is no relevant to kids as well as me...(laughing)

(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, January, 21, 2011)

Ms. Lee also talked about insufficient time or chance to provide Korean practices to the children. Through this study, the mother has considered more intensive practices in Korean to support their oral language development. She appreciated the opportunity to think about her own language practices, disregarded while focusing on basic day-to-day life as an immigrant. However, she is still skeptical about the thought that their children would change their language choice to Korean because they have decreasing opportunities to connect to Korea (e.g., visiting Korea, calling to grandparents in Korea).
Ms. Lee: For Korean school [homework], I have to sit together [with the children]...but, there is no time. If I help them do homework in a calm and ordinary way [sitting together], they will do well. It may be effective...[but], there is no time to work together helping them out.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, December, 29, 2010)

Ms. Lee: I would like to devote teaching Korean to my children. Because we have talked about it continuously...at the time...By the way, if I return to my ordinary life, I cannot change...It is already set up...I habitually respond in Korean to Jordan's English. Like that, it seems not possible to change. [However], I had a time to think about it. I've just disregarded it...Whenever you asked me, I thought about it...Because we [the family] have no opportunity to go back to Korea...I used to ask Mark to talk to grandparents on the phone, but the opportunities have decreased more and more.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, January, 21, 2011)

As the best alternative, the parents decided to send their children to Korean language school as long as they live in the U.S. When Jordan showed some reluctance toward the school, Ms. Lee strongly asserted the importance of Korean language school and Korean learning. However, the parents fear the bad influence of other spoiled children who may attend the same class at Korean language school. They placed more priority on developing their children’s personality than developing their awareness of Korean culture and Korean language.

Ms. Lee: I believe that learning from peers is the biggest part beyond learning from home. With age, they may have strong influence from their peer group. If all groups are same, I may not have any choice. But, if I have to choose one, I may not send them [to Korean school]. I consider other things as well as language issues. If there is something with bad influence, I will not send them. Speaking Korean, learning Korean culture…building friendship with other Korean kids…all things are important, but the most important thing is to raise my children in the right way. I mean it’s a separate thing. I want to civilize my children while learning language. I cannot teach [Korean] to them, if the center idea is wavered.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, December, 29, 2010)

**Summary.** Mr. and Ms. Lee intentionally immigrated to the U.S. after Mr. Lee earned his doctoral degree in Canada. Mr. Lee is an assistant professor, and Ms. Lee is looking for a job in her major of study, the visual arts. While adapting to the new environment for about
five years, the parents have been struggling with linguistic and cultural barriers. In order to raise two children who were born in English-dominant countries (i.e., Canada and the U. S.), the parents have adopted parenting styles that differ from those with which they were raised. Ms. Lee, who takes more responsibility for taking care of the children than Mr. Lee, often asks American mothers if they have parenting suggestions. Most of this family’s social interactions are with English-speaking people. The first child, Jordan, is the center of their social circles. Because Jordan is reluctant to use Korean, the parents tend to shift to English in communicating with their children. Additionally, since Mark has taken speech therapy in English, the family seems to have been forced to reduce Korean language use at home.

Mr. and Ms. Lee have recently observed that Mark voluntarily uses some Korean words at home. He seems to enjoy going to Korean language school and learning about Korean language and literacy. The parents expect Mark to become a successful bilingual if he keeps his interest and motivation. They consider maintaining Korean heritage language and culture to be important for maintaining understanding between the generations. However, the parents find it difficult to provide their children with sufficient time and opportunities for Korean practice. Sending the children to Korean language school is their best option to support language and literacy development. One suggestion they have for the Korean language school is to develop more relevant and fun materials. The parents also expect their children to expand their social interactions and cultural awareness through Korean language school. One of their concerns is that the negative influence of peers who recently came from Korea will cause their children to adopt similar behaviors. All of their expectations in relation to linguistic and cultural development are incidental to their main concern, being a “good
person” in the community.20

Park Family

Background. Mr. Park and Ms. Park met each other while studying abroad (yuha_k) at the same university in New York in the late 90s. While pursuing their doctoral degree in mathematics and piano respectively, they got married. Both of them got jobs as adjunct professors immediately after graduation. Mr. Park was teaching computer science at Stony Brook University, and Ms. Park was teaching piano at New York University. When she had her first child, Jieun, in 2004, Ms. Park quit teaching. In 2006, because of Mr. Park’s new job as a software developer, the family moved to Illinois and had Soeun right after. When Soeun entered preschool at age two, Ms. Park also started working at the same company where her husband works. While studying, getting a job, and having two children, Mr. Park and Ms. Park became permanent residents with an opportunity for pursuing citizenship. They still consider the possibility of going back to Korea, however, they have no specific plan.

Ms. Park: Frankly speaking, we have not immigrated (emigrated) technically. We were studying and getting a job…and then…We came here when Korea was under the supervision of IMF (International Monetary Fund). We spent a lot of money. In order to pay for it…(laughing) we just got a job naturally and have worked until now, so could not go back to Korea yet. I have not thought that I would immigrate to America. During that time and the events…(I was) studying, working, giving birth to children, and so on. We have no specific reason to go back to Korea. I had no intention to find a job in Korea. But, I may go back to Korea eventually. We do not have any precise plan to go back though.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Park, November, 2, 2010)

Daily life. The family wakes up around 6 am. Jieun and Soeun choose and put on their clothes by themselves. After breakfast, Ms. Park and Jieun leave home at 7:30 am. On the way to her workplace, the mother drops off Jieun at her elementary school. Between 7:30

20 In a later interview, Ms. Lee mentioned that she expects Mark to become a good person who is polite and honest, and helps other people well. The interview is quoted in the later section in the cross-case analysis.
and 8:00 am, Soeun goes to her full-time preschool classroom with her father. After then, Mr. Park heads to his company office. Both parents develop software with a team that consists of English-speaking people from different countries (e.g., Mexico, Japan). At 2:30 pm, Ms. Park, who has more flexibility to manage her work time than Mr. Park, picks up Jieun and comes back home with her. After having some snacks, Jieun does homework or plays by herself in her room. Ms. Park teaches a piano lesson to a child in the neighborhood. When Jieun takes a nap, Ms. Park continues her work brought from her office or prepares dinner. When Mr. Park and Soeun come home at 5:30 pm, it is time for dinner. On the table, the family shares their day or any special events of children (e.g., fieldtrip, parent-teacher conference, homework). After dinner, Ms. Park washes dishes, while the father continues his work in his room. The girls play together in their playroom in the basement. If Jieun needs to complete her homework, Soeun draws something sitting next to her. Once a week, the girls go swimming or have a piano lesson with their mother. Around 8 pm, they go to their own bedroom to sleep. Ms. Park reads books or turns on music until the girls fall asleep. Since Jieun has become a good self-reader, Ms. Park spends most of bedtime with Soeun. She then continues her remaining work with Mr. Park. The parents usually go to bed late.

**Parental beliefs about two languages.** Despite their permanent resident status, Mr. and Ms. Park do not think of themselves as Korean American but as Koreans living in the United States. Ms. Park once mentioned that she defines Korean Americans as people who immigrated when they were young with their own parents. She added that Jieun regards herself as American or Korean American rather than Korean, having Korean-origin parents. Ms. Park seemed to accept the child’s own thought about her ethnic identity.

Ms. Park: For me, the word Korean American seems to refer to 1.5-generation [Korean immigrants]. Like us, who came to study abroad and stayed...I have never
thought that I am *Korean American*...(after thinking for several minutes) As a classification, maybe [I am]. But, I myself have not thought like that. I am Korean just living in the United States. Depending on definition, I can be *Korean American.* Well, because we are not immigrant, I am not...Someone may see me like that, but I've never thought so...My kids...There is a story. Jieun once said that she is rather *American, Korean American*...than Korean...but her parents are Korean she thinks. (Excerpt from interview with Ms. Park, November, 9, 2010)

The parents, particularly Ms. Park, have a strong belief about a relationship between one’s language and identity. They have observed several cousins who regard themselves as American with a loss of their Korean heritage language. Ms. Park has thought that it is the parental responsibility to provide the children with opportunities to access culture, for example, by sending them to Korean language school. Nevertheless, she showed a somewhat skeptical view on the children's own choice of cultural access.

Ms. Park: [One] who does not know language cannot be aware of [one's] culture...rather not knowing it...it's difficult to access [culture]...Of course, [it is related to] identity...[S/he] may finally regard [himself or herself] as American later. Like my cousins or other relatives...Even though their parents always speak Korean, if they do not have a will to know language, they couldn't help [losing Korean] because they just hear but do not speak. Then, they lose their interest [in Korean language and culture] thinking they are not included in the [Korean] group...They cannot be 100% Korean...[My children] may once think that they are Korean. However, they may not recognize their Koreanness while living...The thing I can do for my children is to provide Korean language classes and help them access culture...until they grow up at a certain age, but if they shut down [the opportunity]...then, I cannot do anything. (Excerpt from interview with Ms. Park, November, 9, 2010)

Ms. Park also is concerned about the lack of Korean input in an English-dominant society. Because she feels more comfortable speaking Korean than English, she is concerned about any possible misunderstandings with the children when they become adolescents due to language and cultural differences between generations.

Ms. Park: Anyhow...As they are growing up, they [the children] may lack Korean language and culture...So, I have spoken Korean more. With decreasing opportunities [to use Korean]...in school, they may use more English with friends. Because the only Korean input may come from parents...if they do not start Korean from the very
early ages, they may…I have some relatives who arrived here in the 1970s. Their children were born here…I don’t know why, but most of them cannot speak Korean except for greetings…Whenever I saw them…I didn’t think that it is wrong…but I thought I won’t make [my children] like that…I might speak at least one more word [in Korean]…well…because I am more comfortable speaking Korean [than English]…when they become teenagers, communication [with them]…not only language but also culture…When culture is different, lifestyle is different, even with a common language, we may not understand each other…also in scolding…I don’t think I will be able to scold them in English…It may not make sense.

(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Park, January, 28, 2011)

Mr. and Ms. Park believe that sending the children to Korean language school is beneficial to the family. Sending their children to the school from the very beginning level, the parents have never allowed their children to fall by the wayside due to lack of patience. The parents push the children to get full attendance and bring completed homework to school. Mr. and Ms. Park want their children to take responsibility for their own choice to attend. When Soeun shows reluctance to do homework sometimes, Ms. Park reminds her of the promise she made with her parents and teachers. If the children do not want to register next semester, however, the parents may allow them to have a break and provide other extra activities they want (e.g., art, soccer). Ms. Park does not want the children to shut the door on learning Korean because of tiredness.

Ms. Park feels sorry Soeun was struggling with English. When Jieun started her first few words, the mother taught her the equivalent English words right after the Korean words. While keeping Korean mostly at home, Jieun showed a somewhat balanced bilingual ability. When she entered American school, the teacher asked the parents what her first language was because of her fluent English. From her experience with the first child, Ms. Park decided to use Korean only with Soeun from her birth. She thought that Soeun would have a good command of English later through schooling. Soeun, however, felt confused when she was first exposed to English in her preschool. Ms. Park regretted that she did not support her
English practice as she did for Jieun. After that, the family tended to use more English and reduce Korean to help Soeun’s adjustment to the English environment. Throughout the last year, Soeun seems to have reached an age-appropriate level of development in English. Observing her increasing English use, Ms. Park has recently thought about keeping Korean practice at home. Due to the family’s busy schedule, however, it is not easy to find sufficient time for Korean practice. Ms. Park tries to use as much Korean as possible with Soeun during dinner and bedtime at least.

**Practices in two languages.** Soeun attends the full time program of a Montessori-based preschool. The regular program begins at 8:30 am and ends at 2:30 pm. Soeun stays in the extended child care program until 5:30 pm. During the afternoon, she usually has a long recess, art projects, literacy activities with audio books, and other free-choice play. More than two-thirds of the children in her classroom come from families with different language and cultural backgrounds. Four of seven Asian children, including Soeun, are Korean. All of them attend the same Korean language school and have some bilingual competence. In her American school, Soeun never uses Korean while interacting with the Korean children. She usually plays with a few English-speaking peers who are European- or African-American. Most activities are instructed in English, but the lead teacher often provides children with several activities to get a sense of other cultures (e.g., making a world map, storytelling about cultural artifacts). Once when I visited, the teacher was asking the children to count from one to ten in English, Spanish, and Korean.

The lead teacher (T1) asks children to count marbles on the mat. She picks up a marble and puts it in the box.
T1: English. One, two,..., ten.
T1: Spanish. Uno, dos,..., diez.
T1: Now...Korean. 하나 [ha-na/, one],둘 [/tul/, two],..., 아홉 [/a-hop/, nine].
While Sunho yells the numbers in Korean, most children do not follow them. T1 looks at Sunho and asks his clarification that the last number is 아홉 [ /a-hop/, nine]. Sunho says it is 열 [ /yŏl/, ten].

T1: New one today.
Laura: It's too hard.
Some children also complain Korean is hard.
T1: Remember? Spanish was hard, but now it's easy. Maybe Korean is easier when we practice more and more.
Laura says she can speak another language.
T1 looks at her and asks that what language she speak. The girl answers Marathi.
T1: I see. She is gonna teach her language.
Laura: Yes, next time.
(Vignette from observations at American school, October, 1, 2010)

On the way home, Soeun talks with her father about her day. They mostly use English. When they come back home, the family sits around the table for dinner. For about one hour, the family talks a lot, particularly about the children’s school events or the family events. Both parents use code-switching mostly inserting English words in Korean sentences.

Jieun and Soeun understand Korean well, but they usually speak English. Jieun often uses two languages, sentence by sentence taking a role as a facilitator or sometimes as a translator. She helps the family understand each other using their preferred language (i.e., Korean for the parents, English for Soeun). In one observation, Soeun was talking about a science lesson at the dinner table. While listening to her, Jieun participated in the conversation by responding to her parents’ questions in either Korean or English. Soeun repeated after Jieun.

Soeun: Mommy, mommy, mommy...medium means...medium means....What medium means?
The mother laughs. Jieun listens to Soeun and says.
Jieun: It's not too small and not too big.
Ms. Park: 소은야, 그래서 medium 이 무슨 뜻이야?  
[Soeun, so what is the meaning of medium?]
Soeun: Medium means not too small not too big.
Ms. Park: 뭐 배웠는데, 그건 걸 해?  
[What did you learn, why do you need to know that?]
Soeun: Planet.
Ms. Park: 무슨 planet?  
[What planet?]
Soeun: Jupiter.
Ms. Park: Jupiter 뭐?  [Jupiter what?]
Soeun: We can't live in Jupiter.
Ms. Park: We can't live in Jupiter?
Soeun: We're living in Korea.
Ms. Park: I wish. 그럼, 우리 planet 은 뭐야?  [Then, what's our planet?]
Soeun: I don't know. (Several seconds later) Earth.
Mr. Park: earth 가 한국말로 뭐야?  [What's earth in Korean?]
Jieun: 지구.  [Earth.]
Soeun: 지구.  [Earth.]

(Vignette from observations at home, November, 2, 2010)

Because there is no cable TV at home, Jieun and Soeun usually watch several educational programs through Korean online broadcasting. They can stream video clips with free access. Ms. Park encourages them to do their Korean homework on Thursday and Friday afternoon. She reads instructions aloud and helps them write properly. When Soeun draws her journal, Ms. Park asks her what the story is and writes it in Korean. She tries to read Korean books to Soeun every day before bed.

During the recent winter break, the family visited Korea for a family event for about three weeks.21 Jieun and Soeun were staying at their grandparents’ houses. Because all her Korean relatives expected her to speak Korean, Soeun practiced her Korean intensively. On my final home visit, Soeun produced many new Korean words and phrases I had not heard before break. She mostly used Korean in talking to her mother.

Soeun and Jieun come to their mother and show the Hello Kitty balloon tied on Soeun’s left wrist.
Soeun: 안녕하세요, 저는 Hello Kitty 예요.  [(In an honorific form) Hello, I’m Hello Kitty.]
Jieun: 내가 묶어줬어.  [I tied it for her.]
Soeun: 풀렸져…  [It’s untied.]
Ms. Park: 다시 묶어줘. 올라가서…  [Tie it again, Jieun, upstairs…]
Jieun: (Tying the balloon on Soeun’s wrist) 이젠 됐어?  [Is it okay?]

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21 The maternal grandfather was a famous artists in modern and contemporary Korean art. During winter, there was his retrospective exhibition to commemorate the 20th anniversary of his death in Seoul.
Soeun: Jieun, more tightly.
Jieun: 움직이지마. [Don’t move.]
Soeun: (Looking at the cereal box) 씨리얼…나 묵을래… [Cereal…I want to eat…]
Ms. Park: 좀있다가…저녁 먹고… [Later…after dinner…]
(Excerpt from observations at home, January, 28, 2011)

When I pointed out Soeun’s use of honorifics in greeting, Ms. Park was pleased. She appreciated the children’s learning Korean values or manners through interactions with other native Korean-speaking adults.

**Soeun's attitudes toward two languages.** Soeun spoke only Korean from birth until age two. When she first entered preschool, she knew only two phrases in English: hello and thank you. According to Ms. Park, Soeun was depressed because of the difference between her and her peers’ language. Recognizing her need to speak English, Soeun often asked her mother to use English at home. She has reduced her Korean and is shifting to English nowadays.

Ms. Park: She [Soeun] was stressed at the preschool due to language. Because she was stressed due to the lack of understanding, she [just] gave up Korean speech. She sometimes asked me to use English. She might feel that she should speak English because she needed it in school. After that, she has reduced Korean speech so now lacks Korean [competence]. The situation is changing. [She speaks] the easiest thing such as [a] butterfly or [a] lion in English. While doing Korean homework, she speaks English first [then Korean]. If she is asked in Korean, she knows one thing, but not the other.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Park, November, 16, 2010)

When I asked Soeun about speaking Korean in her preschool, she firmly said that they do not understand her Korean because they are American. She seemed to follow an English-only policy, despite the teacher’s effort for a multicultural classroom.

HK: Why don’t you speak Korean with your friends in school?
Soeun: Most friends doesn't speak because they're English. I speak at school E..English, because it's English school.
HK: You mean that they don’t understand Korean because they are not Korean, right?
Soeun: Yes. They don't believe me.
HK: You said you are Korean, right?
Soeun: Yes, yes, but some people doesn't speak Korean.
HK: It’s interesting. 왜 소은이는 Korean 도 하고 English 도 하는데 그 친구들은 Korean을 못하지? [Why don’t they speak Korean, while you speak Korean as well as English?]
Soeun: 응…[well…] because they look English.
(Excerpt from interview with Soeun, November, 6, 2010).

Soeun seemed to recognize others’ ethnicity through their spoken language. Later she also said that her father is American because he uses mostly English, while other family members are Korean. When I said to Ms. Park that Soeun regards herself as Korean, she was surprised and appreciative. She believed that Soeun's early experience of speaking Korean-only built a strong Korean identity.

In observations of Soeun at Korean language school, she usually performed well but tended to get tired easily. She did not show much interest in the textbooks, often laying her head down on the table. However, she actively participated in making a picture dictionary (Figure 3) and listening to picture books. She was able to write most letters or words copying the teacher’s writing. She appeared proud of her own work.

Figure 3. Soeun’s Picture Dictionary

Although Soeun is a beginner in Korean literacy, she is able to read some Korean consonants on packages of Korean food. Soeun mostly uses English with her sister but tends to use code-switching in front of Korean-speaking adults, including her parents.
Ms. Park: *count* 하는 거 선생님 가르쳐 드렸어?  [Did you let you know the teacher how to count in Korean?]

Soeun: 예.  [(In an honorific form) Yes.]

Ms. Park: 어떻게 했어요?  [How did you do that?]

Soeun: 하나, 둘, 셋....일.  [One, two, three,..., ten.]

Soeun suddenly starts singing a song, "little kitty."

Ms. Park: 우리 소은이 또 뭐 잘하지? *conference* 갔더니 선생님이 우리 소은이 노래 잘한다고 하던데. 또 무슨 노래 알아?  [What else can you do well? In parent-teacher conference, the teacher said that you sing very well. What other songs do you know?]

Soeun: I got a Korean one.

Ms. Park: 뭐?  [Which one?]

Soeun changes lyrics with Korean numbers using the same melody of the song, "little kitty."

The mother laughs.

Ms. Park: 지도 만드는 거 끝났어요? 오스트리아 다음에?  [Are you done making the map? After Austria?]

Soeun: 끝났어요.  [I am done.]

Ms. Park: 또 만들어야해? 뭐 만들어?  [Do you need to make more? What are you making?]

Soeun: 안 끝났어요.  [I'm not done]

(Excerpt from observations at home, October, 26, 2010)

**Challenges and needs.** Although the Park family has lived in the United States since the late 90s, Mr. and Ms. Park do not regard themselves as Korean American. Since they are considering the possibility of going back to Korea eventually, they tend to differentiate themselves from other immigrant families who intentionally arrived in the U.S. and became naturalized citizens. They also find a big difference in their life style in comparison to the sojourners who will return to Korea after completing their study or work. While the sojourners purposely experience American culture in order to acquire English, Mr. and Ms. Park see it as their ordinary life working with Americans. By placing themselves somewhere between sojourners and Korean American immigrants, they are struggling with ambivalence.

Mr. and Ms. Park were initially study-abroad students and then became permanent residents. During the shift from long-term sojourner to the immigrant residency status, they have faced challenges in maintaining their stability and mobility. Mr. Park once expressed
this in relation to the political power.

Mr. Park: While living [in the United States]...for the males...when we [the males] gather together even with American males, [we] are much interested in politics. But, we have no opportunity to vote in Korea, because we are living away [from Korea], here we do not have citizenship...so it [the voting result] is not relevant to us...Actually, it affects us [our life]...Because, for example, if one raises tax, the effect comes to us.

Ms. Park: We have no right, but only duty.

Mr. Park: I mean, how can I explain it? It's unsatisfactory...

Ms. Park: Anyway, we choose [chose] it [immigration]. As long as we live here, inevitably, it's a sort of necessary evil...don't know how to say it...

Mr. Park: Parents are getting older, so we always think about going back [to Korea], but if we go there, [you know] there is no house...financially [we are at risk].

(laughing)

(Excerpt from interview with Mr. and Ms. Park, December, 22, 2011)

Ms. Park finds it difficult to expand interactions with other Korean-speaking people, which could influence their children's Korean language development and cultural awareness.

Given the demands of daily life, the Parks have rarely sought the opportunity to bond with the Korean community. Ms. Park thinks that her family's life style is different from other Korean families who are affiliated with the university or the Korean church in the neighborhood. Because the children also have no close Korean (even Asian) friends, the parents were concerned about their children's social circle. When Soeun first named an African-American girl as her best friend, Ms. Park was embarrassed. She concluded that they have similar dispositions. In an interview, Ms. Park seemed to regard the Korean church as a core place for social networking in the Korean community. She mentioned, because they are not churchgoers, they have less opportunities to get to know other Koreans. They have known the Lee family (described above) for several years. When the two families meet together, however, their children speak English only.

Ms. Park: Churchgoers may gather in their church. But, because we do not attend [Korean] church...My children have few Korean friends. They usually build a friendship with foreign kids. There is one Korean friend, but she cannot speak Korean
at all. Her cultural [background] is different. Anyway, she is the only one.

HK: I heard that most social relationships are driven by the children.

Ms. Park: Yes, it is. We [the parents] do not have friends here, because here [this country] is not our base. All co-workers are foreigners…regardless of intimacy with them…Korean-speaking people [we know] are…only the Lee family…and the family living next to us…then…there are very few Korean friends of me. (laughing)

(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Park, November, 2, 2010)

The parents have been always concerned about their children’s education between two communities. According to Ms. Park, Soeun was confused when she first stepped into her English classroom, due to the language barrier. When Soeun forced herself to learn English and not speak Korean, Ms. Park regretted her disregard for English practice at home. Because Jieun has maintained her bilingual ability after schooling, Ms. Park expected Soeun to follow the same route. However, Soeun has quickly shifted to English not to be isolated by her English-speaking peers. Her struggles led the family to decrease their speaking of Korean.

Although the parents value the Korean heritage language school, they have some complaints about the school. Ms. Park made suggestions to improve its curriculum and materials in an interview.

Ms. Park: I really would like to ask a request. I want to extend a session. It's so short. Because of many tasks, it needs to divide. It was a little hard. By taking the same class twice, Soeun seems to be exactly aware of consonants and vowels and syllable blocks. If there is P1 [the lower level], I may send her to the class. She is already in P3. I am scared of sending her to P4 [the upper level]. She just turned to 4 years old. So...[I want Korean language school] to consider it. One of my friend, she does not speak Korean at all. She cannot help her child's homework because she cannot read it. She has many difficulties. She consistently asks questions to the teacher, but there is a limitation. Sometimes, I help her. Well, her child may lose her interest soon because she cannot comprehend at all. It's my complaint...I wish it is solved. People who have lived here without an intention to go back to Korea...like the mother...because she grew up here, she has some experience of her Korean language school. She used to sing songs, dance, and learn cultural customs. However, this Korean language school has children study intensely [intensively] in a short period of time. It seems to target children who will go back to Korea soon. [I am disappointed]. The children living here permanently do not need to learn grammar right now. I expect my children to
learn speaking and reading skills, not being apart from [Korean] culture. It becomes harder and harder.
(Excerpt from interview with Ms. Park, November, 2, 2010)

Mr. and Ms. Park recently have become concerned about their children’s learning and living environment in raising them in the U.S. Because it is illegal to own a gun in Korea, the parents never thought about gun issues while they were growing up. They had not taken it seriously in their ordinary life until Jieun talked about learning about gun safety at school.

HK: Do you have any other concerns in raising your children in the U.S.?
Ms. Park: Recently, Jieun learned about the gun control...for safety at school...A policeman came to school to educate the children...Because I had grown up in Korea...for the first grader...this...this [kind of learning] about the gun safety was not in my mind. When I heard from her then...it is a concern definitely. It’s so popular [common] here...
HK: It seems too early to learn it.
Ms. Park: (In a higher voice) That’s why I asked to other American parents...whether they take it for granted...[They said], they did not learn it at such an early age...but they didn't think that it’s not a good idea. They seemed to accept the situation...but I was surprised. A boy once said to other peers that his father was shot with the gun. [Actually], it was not a real story. He just said so to get attention...but in the children’s mind, they already have such a situation related to the gun. It makes me scared...the reality itself. However, we cannot avoid it. That’s why the teacher invited the policeman to teach the children.
(Excerpt from interviews with Ms. Park, January, 28, 2011)

**Summary.** Mr. and Ms. Park were both study abroad students and became permanent residents. Although they experienced the transition from non-immigrant to immigrant status, the parents have never regarded themselves as Korean Americans. They seem to distinguish themselves from both the sojourner parents and the 1.5-generation immigrant parents. Although they respect their children's choice of future residence, the parents believe they may eventually return to Korea. Living between two communities, the family has faced challenges. Although they have become accustomed to the American community and have acquired a command of English, unexpected events (e.g., gun safety education) often catch them by surprise while raising their children. Over time, the parents have changed their
attitudes toward and practices regarding their children’s language development. When their first child, Jieun, was young, the parents used only Korean at home. Because Jieun was able to develop oral language proficiency in both Korean and English without any difficulties, the parents kept the Korean-only policy. However, since they observed that Soeun struggled with English in her preschool, the family began speaking more English and code-switching at home. Despite Soeun's English preference, the parents have consistently encouraged her to take opportunities to use Korean. During the recent visit to Korea during the winter break, Soeun was immersed in Korean as she interacted with her grandparents and cousins. The parents believe that Soeun regards the experience positively and that it has stimulated her to use Korean more.

Because they believe strongly in the relationship between language and identity, the parents send their children to Korean language school. Sometimes, when Soeun shows reluctance to go to the school, the parents remind her of the importance of taking responsibility for her own choices. They emphasize good attendance and turning in completed homework assignments by describing them as fulfilling promises to teachers. However, the parents are disappointed by what they consider to be irrelevant aspects of the curriculum. They complain that the school seems to target the sojourner children who need to catch up on their literacy levels in Korean, instead of the immigrant children who need to maintain oral Korean language skills. In addition to their children's language development and identity construction, the parents expect the Korean language school to play an essential role in developing social networks. Due to their different lifestyle and busy schedule, the Park family rarely interacts with other Koreans.
Cross-case Analysis

Differences. As a classification, all three focal families are Korean immigrants living in the same Korean American community. However, they had different trajectories of immigration to the United States. Particularly, their age at arrival and length of U.S. residency have differently affected their own experiences in two languages. Both Mr. and Ms. Kim are 1.5-generation Korean immigrants who came with their own families in adolescence. They had to leave Korea and follow their parents' decision to start a new life in a foreign country. In order to survive, they eagerly acquired English. Their elder siblings helped them perform well both academically and socially. They became naturalized citizens while adjusting to the local communities. Although they have a good command of both Korean and English, they mostly use English in interactions with other people except their parents.

The Lees are newcomers. Before moving to the U.S., they lived in Canada for 5 years because of Mr. Lee’s doctoral studies. When he got a faculty position, the family took the opportunity to emigrate to the U.S. Although they have lived in English-dominant societies for about 10 years, Mr. and Ms. Lee said that they are still struggling with English. According to Ms. Lee, her husband tends to spend more time and effort than other English-speaking colleagues doing research in English. She also mentioned her increasing need of English to interact with her English-dominant children and their friends.

Lastly, the Park family is somewhere between these two families. Both Mr. and Ms. Park are first-generation immigrants who arrived in the U.S. after their university graduation. Each of them was in a doctoral program and worked for about 10 years in New York. Their long-term residency status changed to permanent residents while having and raising two
U.S.-born children. Although they do not have a specific plan yet, they mentioned the possibility of going back to Korea in the future. Although they have no problem working with English-only speakers, they feel more comfortable speaking Korean than English.

Throughout their different immigration histories, the parents of each family have raised their children with varied beliefs about and practices in two languages. Both Mr. and Ms. Kim, who were educated in the U.S., mostly used English with their children at home. They even felt that English works better than Korean in demanding certain behaviors of their children. Although the parents believed that their Korean input is important to support their children’s Korean retention, they seemed to rarely transfer this belief to practice in their daily lives. Rather, the parents tended to depend on peer influence to foster their children’s interest in or motivation for Korean.

In the Lee family, the parents were more comfortable speaking Korean, while their two children rarely produced Korean. Despite challenges and embarrassment in using English with their children, the parents tended to accept their children’s English preference. Mr. Lee once expressed his fear about his children’s maladjustment if they chose Korean. Ms. Lee showed a strong desire for their children’s Korean language maintenance relating it to their Korean identity. Although Jordan and Mark mostly spoke English all the time, the parents tended to show a positive attitude toward their children’s bilingualism. They thought that their children have bilingual ability as long as they understand the parents talking in Korean. Because the parents felt limited in providing Korean literacy practice at home, they have consistently sent their children to Korean language school and had high expectations about their achievement.

In the Park family, all family members showed bilingual abilities to some extent. Mr.
and Ms. Park had a strong belief about the relationship between language and identity while observing their relatives who lost both Korean identity and Korean language. Code-switching at home, the parents encouraged their children to understand two languages. Although Soeun tends to shift to English, the parents took the responsibility of providing her with Korean input in a variety of ways (e.g., talking with grandparents via video call, streaming video clips from Korean websites). Through a visit to Korea during winter break, Soeun seemed to be more aware of practical Korean usage with honorifics.

**Commonalities.** For these three families, immigrant life was all about the demands of making a living and raising their children. Regardless of their personal backgrounds, they initially faced challenges while adjusting to a new country and building relationships with other people who did not understand their mother tongue. The kinds or degrees of struggles are changing with time, but these immigrant families cannot help accepting their ambivalent situations. Placing themselves between two communities, the parents described many issues related to education, health, safety, money, and power. Although they accepted those difficulties, caused by their own choice to immigrate, they seemed to seek a sense of belonging across Korean and American communities.

Ms. Lee: We sometimes talk about that. Neither here [United States] nor there [Korea] is home, although we had grown up in Korea. If we go back to Korea, there is no hometown. The place we would settle down is our hometown. (Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, December, 29, 2010)

Ultimately, because of physical appearance or food, they thought that it is not possible to avoid the connection to the Korean community. For example, Ms. Park once mentioned that her family cannot be fully Americanized having Korean food every day. In my observations, she also seemed to transmit Korean culture, customs, and values to the children during dinner.
She encouraged their children to use chopsticks properly and emphasized table manners such as waiting for the elderly to start or finish a meal in order to show their respect.

Across the three families, actual practices varied. However, the parents kept an ethnocentric ideology about their children's Korean language development to some extent. They expected that their second-generation children would be aware of Korean language and culture and to understand their parents who were born and raised in Korea. For later descendents, however, they were skeptical about maintenance of heritage language and culture. They seemed to accept that their grandchildren would use English only and assume American culture. Despite valuing their children's Korean ability, the parents were more likely to consider their children's rights and responsibilities as well-rounded citizens in the U.S.

The parents dealt with tensions between Korean and English intentionally and unintentionally. They have been mostly forced to choose English over Korean. They asserted that their own effort is not sufficient to keep their Korean language and culture. The parents needed external support through social interactions with other Korean-speaking people, particularly grandparents or peers.

Ms. Kim: My father-in-law does not speak English with other people because he is mostly working with Koreans in his company. We try to visit the grandparents once a month, then father-in-law speaks Korean only to Hyejin, but not my mother-in-law, because she usually speaks English in her workplace. I mean, [she] tends to fit Hyejin’s need...Most grandparents may be like that. Because she speaks English, they feel [forced] to respond to her in English. We ask them to teach our kids Korean by speaking it. Because parents are mostly responsible, but input from grandparents is important, too. My parents are living here in Champaign though. They are not so fluent in English, but they tend to use more English with Hyejin when she uses it. (Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, November, 4, 2010)

Unfortunately, however, they addressed their difficulties in finding opportunities to meet other Korean-speaking families. The parents commonly mentioned that their life style is
totally different from the sojourners who will go back to Korea soon. Unlike the sojourners, immigrant families have different perspectives. For example, acquiring English is a desired or ultimate goal for the sojourners, but it is a starting point for these immigrant families. Because the immigrants decided to live in the United States permanently, they take for granted they must know and follow its social rules. English is the language of the community. The parents believe that their children must be competitive in this community comprised primarily of English-speaking people and furthermore can become leaders.

Ms. Lee: [I expect] my kids to grow up the right way, polite, and helping other people. (omitted) Recently, the teacher said that he [Mark] has a good leadership and is good at problem solving. He always takes initiative in doing whatever in class…and has a great memory skill. So I believe that he will become a leader regardless of areas. (omitted) He shows his competitive disposition more than before nowadays. (Excerpt from interview with Ms. Lee, January, 21, 2011)

The parents indicated Korean language school is the best alternative way to support their children's Korean, but stated a common concern about the school. They were disappointed with irrelevant curriculum and materials that mostly focus on the sojourner families’ needs. They thought that their children need more practical learning rather than grammar, such as greetings, honorifics, and other Korean manners through a variety of fun activities. These parents even assumed that their children's pace of learning Korean would be similar to other English-speaking students who learn Korean as a foreign language.

Ms. Park: Korean school, Korean school is first of all…too difficult…to us. [It] needs a longer session, or a summer session, and with fun, because the pace is too fast…Mr. Park: The curriculum seems too pedagogic. [My]children also learn English in school, but the language style is so different [from Korean]. Ms. Park: Yes, so it needs to develop [new] curriculum. Once I looked at the first grade textbook. [You know] grammar, it was an exactly Korean textbook. My kids may feel difficulties in reading the book itself. They do not understand [the text] at all, but it needs…It seems off. [I mean] the focus…It is not relevant to real life at all. It's hard to say that it should focus on immigrant families only, but you know…Mr. Park: Not only [Korean] immigrant children but also American children can learn…
Ms. Park: I agree! It [The current curriculum] tends to focus on the people who will go back to Korea.
Mr. Park: (looking at me) Do you think that the current teaching things are applicable to other foreign people to introduce Korean?
Ms. Park: Not at all…For the children who cannot understand nor read, learning grammar is [not meaningful at all]...It should be more pleasant. Here, they [the children] should sit and write [something]. Homework is too much. The pace is also too fast.
(Excerpt from interview with Mr. & Ms. Park, December, 22, 2010)

Indeed, for these immigrant families, Korean language school provides the only time when their children are exposed to a Korean-only environment. It seems to be a core place for ethnic bonds. The parents expressed their worries that their children may lose interest and motivation about Korean learning and use, due to the intensive literacy practices. If the children avoid attending the Korean language school, the families will have few options to engage in the Korean community and feel segregated from their ethnic community.

Lastly, the parents explained how they devote themselves to making a balance for parenting their children between Korean and American ways. Of course, specific practices were different across three families, but their beliefs were similar. Unlike American parents who are "more fearful of damaging children's self-esteem" (Tobin, Hsueh, & Krasawa, 2009, p. 67), the parents thought that their children tended to be spoiled by praise. Particularly, the mothers seemed to emphasize to their children the importance of following rules and committing to the society. They expected their children to be patient, diligent, and obedient. For example, Ms. Lee persuaded her first child to continue Korean language school when he showed some reluctance. Because of her strong belief about the relationship between language and identity, she did not allow him to stop attending the school. When he finally obeyed, she was pleased at his understanding of the importance of Korean learning.
These parents wanted their children to have enjoyment, which is more likely to be valued by Americans than Koreans. They had a high expectations for their children’s excellence in any areas the children were interested in. In order to find their children’s interest and talent, the parents intended to provide their children with a variety of experiences, like their English-speaking counterparts.

Ms. Kim: A few days ago, I talked with my husband about…when is appropriate to teach her [Hyejin] piano. We thought that it would be good to distinguish different music instruments by listening diverse music from now [at the early age]. On Monday, [we may] focus more on Korean [learning], science and math on Saturday, reading books on Sunday…they need to learn how to read [books]…I don't worry about her English because it is taken for granted. Rather I just want her not to be far behind…and enjoy her school life…not to feel any shortage [of support] later…[For example, I expect] her to have music ability regardless of her major field of study. (Excerpt from interview with Ms. Kim, December, 28, 2011)

Summary. Through interviews, observations, and photographs of children's work, I was able to find some commonalities and differences among the three immigrant families. Depending on their immigration history, individual families have faced their own challenges while adapting to their new lives. A variety of factors influenced their adjustment to the U.S., such as the parents’ own experiences in both Korean and English and the parents' original and changing language ideologies. Other factors include their daily schedules and the Korean-speaking people around them.

The Kims immigrated to the U. S. with their own families in their adolescence. As 1.5-generation Korean Americans, they were mostly educated in English-dominant environments but were able to maintain Korean language and cultural customs because of their parents' influence.

The Lees wanted immigration when they first arrived in the U. S. to take a faculty position. Without any Korean-speaking relatives or neighborhoods, for five years they have accustomed themselves to English-dominant society.
The Parks were initially doctoral students who were uncertain about their future lives. While working and raising two children, they experienced a smooth transition from long-term non-immigrant sojourners to permanent residents. Because they keep the possibility of going back to Korea in view, they have consistently maintained connections with their families and colleagues in Korea.

The parents’ language ideologies and practices seemed to be constructed based on their previous experiences, current living situations, and future plans for themselves and their children (Song, 2007). Unlike the sojourner families who came here for academic purposes, these immigrant families needed to acquire English and accept American ways to prosper in their ordinary lives. Despite their expectations about their children's maintenance of Korean language and culture, their busy routines rarely allowed them to engage with the Korean community. When their children were struggling with oral language development, they could not help choosing English over Korean because they wanted their children to be successfully integrated into mainstream culture. These parents seemed to follow their children's language choices to build their social network around the families of their children's friends, most of whom were either not Korean or were English-speaking Koreans. The children were more comfortable speaking English than Korean and did not have same-ethnicity preferences in their peer nomination.

Although they sent their children to Korean language school as a way to support their Korean language development and Korean identity construction, they often observe that its curriculum is not quite relevant to their immigrant lives. The immigrant families expect the Korean language school to provide more authentic resources in order to promote understanding between generations. Because they live between two communities, the
immigrant families have developed their own coping strategies to deal with a variety of ambivalent situations related to education, economics, politics, and safety. Although they have difficulties accepting everything about their environments, the parents accept their responsibility to provide their children with varied experiences as their American counterparts do. They believe that their sacrifices will help their children to become good citizens, in both their Korean and American communities, as Korean Americans.
Chapter 6

Discussion

This study investigated Korean American parents’ and children’s beliefs and practices in two languages in a Midwestern university city. For the three research questions, I analyzed data from both my survey and case studies with a recursive method that allowed each data set to inform the other.

The first research question was why do parents send their children to Korean language school and what relationships exist between the parents’ expectations and decisions and other demographic variables. In order to answer this, I mostly referred to survey data. From a total of about 60 parents, I collected 40 completed questionnaires (discussed later).

For the whole group of respondents, the top three reasons were literacy development (reason_2), oral language development (reason_1), and cultural awareness (reason_4), in order. However, the results were somewhat different depending on group variables such as parents’ English language proficiency and children’s language use patterns. Parents with good English proficiency gave higher priority to their children's Korean identity construction, but lower priority to Korean literacy development. When the children mostly used English with their parents and siblings, the respondent parents were more concerned about their children's identity construction than those with Korean-dominant children. Figure 4 shows these results.
Because the focus of this study is on Korean immigrant families, I looked closely at the respondents' residential status as a significant independent variable. More than a half of participants (25) were immigrant families, while 15 were sojourners who intended to go back to Korea (7 short-term and 8 long-term). All short-term sojourner parents ranked their children’s literacy development as the top priority. The other two groups of parents tended to consider their children’s oral language development as much as literacy skills. The immigrant group, which was more likely to have parents with good English proficiency and English-dominant children than other groups, tended more than other groups to want their children to develop Korean identity.

These results showed that individual families with varied demographic backgrounds had different academic and social goals for their children. Residential status played an essential role for the parents’ expectations and decisions about Korean language school; at least in this university town, the Korean heritage language school was not only for immigrant families but also (or even more) for the short-term sojourners (discussed later).

Findings from survey were also used to answer the other two research questions: 1) What attitudes do immigrant parents and their children show toward the Korean and English languages and 2) how are the parents and children involved in the practices of these two languages? The survey results guided me to areas to observe and to ask about in interviews.
with parents and their children. Additionally, while I was observing and interviewing the focal families, the combination of survey and case study data drew my attention to associations between some variables I missed before. For example, in an interview, Ms. Lee mentioned that Korean language school is the sole place to meet other Korean-speaking people. I returned to the survey data and conducted follow-up tests for the reasons families send their children to Korean language school within the immigrant group. I found that the immigrant parents, if their children's Korean proficiency was low, wanted them to engage in the Korean community through Korean language school.

In terms of language belief or ideology, the participants tended to show an ideology of self-deprecation toward English. Except some parents who indicated their first language as English, most parents reported that their English proficiency was lower than their Korean proficiency. In interviews, Ms. Lee often mentioned her low confidence about her English. She was even concerned about possible disadvantages to her children due to her poor English ability. I was surprised that she decided to continue Mark's speech therapy, after he had reached an age-appropriate level, in order to provide him with accurate English input from a native English speaker. Her negative attitude toward her English competence seemed to be intertwined with an ideology of necessitation. Other focal parents also demonstrated that English is necessary not only as a global language but also for a survival language in their immigrant lives. These beliefs seemed to affect their positive or neutral attitudes toward their children's English preference (discussed later).

Participants believed that Koreans should speak Korean. In the survey, most parents placed a higher value on oral language and literacy development than other reasons. Because the subjects were recruited from a Korean language school, the result seemed intuitive.
However, their reasoning was different between groups. In short-term sojourner families, who recently came from Korea, their children already acquired Korean oral language to some extent. The parents prioritized their children's literacy development to keep up with their peers when they returned to Korea. The long-term sojourner parents tended to give birth to their first child in the U. S. Their young children had recently been exposed to an English-dominant school environment. Considering their future adjustment in Korea, the parents seemed to expect their children to acquire Korean oral language first. Sojourner families emphasized their children's Korean acquisition because they intended to go back to Korea.

The immigrant families, who decided to live permanently in the U. S., also placed a high value on their children's Korean acquisition. However, the parents emphasized social reasons more than academic reasons. First of all, they wanted their children to communicate with Korean-speaking parents and grandparents. In interviews, the focal parents mentioned the challenges to keep speaking Korean at home, while raising their children in the English-dominant society. To maintain Korean, the parents decided to send their children to Korean language school. Despite their children's lack of Korean proficiency, the parents thought that learning Korean provides more opportunities to belong to their ethnic group. The survey results also showed that the immigrant parents with a lower value on literacy development tended to give higher priority to engagement in the Korean community. These parents seemed to be skeptical about their children's achievement in Korean literacy skills compared to the sojourner children with good oral language proficiency. Some focal parents actually mentioned that Korean literacy skills would be a supplementary tool to foster their children's interactions with other Korean speakers, particularly the teachers in the school.

Through observations and interviews, the immigrant parents believed that good
Korean proficiency would allow their children to access Korean culture and people more effectively. However, they showed a somewhat naïve attitude about the critical or sensitive period for their children’s Korean acquisition. As long as their children understood Korean to a certain degree, the parents expected them to be able to speak, read, and write well anytime later. All three families mentioned plans to send their children to Korea through a student exchange program in the university. They believed that their children would learn Korean language and culture more quickly and effectively with higher motivations than now at a young age. Ms. Kim, who referred to herself as 1.5-generation Korean American, asserted that their children would definitely want to visit Korea to experience Korean language and culture, after experiencing struggles to establish their ethnic identities during puberty, as she did.

When I asked if their second-generation children would have the same struggles as the parents experienced, all the parents had the same response. They said matter-of-factly that their children and descendents would be distinguished from the majority of Americans anyway, due to their physical appearance. Although the parents wished their children would become leaders working with other English speakers, they discussed possible disadvantages as minorities. Despite challenges, however, the parents wanted their children not to abandon their ethnic origin. Some parents expressed a strong belief that their children would maintain Korean heritage even unconsciously, while eating Korean food, bowing to the elderly, or celebrating Lunar New Year. For these immigrant families, the Korean language was not the only tool required to preserve their Korean heritage. Through varied Korean customs and values, they could connect themselves to their ethnic culture. The parents believed that Koreans should behave like Koreans. In other words, their ethnocentric ideology was
implicated in the full range of their lives (discussed later).

The immigrant families had a common concern about the lack of understanding or transmission of cultural values between generations. For example, Ms. Lee said that she recently had more difficulty interacting with her first child, who is reluctant to speak Korean. She often senses her limited ability to express subtleties or nuances in English and wants to use Korean as a common language to strengthen the familial bond. She even thought that the tone of the Korean language is more clipped, unfriendly, and straightforward than that of English. She was afraid that her children's negative feelings toward and prejudices about their parents' behavior were due to linguistic and cultural differences. Ms. Kim also expressed a strong desire for her children to use appropriate terms of address using Korean honorifics, instead of first names, for the elderly. She thought that this was basic etiquette to build a good relationship with other Koreans. Although the parents did not express these concerns in relation to their children's identity, they seemed to see relationship between their children's Korean language use and Korean identity construction.

All parents asserted a strong desire for their children to learn to communicate orally in Korean with their parents and grandparents. Ironically, however, when I asked the parents about their children's experiences in Korean language school at the end of the semester, they seemed to be interested only in literacy progress. They were proud of their children's ability to read and write some Korean words, including their names, even though their children did not speak the words very often. The parents may stress their children’s literacy skills because these are more visible than oral language abilities and can be tracked or assessed more conveniently. Overall, despite their children’s low oral proficiency, the parents seemed to be satisfied with their children's increasing interest in the Korean language and interaction with
other Korean peers. They also showed a common fear with respect to the more advanced levels of Korean literacy in older classes. They worried that their children might lose confidence or motivation when they forced to master the Korean grammatical system and writing conventions, such as honorifics.

I initially assumed that the participants recruited from the Korean language school would pay more attention to their children's Korean retention than other parents whose children did not attend a language school. In reality, despite the high value they placed on Korean, the immigrant families seemed to struggle to transfer their conviction about the importance of the Korean language into their day-to-day lives in an English-dominant society; in practice, English was treated as superior to Korean. The parents accepted that their children would use English as their first language but would have some advantages learning Korean as a second language. The Park family even mentioned that their children should be treated like Americans who learn Korean as a foreign language. These immigrant parents essentially expressed that their children's goals for Korean acquisition should be differentiated from those of sojourner children who need to maintain the same level of linguistic abilities as Korean peers studying in Korea. They agreed that it would be enough for their children to understand the different alphabet systems and phonemes during early childhood. Additionally, they claimed that Korean language school should pay attention to the different needs of individual children and develop more relevant curricula and materials for English-dominant speaking children who would live permanently in the U.S.

In the survey, there was a significant difference between the dominant language of both parents and children depending on their residential status. Of course, while the immigrant families spoke mostly English, other groups of families tended to use more
Korean than English at home.

As I closely observed the focal immigrant families, interestingly, they showed different language use patterns depending on the situations and the listeners. The children definitely used more English with their parents, siblings, and Korean peers. The parents tended primarily to use Korean with each other, but English with their children. They also sometimes used code-switching. Interestingly, while Ms. Kim mostly used code-switching from sentence to sentence (intra-sentential), Ms. Park was more likely to insert English words in Korean sentences (inter-sentential). Ms. Lee mostly used Korean and some basic phrases in English during meals or bedtime.

The difference seemed to be related both to the parents' English proficiency and to the children's Korean proficiency. Ms. Kim seemed to use code-switching somewhat intentionally to clarify her previous utterance. Ms. Park tended to use some English words referring to previous experiences in conversations with children. For example, she talked with Soeun about her fieldtrip to the orchard using the English key words, fieldtrip, apple, and pumpkin, in her Korean sentences. Among the three focal children, only Soeun used code-switching. At the dinner table, she often asked the meaning of Korean words that she heard her parents speak, by means of questions formulated in English. Soeun also used more code-switching with her parents than with her English-dominant sister, accepting their Korean preference.

The parents described their limitations in controlling their children’s language choice. One striking pattern was that all three focal children had experienced serious difficulties in speaking a language at an early age, either Korean or English. At the age of two, Mark’s vocabulary in both Korean and English consisted of less than 10 words. Starting his speech
therapy in English, the Lee family reduced Korean at home at the therapist's advice. In the Kim family, because Hyejin showed a slow growth in speaking her first words, the parents used English sign language until she finally started speaking English. The Park family initially forced their children to use Korean only at home. However, in her preschool at age three, Soeun was reluctant to follow the rule and asked her parents to speak English. Due to these internal or external factors causing language tension, all these families finally decided to choose English. The parents commonly expressed a respect toward their children's own language choice and preference along with their abilities and interests. They believed that their children would voluntarily speak Korean when motivated for practical needs later, such as traveling to Korea, working with Koreans in a company, or dating Korean-dominant speaking partners.

A variety of living issues also hindered the parents’ attention to their children’s language learning and use, particularly in Korean. First of all, both parents and children seemed to feel a lack of time to engage in language practices on a daily basis. In the survey, for immigrant parents, “schedule conflict” was the first reason for giving up sending their children to Korean language school. In interviews, despite their priority on Korean classes over other activities, the focal parents regretted giving up the opportunities to have more “fun” activities on Saturdays. They did not have sufficient time to interact with their children. Surprisingly, the parents mentioned that most interactions with their children occurred in their cars while driving them to school or extra classes such as swimming, soccer, or art. All parents, except Ms. Lee, had full time jobs. Some parents needed to continue their office work at home after putting their children to bed. Ms. Lee, who remained at home, believed that she should take most responsibility for parenting because her husband had to work on his
own research to get tenure. Although the families had varied Korean resources such as books, music tapes, or DVDs/video clips, like other immigrant families in the survey, they had no regular time to use them. Ms. Lee mentioned in her interview that helping their children with Korean homework was difficult because she needed to sit still next to her children to read aloud instructions and provide model writings. Her comment reflected the survey finding that immigrant parents found homework as a challenging demand on their time.

One thing surprising to me was that the focal children had less Korean input from others than I expected. Mark met his grandparents living in Korea only once when he was six months old. Because of his lack of Korean proficiency, the parents rarely asked him to talk with his grandparents on the phone. Hyejin, whose parents are 1.5-generation, often saw her maternal grandparents living near her house. In my observation at her home, she rarely interacted with her grandparents, focusing her attention on a television program. When her paternal grandfather called up every evening and wanted to talk with her, Hyejin tended to avoid it. Although her mother asked her to say some Korean words by modeling, she was reluctant to repeat the words. Soeun had more interactions with her grandparents living in Korea by using Skype. She recently visited Korea for a family event, in which other relatives consistently asked her to use more Korean. Her parents believed that it was a great chance for Soeun to speak and listen to Korean while spending time with her grandparents and cousins. However, the parents had no idea about how to keep her interest and motivation in speaking Korean when they came back to the U.S.

At the beginning of the study, I assumed that the immigrant families in this university town with a high population of Koreans would have sufficient opportunities to engage in the Korean community. Surprisingly, the responses from the parents did not support this
assumption. First of all, due to their busy schedule, they did not have time to interact with other Koreans. Additionally, increasing numbers of short-term sojourner families seemed to weaken the immigrant families' sense of belonging to the ethnic group. The focal immigrant parents claimed that they could not share their opinions about education, economics, or Korean politics with the sojourner parents due to their different living conditions.

For example, when Mark was not attending preschool yet, Ms. Lee often met some Korean sojourner mothers in a public library during baby story times. Sometimes they had tea, but she always had to leave first to pick up and care for her first child. When Mark began his preschool, the sojourner families went back to Korea. After that, all her friends were her children’s friends’ parents, who are non-Koreans speaking English. I was also struck by the fact that Soeun did not name any Korean friends in her interview, but she had the same four Korean peers in her American school and Korean school. Hyejin had close friends who are Koreans and attended the same Korean language class. However, Hyejin mostly spoke English with them because she first built her friendships in her American preschool. According to her mother, the girls, including her daughter, seemed to play together because of their similar personalities rather than ethnicity.

The immigrant families seemed to live apart from the Korean community. Korean church attendance rate was very low in the immigrant group in the survey. I was surprised at the result because all participants were recruited from the Korean language school located in the largest Korean church. One possible reason seemed that the school was separately operated from the church and had no religious content. Among the focal families, the Kims were the only Christians. Their church was more multicultural than Korean. Although more than 40% of church members were Koreans, they mostly spoke English with each other. Ms.
Kim once mentioned her struggle in communicating with other Koreans in her church. She felt awkward particularly when she did not use proper honorific forms of address, instead using elderly people’s first names in English.

The other two families have never been engaged with the Korean church. Because they were not religious, the lack of church attendance seemed to be taken for granted. Nevertheless, I had assumed that some immigrant families tended to go Korean church to get resources and support for making their way in a new society, as shown in previous studies (Chong, 1998; Min, 1992); hence, it is noteworthy that the role of Korean church for Korean immigrant families was not marked in my study. Interestingly, in this locale, there is no "Korea town," despite more than 20 shops operated by Koreans. Actually, for these three focal families, the Korean language school was the only place to meet other Korean-speaking peers. In an interview, Ms. Lee even mentioned that her family rarely goes to Korean restaurants because her first child, Jordan, is afraid of being asked to use Korean in ordering dishes.

The parents wanted their children to voluntarily benefit from the two cultures academically, socially, and emotionally. They wanted their children to experience a variety of things, like American counterparts. The parents expected their children to accept American ways and preserve traditional Korean values at the same time. They seemed to adapt their parenting styles from the two cultures. Considering their children’s self-confidence, which is valued by American parents, the parents tended to decrease speaking Korean with their children. They were concerned about their children being stressed or disappointed due to their lack of Korean proficiency. In an interview, Ms. Lee expressed her discomfort with accepting American hedonism, the belief that gaining pleasure is the most
important thing in life. In spite of that, she complained about boring and irrelevant materials used in Korean language school. Ms. Park seemed to apply her incorporated Korean and American values to actual practice. She asserted the importance of doing Korean homework, thinking of it as a promise between her children and teacher. When she gave her children a choice, she also asked them to take responsibility for the choice. Ms. Park took for granted that her children would obey this family rule; they needed to complete an activity they chose regardless of difficulties. Like the Chinese mothers described in the book *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* (Chua, 2011), she seemed to consider fostering her children's inner-confidence from achieved skills, while Western parents tend to care about their children's self-esteem from support and praise.

All focal parents asserted the importance of their children being "good citizens" or "good human beings." Although they did not directly use the word, their perceptions seemed to be related to the Korean virtue of "an ideal of an educated person—‘Hong Ik In Gan,’ which literally means a person devoted to the welfare of people" (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 173). Respecting societal values from two communities, the parents wanted their children to become leaders, interacting with varied people, regardless of their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Ironically, the families faced limitations in raising their children to become good social members in the Korean community due to the lack of opportunities to engage in it.

In interviews, the parents expressed their needs for programs or classes to foster their children’s awareness of Korean language and culture. However, they did not want their children to be pulled out from the regular classroom for a Korean class. Instead, they showed a positive attitude toward after-school programs supported by the local community. The
parents commonly added that the most important thing is not the opportunity but the quality of Korean program, including teachers and other children. For example, Ms. Kim expressed her fear that her children would take on undesirable behaviors from other Koreans who recently arrived. Chung (2008), studying in the same community, found that the long-term sojourner parents tended to discourage their children from interacting with the short-term sojourner children who were more likely aggressive and impolite than their children.

Despite no clear boundary, the parents tended to make some distinctions among Koreans, according to individual immigrant history, current residential status, and future residency plan. Each family seemed to have their own criteria to differentiate groups. For example, although the Park family has lived in the U.S. for about 15 years and has permanent resident status, they did not regard themselves as Korean Americans and distinguished themselves from 1.5-generation Korean immigrants. Because the family considered the possibility of going back to Korea eventually, the parents maintained their Korean citizenship and had not pursued American citizenship. Ms. Park asserted that she would respect her children’s choice of the place to live, but that they would not totally disconnect with Korean culture due to a familiarity with Korean food and Korean living style.

I also found that the children define their identity and others’ ethnicity differently. They were young, but they could distinguish Korean and American (English), using their own criteria. Mark thought of himself as English because he only speaks English. Soeun thought of herself as Korean, but her father as English because he mostly speaks English. Both Mark and Soeun seemed to perceive ethnicity in relation to dominantly spoken language. Hyejin, who was the oldest, said all of her family members including herself are Koreans despite their dominant English usage. She thought other Korean friends in her
American school were also Koreans because all of them attend the same Korean language school with her. She added that their parents are Koreans and speak Korean. Hyejin seemed to mostly consider familial backgrounds such as country of origin and spoken language to identify ethnicity. Interestingly, she made a connection between Korean ethnicity and Korean language school attendance. In her observations at schools, Hyejin often mentioned that only Korean kids can speak Korean and that all Koreans should attend Korean language school. She once told a European American boy, who falsely asserted his Korean proficiency, that he should go to Korean language school if he really speaks Korean (See the excerpt above on November, 16, 2010).

Surprisingly, when I asked the parents what they think about the possibility of their children's marrying non-Koreans, they accepted the possibility in a positive way. The Kim family, who emphasized their children's Christianity more than Korean identity, was only concerned with the religion of their children's spouses. The Park family, who observed interracial marriages in their relatives, mentioned that they would respect their children's own choice without any hesitation or discomfort. The parents pointed out that the most important thing is good personality, not ethnicity. The Lee family, who intentionally immigrated to the U.S. after their marriage, also showed an open-minded attitude toward their children's choice.

Because Mark was the only male among the focal children, I supposed his parents would show a negative attitude toward having a daughter-in-law from a different ethnic group. Due to the influence of Confucianism, which values filial piety, the first son is supposed to support his parents in their old age. Would his parents want him to marry a Korean who shares the same value? Because Mark is the second child, the parents might disregard his responsibility to take care of his parents. Ms. Lee mentioned that she did not
expect Mark to meet Korean females. She said she is already accustomed to multiracial neighbors living in the U. S. Her attitude seemed to make sense because Mark has never had Korean friends until now. The parents of these three families at least seemed to reach an agreement that their children have rights to choose their own ethnicity as well as language, as long as they maintain attachment to their ethnic community. One thing I wondered was whether the children would meet the expectation if they lose their heritage language and ethnic identity, which are socially and culturally constructed (Vygotsky, 1962; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

Summary

The Korean American "community" in Urbana-Champaign is not homogeneous, especially in terms of residential status; the number of sojourner families exceeds that of immigrant families. By showing the flexibility within the “Korean Diaspora” (Abelmann, 2009), this study addresses a noteworthy finding. Even within the immigrant group, the three focal families held different definitions about Korean Americans. In defining, they considered language usage, life style, or generation status. Additionally, they mentioned their initial thoughts about immigration, current residency status (permanent resident or citizen), and future plans for living in the U.S.

The parents, with their different immigrant histories, seemed to apply their own experiences in two languages to their language beliefs and language practices in raising their children. Living in an English-dominant society, however, the three families had a common challenge. The immigrant families, who were not affiliated with the university or Korean churches, tended to live apart from the Korean community, getting through their busy daily lives. Their lifestyle was far different from the sojourners'. Because of their interaction with
other English speakers, the immigrant families seemed to accept Americanization within two
generations. The parents, who were struggling with ambivalence as Koreans, wanted their
children to enjoy advantages from two cultures as Korean Americans. They believed that
their children would speak both Korean and English fluently and establish a combined ethnic
identity.

These unique features also affected their expectations about the role of Korean
language school. As demonstrated in the survey results, immigrant parents want their
children to build their stable ethnic identity through oral language and literacy learning. The
highest priority of sojourner parents is their children's literacy development. The sojourners
seem to regard Korean language school as a place that provides their children with the same
practices and materials they would get in Korea, thinking of academic achievement only.

For the immigrants, it seems to be a sort of "ghetto" that allows their children to meet
other Korean-speakers, who share their ethnic Korean culture. That is, Korean heritage
language school seems to be necessary and valuable for individuals and for the commonweal,
particularly since the area lacks a "Korea town," despite its large Korean population.

Limitations of the Study

The study has several limitations in connection with data collection and analysis,
including research instruments, participants, and some terminological issues. With respect to
research instruments, I found that some details of the survey questionnaire required either
clarifications or modifications in order to draw more explicit conclusions. First, I should have
asked the participants to report the ethnicity of their children as well as of themselves. As
mentioned earlier, individuals may define ethnicity according to their own criteria. While
some think of their ethnicity as being simply either Korean or American, others think of
themselves as having a combined ethnicity as Korean Americans. This question might have led me to discuss the relationship between language and identity and other factors that affect identity construction in more depth. Second, it would be better to distinguish between their attendance at Korean and American churches, in order to clarify the role of the Korean ethnic church in relation to the more general role of Christianity. Lastly, I should have included some language proficiency tests instead of relying on the parents’ self-reporting. There were two reasons that I did not conduct any assessments: a) the absence of reliable measures on bilingualism and biliteracy (Proctor & Silverman, 2011) and b) the focus of the study. I intended to describe the focal immigrant families' language practices on a daily basis, which would be associated with their language beliefs, not to evaluate their language proficiency.

All participants in the study were recruited from one Korean language school because it was the only institution in the area. The response rate to the survey (65%) was not as high as I expected. In my analysis of the survey data, I found that the parents with older children (over third grade) rarely participated in the study. There were three possible reasons. First, according to the teachers, most older children tended to be dropped off by their parents’ neighbors along with younger children. Therefore, the teachers of older classes did not interact with individual parents face-to-face and failed to provide sufficient information about the study. Second, because the older children had many tasks to do for American school and extracurricular activities, their parents were less likely to pay attention to Korean language school than did the younger children's parents. Third, some families did not want to participate in the study because some questions were not relevant to them if they were going back to Korea soon. I also assume that some parents were too busy to fill out the form or forget to return it. Regardless of these reasons, I think the low participation of older
children's parents is still noteworthy in terms of the parental attitudes toward Korean language school.

Additionally, due to time restrictions and the complexity of recruitment criteria, I was able to have only three focal subjects. The small number of participants does not represent all Korean immigrant families. However, by addressing these three individual families' actual stories, the study provides new information about the Korean immigrants living in a university town with a larger percentage of sojourners than in metropolitan cities. The study also leads to a discussion about heritage language retention among U.S.-born Korean children who lack interaction with other Korean speakers, despite living in an area with a high Korean population.

I conducted interviews mostly with mothers. However, during several interview sessions, the fathers were listening to the interviews and occasionally made some comments. The mothers also often referred to the fathers' perspectives by comparing them with their own. In order to examine their language practices, I focused more on mothers because I assumed that they were more likely than the fathers to spend time with their children and take charge of caring for them.

In order to understand the focal children's language practices, I collected language- and literacy-related artifacts. However, the broad scope of the term “language- and literacy-related” compelled me to seek a broader range of artifacts in both Korean and English. I use the term to refer to any records that represent the children's language and literacy practices (experiences). For example, Soeun performed pretend-play when I observed her at home. She imagined herself as a teacher checking on class attendance and asked other family members (including me) to say “yes” when she called on them. Figure 5 shows how Soeun constructed
her social world across her classroom and home while using written and spoken utterances in English (Dyson, 1993). That is, her drawing (writing) itself does not fully explain the event, but the document can be used as a supplementary tool to access the language practice moment.

![Figure 5. Soeun's attendance sheet](image)

In analysis, the most challenging task was to find an appropriate word to refer to the whole group of Koreans living in the United States (even though I finally decided to use Abelmann’s term *Korean Diaspora*). Can I regard all of them as Korean Americans because of their Korean origin but current residency in America? If I ask this question of individual Koreans, I hear many different definitions for “Korean American.” In order to answer the question, they may consider factors that they associate with ethnicity, such as physical appearance, including dress, language usage, life style, or generation status. This limitation can be interpreted as a significant finding of the study. Americans should recognize and respect the heterogeneity of the Korean ethnic group. For future studies with Koreans living in the U.S., I suggest a discussion about how we define “Korean American.” This question could be partly answered by asking the survey participants to report what they believe their ethnicity is, as mentioned above.

Additionally, in on-going analyses of interviews and observations, I may have missed taken-for-granted cultural assumptions because I come from the same Korean culture. As a
study abroad sojourner myself, I regard myself as an outsider in relation to the focal immigrant community but as an insider with respect to the culture. I also faced limitations in translating Korean transcripts into English. In order to preserve meanings, I found if necessary to add some contextual information.

I also needed more evidence to support my findings about the children's attitudes toward language and ethnicity. For example, Mark and Soeun seemed to connect ethnicity with the dominant language. They mentioned that their family members who mostly used English were "English" (American). Unlike them, Hyejin said that her parents are Korean despite their dominant use of English. To account for their different ideas about ethnicity, one possible explanation might be peer influence. Both Mark and Soeun had no Korean friends, but Hyejin had two close peers who were Korean-English bilinguals. She had heard her friends talking with their parents in Korean in Korean language school, but in English in American school. Hyejin might recognize that some Koreans can speak a different language depending on their surrounding context, as do her parents and friends. Another explanation of distinct conceptions of ethnicity is their different developmental levels. Mark and Soeun may just be too young to think sufficiently abstractly to evaluate ethnicity in terms of other than linguistic differences. In order to seek more reliable answers, I would need to conduct a longitudinal study.
Chapter 7

Conclusion

The goal of this study was to investigate individual Korean immigrant parents’ perspectives toward their children’s language learning and use, particularly Korean heritage language. The focal families' language- and literacy-related practices were varied, but their language ideologies were shared in some ways; they revealed their own core beliefs and concerns in raising children in two languages.

A survey of 40 Korean families with diverse backgrounds and three case studies of immigrant families were integrated into one case study about a Korean American community. Although I conducted the study with participants recruited from one Korean language school, it is noteworthy that the survey results from parents with different backgrounds provide evidence that supports the findings of the in-depth case studies of the three immigrant families. By integrating all the data from the survey and the case studies, this study demonstrates the importance of “contextual meaning,” “cultural patterns,” and “social discourse” (Tobin, Hsueh, & Krasawa, 2009, p.8) regarding immigrant children’s development in two languages. The conclusions of this study have implications for people living in other university towns, where the number of sojourners is increasing or exceeding that of immigrants.

I found that the main concerns of Korean immigrant families centered around basic day-to-day life. Some challenges between the two languages and cultures can be explained by their objectives in and modes of life. They often face ambivalent situations, not being fully engaged in either the Korean or the American community. Because of their physical appearance, families tend to accept an inevitable limitation in their ability to become "real"
Americans. However, the parents believe that their children should participate in and have a positive influence on their society due to their outstanding abilities. They take for granted the importance of providing their children with sufficient opportunities and resources, encouraging them to pursue excellence.

The parents regard their children as Korean Americans, but they understand their own ethnicity as being closer to Korean than to Korean American. Although the focal children, aged 3 to 5, seem not to understand the combined notion of “Korean American,” their parents intend to raise them to have that identity. They respect their children's birth and future life in the U.S., but they also expect their children to maintain their heritage culture.

Revealing their ambivalent values, the parents want their children to become "good" Korean Americans, speaking both Korean and English fluently. In practice, however, the immigrant parents seem to struggle with their romanticized views about heritage language maintenance and bilingualism. The parents find that their busy routines limit the time and opportunity they have to provide their children with Korean practice. In making decisions about everyday priorities, the parents tend to choose English over Korean. Their social lives mostly involve interactions with English speakers.

The current study focuses mostly on B in Figure 6, which represents unique characteristics not overlapping those of non-immigrant sojourners. Ironically, however, the study is more likely to present the importance of C, shared features between sojourners and immigrants, by describing the immigrant families' specific experiences and challenges in two languages and two cultures. Korean immigrant families want to maintain and transmit their heritage culture through meaningful communications between generations. This also suggests
that immigrant children's language development should be discussed within their cultural contexts.

Figure 6. Korean Diaspora

Figure 7 shows a spectrum of "Korean American" with one end for Korean and the other for American. What does the spectrum represent in defining ethnicity among Koreans?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>Korean American</th>
<th>American</th>
</tr>
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</table>

Figure 7. The spectrum of Korean American

One may first notice that definitions of “Korean American” would be different for specific individuals; this would be represented by placing a dot at different points on the region of the spectrum referring to the group “Korean American.” That is, Korean Americans are not homogeneous. One needs to understand and respect the different perspectives of individual Korean Americans.

Korean immigrant families tend to be more marginalized by the Korean community than by the American community. Immigrant families live between two communities without
common strategies for coping with their ambivalent living issues. Like the focal parents of the study, Korean immigrants who are well-educated professionals can be included in the mainstream in most social contexts. Parents with good English proficiency can interact with other English-speaking people in their routine environments. Due to how different their lifestyles are from other Koreans, particularly sojourners affiliated with the university or the Korean church, the immigrant families reported a lack of involvement with the large sojourner Korean community. It bears repeating that Chung (2008) found a tension between long-term and short-term sojourners. This study found a further tension: between immigrants and sojourners, both short-term and long-term.

The study contributes to highlighting the social function of Korean heritage language school as a comfort zone (Abelmann, 2009) or *Ibasho*, “the sense of having psychological[ly] comfortable space” in Japanese (Kunikata et al., 2011), particularly in a university town lacking a “Korea town.”

I argue that the Korean language school should play a role for the whole family, beyond merely providing language education for children from what is a loosely connected entity, the Korean and Korean American community. For example, it can hold a summer camp or special events for Lunar New Year, Children’s Day, or Parents’ Day.\(^{22}\)

**Implications of the Study**

The study explores Korean immigrant families and their ordinary lives through a survey, interviews, observations, and photographs of children’s work. While they were participating in the study, the participants were able to explore think about their own beliefs and practices in two languages, which may be invisible to themselves as well as others. That

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\(^{22}\) In Korea, Children's Day is celebrated on May, 5th, and Parents' Day, on May, 8th.
is, this study presents not only what families do but also “how they think about what they are doing,” from the deepest levels to the superficial (Tobin, Hsueh, & Krasawa, 2009, p. 19).

The study shows how individual parents’ language beliefs and practices have affected their children’s language development and social interaction in two languages, or vice versa. They adapted some of their beliefs and practices over time in order to belong to their schools or larger social environment. The study demonstrates common and specific challenges faced by immigrant families. People in the similar situations may see how to encourage their children to become competent community members through English language acquisition and heritage language retention.

Through the study, American teachers can begin to understand the challenges that arise from different cultural values and languages that Korean immigrant children face. They study suggests that they should encourage children to be aware of their heritage culture and bring it into the classroom. Individual children can have more than one ethnic identity at the same time. Helping children build a positive self-image can help them perform well academically and socially.

By tapping their "funds of knowledge" (Moll & Greenberg, 1990), mainstream schools can show children from diverse backgrounds that keeping their heritages is an asset in our society. They may foster the children to share their language experiences with English monolinguals by avoiding an English-only policy. I suggest that mainstream schools and teachers consider the immigrant families' struggles concretely. I urge mainstream teachers to develop their understanding of Korean immigrant children's lifelong cultures using parents as resources, as Ayers (2010) asserts below.

The cultural bridge is begun by responding sensitively to the deepest realities of children's lives. Children are simply allowed to love, respect, cherish, and retain what
they bring to school—their language, for example, their perceptions, their values. . . . Parents can give teachers important information about child-rearing practices. . . . Teachers should certainly study culture as a phenomenon that exists 'out there'; they should read about other cultures and develop a repertoire of ways to engage students and families in a dialogue on culture. But teacher and students together can also study culture as something that exists "in here"; that is, they can critically examine larger cultural issues that impact classroom life. (pp. 88-91)

Lastly, in order to provide a more beneficial environment for immigrant groups, both majority and ethnic minority communities need to accept the importance of understanding cross-language transfer—“joint experience in two languages” (Kuo & Anderson, 2010, p. 370)—in bilingual development.

Although researchers claim that bilingual families do not harm their children's language development, the focal immigrant parents in the study struggled with their children's language acquisition difficulty in their early years. These families need more information about bilingual development procedures and metalinguistic advantages (Galinsky, 2010). If the parents would have accepted the difference in language acquisition between bilingual and monolingual children, they could have dealt with language tension between Korean and English in a different way. For example, Ms. Lee could have kept using Korean with Mark while providing him with speech therapy in English, without a concern about his confusion of hearing two languages.

Finally

The study grew out of my desire to support Korean American children's retention of their heritage language and culture. While I worked at Korean language schools for about five years, I often observed Korean immigrant families in a state of ambivalence. In order to provide Korean American children with a more beneficial environment, including practices and materials, I felt the need to be aware of what parents wanted Korean language school to
provide for their children. By learning the parents' views of their children's education in Korean language school, I intended to improve the quality of the curriculum.

I often observed that Korean school teachers tended to give up encouraging immigrant children to complete literacy work. The teachers were disappointed in the children's lack of interest or motivation. I suggest that the teachers give more consideration to the question of why the children are not willingly engaging in the assigned tasks and how they can respond to the immediate need of the children. By understanding the immigrant children's difficulties in language tension and transition, the teachers could develop a more "authentic pedagogy—that is, instruction, curriculum, and assessment that requires students to apply their learning in real-world contexts, consider alternatives, use knowledge as disciplinary experts do[...], and communicate effectively to audiences beyond the individual teacher" (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 239). For example, as Ms. Lee once mentioned, the teachers could read Korean folk tales aloud with modifications, such as using simpler words and sentences and providing some contextual information to clarify the stories.

I would encourage teachers in Korean language school to pay more attention to the different expectations of parents and children and to develop a more authentic curriculum. They may also consider dividing children into appropriate classes depending on their social as well as academic goals. Teachers need to remind themselves that children tend to focus more when their environment is "age-appropriate, meaningful, and educational" (Galinsky, 2010, p. 50). By paying attention to the children's identity, teachers can have more meaningful interactions with them.


Hakuta, K. (1983). English language acquisition by speakers of Asian languages. In M. Chu-


Kim, D. Y. (2004, August 24). ‘No Korean, just English’: English village open at Ansan,


Wong Fillmore, L. (2000). Loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned?


Appendix A:
Survey Questionnaire

<Background Information>

◆ Parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Father (아빠)</th>
<th>Mother (엄마)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Age (나이)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Birth country (태어난 곳)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>First language (모국어)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Language you are most comfortable speaking (현재 가장 편안하게 사용하는 언어)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Highest education level (최종학력)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Occupation (직업)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>How many years have you lived in the U.S.? (미국에서 얼마나 동안 거주하셨습니까?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>How old were you when you arrived in the U.S.? (미국에 몇 살 때 오셨습니까?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Will you eventually go back to Korea permanently? Yes / No (나중에 한국으로 돌아가시겠습니까?)

If yes, when are you planning to go back to Korea? (만약 그렇다면, 언제 돌아가실 계획입니까?)

10. Yearly family income (연 소득)
    ① - $25,000  ② $25,001-$50,000  ③ $50,001-$75,000  ④ $75,000-$100,000  ⑤ $100,000+

* Please rate the parental language proficiency (of each of you) on a scale of 1 (very low) to 5 (very high). (부모님의 언어능력에 대해 1 (최하)부터 5 (최고)까지의 점수를 스스로 매겨 주십시오.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Speaking (말하기)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Listening (듣기)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Reading (읽기)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Writing (쓰기)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Speaking (말하기)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Listening (듣기)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Reading (읽기)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Writing (쓰기)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Children

19. How many children do you have? 몇 명의 자녀를 두고 계십니까? ( )

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20</th>
<th>Date of Birth (생년월일) (i.e., mm/dd/yyyy)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| 21 | Where was the child born? (어디에서 태어났습니까?) |

| 22a | What languages does your child speak with siblings? Please rate the percentages. (e.g., Korean: 20%, English: 80%) |

| 22b | What languages does your child speak with parents? Please rate the percentages. (e.g., Korean: 20%, English: 80%) |

| 23a | What languages does your child speak with other Korean-speaking adults (e.g., relatives, grandparents, community members)? Please rate the percentages. (e.g., Korean: 20%, English: 80%) |

| 23b | What languages does your child speak with friends? Please rate the percentages. (e.g., Korean: 20%, English: 80%) |

| 24 | Grade Level (e.g., pre-K, K, 1st) |

| 25 | Is the child attending the Korean language school? (Yes / No) (아이가 현재 한글학교를 다니고 있습니다?) |

| 26 | Has the child attended the Korean language school? If yes, please indicate the terms. (아이가 한글학교를 다닐 때의 경험을 말씀해 주세요.) |

| 27. | Do you regularly attend Korean church? (한국교회에 다니고 계십니까?) Yes / No |
*Please rate your child’s language proficiency on a scale of 1 (very low) to 5 (very high).
(각 아이들의 언어능력에 대해 1 (최하)부터 5 (최고) 까지 점수를 매겨 주십시오.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Listening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Listening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36. Please rank from 1 to 7 (1 = most important, 7 = least important) the following reasons why you send your child to the Korean language school?
(자녀를 한글학교에 보내는 이유로 가장 중요한 것 (1)부터 (7) 까지 차례대로 순서를 매겨 주십시오.)

- To develop oral (spoken) language proficiency 한국말을 배우기 위해서 (  )
- To develop literacy (reading and writing) skills 한글로 읽고 쓰는 것을 배우기 위해서 (  )
- To engage in the Korean community 한국 사람들과 어울리기 위해서 (  )
- To be aware of Korean culture and values 한국문화와 정서를 알기 위해서 (  )
- To get resources for Korean language education 한국어 교육자료를 얻기 위해서 (  )
- To strengthen their Korean identity 한국인으로서의 정체성을 고취시키기 위해서 (  )
- To connect with the Korean church 한국 교회와의 연계를 위해서 (  )

37. If, in the future, you stop sending your child to the Korean language school, what would be the possible reason? **Please check all that apply.**
(만약 자녀를 한글학교에 다이어그 보내지 않기로 결정한다면, 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
해당되는 답변에 모두 표시해 주십시오.)

- Lack of interest in learning Korean 아이가 한국어에 흥미가 없다. (  )
- Homework 한글학교 숙제를 하기가 어렵다. (  )
- Schedule conflict 한글학교와 다른 스케줄이 겹친다. (  )
- Registration fee 등록금이 비싸다. (  )
- Other (Please specify) 다른 이유가 있으실 경우 구체적으로 기입해 주십시오.

38. What kind of resources for Korean language learning does your child have at home?
**Please check all that apply.**
(아이가 한국어 습득과 관련하여 어떤 것을 접하고 있습니까? 해당되는 것에 모두 표시해 주십시오.)

- Korean input from parent(s) 부모님이 한국어를 사용한다. (  )
- Korean input from grandparent(s) 조부모님이 한국어를 사용하신다. (  )
- Korean input from sibling(s) 형제들이 한국어를 사용한다. (  )
- Korean (picture) books 한국어로 된 책 (       )
- Korean movies/DVDs 한국 영화 DVD (       )
- Korean music 한국 노래 (       )
- Internet access in Korean 한국어로 인터넷이 가능하다. (       )
- Korean TV shows/dramas/cartoons 한국 텔레비전 프로그램 (       )
- Other (Please specify) 기타 (구체적으로 기입해 주십시오.)
Appendix B:

Interview Protocol

<For Parents>

1) When did you come to the United States? (Please briefly tell me your life trajectories.)

2) What is your basic life style? (e.g., What are your work hours and habits? How do you like to spend leisure and recreational time? How do you spend weekends? How much TV do you watch in Korean or English?)

3) Do you regularly attend church? What level and kinds of church involvement?

4) Please tell me about your social life.

5) How would you characterize your child’s attitudes toward the Korean or American school?

6) What have the American teachers talked about your child?

7) Who are your child’s best friends? Koreans or others? What do you feel about them?

8) What do you think about your child’s growing up in two languages?
   - Concerns or challenges?
   - Why is it important to learn Korean or English? What do you think about mixing Korean and English?
   - Do you think there is the best time (or critical period) to learn a language? Do you think language is necessary for identity construction?

9) What do you do for your child’s learning in Korean or English?

10) Have you visited Korea with your child? How often? What reasons for?

11) Is your child receptive to your practice? If not, what do you do? What do you feel?

12) What do you expect from the Korean language school? (What is the biggest difference from other activities such as dance, music, or art?) Concerns & needs?

13) What do you think about your child’s experience in the Korean language school? Needs?

14) What have you done for your child’s learning in Korean or English during break? What will you do during this winter? What are main resources?
15) Is your child receptive to your practice? If not, what do you do? What do you feel?

16) Discuss some challenges and needs you have raising your child in the Korean American community.

17) Will you continue sending your child to the KLS? Why or why not?

18) Have you any suggestions for the KLS, the American school, or communities?

19) What do you imagine your child’s future life? (e.g., marriage, residency, job)

20) What do you define your own ethnicity? Your children’s?

<For Children> using drawings or other supplements

1) Do you think you are Korean or American or something else? Why do you think so?

2) Do you like Korean or English? Why?

3) What do feel when you speak Korean or English?

4) What are good/bad things for you in the Korean language school?

5) What are good/bad things for you in your American school?

6) What do you usually do when you are at home? With whom?

7) Who are your best friends? Do they speak Korean? What do you feel?

8) Is your dad (mom) good at using Korean or English? Why do you think so? How about you?

9) What do you want to become? Why?
Appendix C:

Protocol for Romanization of Korean

A Comprehensive Chart for the Romanization of the Korean Language
According to the McCune-Reischauer System

| Row: Initial | Column: Final |ㄱ |ㅋ |ㄲ |ㄳ |ㄺ |ㄱ,ㅋ,ㄲ,ㄳ,ㄺ |ㄴ,ㄵ,ㄸ,ㄹ,ㄺ |ㄴ |ㄳ |ㄷ,ㅅ,ㅈ,ㅊ,ㅌ,ㅆ |ㄹ,ㄽ,ㄾ,ㄽ |ㅀ |ㅁ,ㄼ |ㅂ,ㅍ,ㄿ,ㄽㅈ |ㅎ |T |
| K | ng- | ngn | ng- | kk | -'g | -d | ll | -b | -j | (nn) | ns- | -k' | -t' | -n | (p') | ns- | -ch' | n- | (nn) | n- | s- | tt | ss | tch | -g | ll | -l | -b | r- | -l | ls- | r- | -k' | -t' | -l | (-p') | ls- | -ch' | -g | -d | -n | -b | -j | -n | ngn | ms- | -g | -d | -n | b- | -j | -n | ng- | pp | -g | -d | -n | b- | -j | -n | ngs- | p | s- | t- | k' | n- | t' | (nn) | n- | s- | ch' | (tt) | (tch) |