Heritage Language Learning and Identity Construction of

1.5 and Second Generation Korean Canadians

by

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Faculty of Education

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

Abstract

Immigrants' extensive contributions to Canada include cultural and linguistic diversity, underscoring the need to understand the complexities and identity construction of linguistic minorities. Drawing on sociocultural and poststructural perspectives on language, identity, and power (Duff, 2007, 2019; Foucault, 1978; Norton, 2013), this multiple case study of six university-aged 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians explores the dynamic interplay of heritage language learning experiences, situated contexts, and identity construction. Drawing on participants' lived experiences and perspectives, the data include in-depth interviews with the primary participants, a focus group with community leaders, and the researcher's reflection journals. Offering insight into the participants' first institutional heritage language learning experiences at a university, the findings reveal how deeply these linguistic minorities' heritage language learning trajectories and identity construction were situated within complex webs of familial, sociocultural, political and transnational factors, and individuals' different ways of reacting to the social forces. Endeavors to immerse themselves into a range of linguistic and cultural contexts gave these young adults valuable life lessons and unique identities as Korean Canadians, within which they shifted their bilingual/cultural identities. Their heritage language played a critical role in the participants' multiple identities, broadening their social spaces. University-aged Korean Canadians' experiences underscore the importance of sociocultural contexts of linguistic minorities' identity and heritage language learning, the close relationship between language and identity, and the critical role of institutional inclusion of heritage languages, alongside the role of the home, educational institutions, communities, and society.

Keywords: heritage language learning, linguistic minority, identity construction, immigrant students, ethnic identity, Korean Canadians, higher education, social integration

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, my husband, and my daughter and son, who have

come with me on this long journey and given me inspiration, power, and endless love.

"사랑하는 나의 가족에게"

To my beloved family

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background Information and Introduction

Globalization, cross-national migration, and changing immigration patterns over the past few decades have brought phenomenal growth in ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity in many societies across the hemispheres (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014; Pison, 2019). Migration-related diversity has appeared as a prevalent phenomenon since the 1990s not only in immigrant receiving countries such as Canada and the U.S. but also in countries such as Korea that have traditionally been regarded as homogeneous (International Organization for Migration, 2013).

Canada, which has a well-established immigration history and multiculturalism policy, has experienced shifts in the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity of its population. There has been a growing number of racialized immigrants since the 1990s, specifically whose languages and cultures are neither English nor French (Statistics Canada, 2011, 2017a). In 2011, Canada had the highest proportion of foreign-born population at 20.6% among the G8[1] countries (Canada Statistic, 2011), and in 2016, 21.9% of Canada's total population were foreign born individuals with 19.4% of Canadians speaking more than one language at home (Statistics Canada, 2017a, 2019a). The majority of the foreign population was from Asia, and about 61.8% of newcomers were from Asia in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Among the Asian immigrant source countries for Canada, Korea[2] has consistently been one of the top ten countries, providing immigrants for Canada since the late 1990s (Statistics Canada, 2007, 2016), and according to the 2016 Census,

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[1] G8 included Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States. However, in 2014 G8 changed to G7 as Russia was excluded due to its annexation of Crimea. From 2006-2031, the foreign-born population of Canada is anticipated to increase four times faster than the rest of the population, adding to the Canadian diversity (Statistics Canada, 2011).

[2] Korea refers to the Republic of Korea or South Korea, and thus Koreans stand for South Koreans.

160,455 people indicated Korean as their mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2019b). The number

of Korean immigrants coming to Canada has increased, and Korea is one of the fastest-growing

immigrant ethnic groups in Canada.

These demographic changes in Canada bring unprecedented diversity to communities and

classrooms and accordingly, the inclusion of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic minorities has

become a challenge for education as well as nation-making projects. Canadian society has been

relying on the economic productivity and political participation of diverse immigrant groups and

their children (Noh, Ida, Falk, Miller, & Moon, 2012a), and the increasing significance of non-

European racialized immigrants and their children necessitates a better understanding of their

educational and lived experiences in Canada.

Individuals' feelings of attachment are central to building nation states (Anderson, 1991),

and education plays a dominant role in disseminating a distinctive national identity, which

encompasses the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity of people sharing the same territory

(Banks, 2008; Bhabha, 1990a, 1990b; Kanu, 2006; May, 2012; Yosso, 2005). Education is

implicated in how diversity is valued and affirmed within a national identity and how immigrant

students can be supported in attaining educational equity. Critical theorists, however, recognize

education as an agentive site of social reproduction, by which the interests of states are preserved

and the existing power relations between the dominant and the subordinate are disseminated

within society, thereby creating the issue of educational equity (e.g., Apple 2004; Freire, 2000;

Giroux, 2010). In the process of integration, the minority languages and cultures of immigrant

students are often excluded and devalued in school curricula and understood as burdens which

hinder their academic success and social integration (Cummins, 2005, 2014a). Hence, many

immigrant students experience discrepancies between their home and the mainstream society due

to differing linguistic and cultural practices, values, and ideologies, thereby impacting their identity formation and heritage language[3] development process. Some families may further internalize the dominant culture, detaching from their home cultures, languages, and affiliations, as suggested by some theorists of immigrant children's identity formation (e.g., Pyke, 2010; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988).

Scholarship has explored the close relationship between heritage language development and maintenance for immigrant students and their identity construction, including its academic, familial, social, and national benefits (e.g., Guardado, 2010; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Kang, 2013; Kim & Duff, 2012; Park, 2013; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Shin, 2016; Tse, 2000; Wong Fillmore, 1991). Recent literature also affirms that supporting immigrant students' cultural and ethnic identity is integral to the development of their social and national identity as a full member of the host country (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Schimmele & Wu, 2015). However, students' struggles and negotiation are not limited to the home and the mainstream; rather, they may operate in multilayered practices of communities ranging from the ethnic and the local to the global (Darvin & Norton, 2014; Guardado, 2010), which include negotiating deterritorialized spaces, where culture transcends geographical boundaries (Appadurai, 1990). Following contemporary identity theorists (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Foucault, 1978, 1979; Norton, 2013; Weedon, 1997), I define identity construction as a dynamic process or on-going endeavors to negotiate the relations between the sociocultural and political contexts in which minority students are placed and human agency as the means by which these students exert their desires and positions over time and space.

My dissertation research explores linguistic minority immigrant students' identity

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[3] Heritage languages in Canada are all languages brought by immigrants except for Indigenous languages and the official languages, English and French (Cummins, 2014a).

construction in relation to their heritage language learning in general. In particular, I shed light

on the heritage language learning experiences of university-aged 1.5 and second generation

Korean Canadians, investigating their identity construction within multiple contexts. In this

study, the term 1.5 generation refers to individuals who have arrived in Canada before the age of

13, and second generation refers to those who are born in Canada to first generation or 1.5

generation Korean Canadian immigrant parents (Danico, 2004; Fry, 2004; Shin, 2015). Overall,

1.5 generation and second generation are fundamentally classified based on birthplace and age at

immigration.

The growing Korean immigrant population in Canada.

Today, more than 200,000 Korean-born immigrants have made Canada their home and

make up one of the country's most dynamic communities, with growth in all sectors -

business, cultural, heritage, arts. The majority of the Korean population in Canada are,

in fact, immigrants and relatively recent arrivals. (Suhasini, 2011, para. 4)

The Korean community in Canada has been growing quickly, making up a significant

portion of Canada's newcomers. The Korean community ranked as the seventh largest non-

European ethnic group in the country, after Chinese, East Indian, Filipino, Jamaican,

Vietnamese, and Lebanese populations (Statistics Canada, 2007). Between 1972 and 2013, about

206,000 Korean immigrants landed in Canada, which was the fourth ranked country containing

the largest overseas Korean diaspora (Statistics Korea, 2013). Over 95% of Korean immigrants

in Canada immigrated to Canada after 1970, and about one third arrived between 2000 and 2006

(Chan & Fong, 2012).

Between 2002 and 2012, Canada ranked as the second most preferred destination country

among Korean emigrants, which comprised about 15% of total Korean emigration (Korean

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2013). Canada has also ranked second for destinations for

would-be migrants across the world in international surveys from 2010 to 2017 (Wood, 2019).

Since 2003, approximately 5,000 Koreans have migrated to Canada every year (Citizenship and

Immigration Canada, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2017a). However, considering the number of

Koreans who live in Canada with temporary permits[4] such as student or work permits, the size of

the Korean community in Canada is greater than the official number of Korean immigrants

suggests (Kwak, 2008). According to Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2019),

there were 241,750 ethnic Koreans or Korean descendants residing in Canada as of 2019.

Reflecting on the growing Korean population in Canada, this study attempts to explore the lived

experiences of the children of Korean immigrants who migrated to Canada from the 1990s

onwards.

Proliferation of Korean language programs. Even more recently, there has been a

sharp increase in Korean language learners including heritage language learners in Canada

alongside the proliferation of Korean language programs offered at postsecondary institutions

(Duff, 2008a; Korean Education Centre in Canada, 2019), which is similar to the situation in the

U.S. within the last two decades (Park, 2011; Shin, 2015).

Although there is no national registry of information on the number of Korean

language programs and students enrolled in Korean programs at Canadian postsecondary

institutions, almost all major universities in Canada offer Korean language courses as official

credit courses, with ample demand for those courses (Kim, 2016). For example, at York

University in Toronto, the number of students enrolled in Korean courses has increased from 110

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[4] Numbers of international students and visitors from Korea have increased since a visa exemption was
granted to Koreans in 1994.

in 2010 to 430 in 2016 (Cho, 2017). This is part of a trend of increasing interest in Asian language, history and culture studies. Less commonly taught languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Tagalog, Japanese, and Korean have shown significant growth in enrolment in higher education in North America, responding to the cultural and linguistic diversity (Duff & Li, 2014; Leeman, 2015; Li & Duff, 2008), and as Leeman (2015) states, the growing interest in heritage language education reflects the increase in immigration, the acknowledgement of immigrants' linguistic rights, and the value of multilingualism.

The upsurge of Korean language programs also mirrors the growing global popularity of Korean pop culture such as music, films, and television programs and dramas, generated by and generating many foreign language learners of Korean across the world as well as in North America (Cho, 2017; Y. Kim, 2013; Marinescu, 2014). Since the majority of Korean classes are made up of non-Korean background students, the proliferation of Korean language programs may not be necessarily equated with an increasing number of Korean heritage language learners (Cho, 2017), and yet, the increase in Korean heritage language programs provides opportunities for more Koran heritage language learners to explore Korean language and culture (Duff, 2008a; Jeon, 2010; Shin, 2015). As an instructor of Korean at a university, I have also observed an increasing number of Korean Canadians who show a strong interest in taking Korean courses and this situation may reflect the growth of Korean communities in Canada and the increasing number of 1.5 and second generations who desire to study their ancestral language and culture.

To meet students' demands at the beginner and intermediate levels, the University of Manitoba began offering a Korean language credit course from 2011, thus providing the opportunity to explore the Korean language and culture for not only the majority of learners who study Korean as a foreign language but also Korean heritage language learners. According to my

experience as the first instructor in this program, the inclusion of minority languages in formal institutions appears meaningful to linguistic minorities who are provided with an opportunity to explore their heritage language and culture. As critical theorists suggest, the school curriculum and inclusion/exclusion of heritage languages cannot be neutral and there are hegemonic controls that benefit some over others (Apple, 2004; Giroux, 2010). In this aspect, offering heritage languages at higher education institutions or mainstream schools can imply the very recognition of minority languages as reflecting legitimate ways of knowing and social practices of educational equity (Baker, 2003; Choi, 2011; Jeon, 2007, 2008; Kang, 2013; Lee, 2002). Knowing their own language advances to knowing their world (Freire, 2000), and the institutional opportunity to learn their own languages can empower minority students by validating their historical and socio-political contexts (Apple, 2004; Lee, 2002; Leeman, Rabin, & Mendoza, 2011; Shin, 2009).

To illustrate, Leeman et al.'s (2011) study in the U.S. highlights how a university heritage language program and its extracurricular activities can strengthen Spanish heritage language learners' identities. Shin (2015) finds that the heritage language learning process in a university Korean program is deeply intertwined with various Korean American heritage learners' identity construction and meaning making of their experiences in their communities. Shin's (2009) study of Korean heritage language learners at a Canadian university also shows the learners' identity construction and negotiation in relation to their learning experiences. I believe that the opportunities to learn and access heritage languages at educational institutions and throughout their lives offer 1.5 and second generations opportunities to explore the larger social meanings of heritage language learning and their sense of who they are. Experiences of learning and making social meanings of learning practices differ among various individuals and may help explain how

they shape their identities as Koreans, minorities, and Korean Canadians in their contexts.

Impetus of the Inquiry

My research interest has been inspired by several experiences in Winnipeg, Manitoba, a city with a small Korean population. In Winnipeg, there are 3,265 people whose mother tongue is Korean, and 2,535 people who use Korean as their home language as of 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017b). I am a Korean immigrant who has been observing the various trajectories of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians for over 15 years. I am also a Korean instructor who has been teaching Korean at the University of Manitoba since 2011 when a Korean credit course was first offered and I was previously a Korean Heritage Language School principal and teacher in Winnipeg, and supported heritage language education in the community.

My research interest also draws on my Master's research, which explored highly skilled Korean immigrants who migrated to Canada from the late 1990s (Song, 2010). The previous study revealed that the main impetus of migration for the Korean immigrants was their children's (future) education and life opportunities, suggesting that the first generation Korean immigrants sacrifice their professional or personal goals for their children's future. In this way, 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians can be viewed as both the target and the embodiment of the hard work, integral desires, and continuous investment of the first generation.

Reflecting on my experience teaching Korean heritage language learners, despite the small number in my classes, I was also deeply interested in understanding these learners' motivations to learn Korean, their heritage language learning trajectories in Canada, and their ways of making meaning of their experiences, the world, and who they are. All these experiences reinforced my research interest in the lived experiences of 1.5 and second generation Korean immigrants and their identity construction. I have been particularly curious about the varying

pathways of Korean language learning in Canada and the convoluted webs of macro and micro

contexts in which 1.5 and second generations operate, and how they respond to these wider

social, national, and transnational contexts in different and new ways, and therefore how they

take up, expand, and construct their identity as Korean Canadian.

To delve into the relationship between heritage language learning and identity, it is

necessary to understand how sociocultural, political, and ideological factors have influenced the

learners' learning and practice of their heritage language. Heritage language learning practices

can significantly incorporate and reflect learners' understandings of the world, their construction

of knowledge, and their formation of who they are. The multifaceted aspects of heritage

language learning and the construction, negotiation, and transformation of learners' identities

have guided and deepened my research interest.

Research Gap

Recently, Canadian scholars have made an effort to report on Korean immigrants'

experiences and challenges in Canada; for example, Noh, Kim, and Noh (2012b) published a

compilation of multiple research studies under the themes of migration, social-psychological

adjustment, and the family. Overall, however, Korean immigrants, let alone 1.5 and second

generations, have not received as much attention in Canadian research compared to other ethnic

groups. In a broad sense, there has been a substantial amount of research on post-1965s

immigrants in North America. Nonetheless, most studies conducted between the 1970s to the

mid-1980s focused on the socioeconomic integration and psychological adaptation of the first

generation, and since the late 1980s, the children of post-1965 immigrants have been explored by

social science researchers (Danico, 2004). From the mid-1990s, more empirical studies on

immigrant children have been conducted alongside the accessibility of census data, although

studies have tended to target school-aged children and adolescents in terms of ethnic and cultural

identity (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Jo, 2001; Phinney et al., 2001). With respect to 1.5 generation

immigrants, they attained recognition as a distinct group later[5] (e.g., Danico, 2004; Kim, 2008;

Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990), and research on this group has grown since

the late 1990s.

This study responds to a lack of research on the experiences of 1.5 and second generation

Korean immigrants in Canada in general, and Korean heritage language learners in

postsecondary levels in particular. There has been a handful of studies on Korean immigrant

children in relation to heritage language maintenance, but most studies have attended to school-

aged children and adolescents, community programs or church programs, and home education

and parenting, investigating the perspectives of parents, teachers, and administrators (Cho, 2008;

J. Kim, 2015; M. Kim, 2015; Park, 2009; Park & Sakar, 2007).

Heritage language learning at a postsecondary institution is different from childhood

learning, which often takes place through community programs and home instruction, and is

typically guided by parents (Jeon, 2007; Kim & Pyun, 2014; Lee, 2002; Park, 2009; Tse, 2000). I

investigate the heritage language learning experiences and identity construction of university-

aged 1.5 and second generations, because the period of adolescent and young adulthood is

considered critical in terms of their self-discovery associated with social, cultural and political

contexts and their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity formation (Kang & Lo, 2004; Noh et

al., 2012a; Shin, 2015; Tse, 1998). As Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) emphasize, university-aged

young adults have an opportunity to construct narratives that help them make sense of their

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[5] In educational research, Rumbaut and Ima (1988) first use the term '1.5 generation' to emphasize the
successes and challenges experienced by Southeast Asian refugee youth in adapting to their new culture
in the U.S. Portes and Rumbaut (1990) subsequently employed the term 1.5 generation to refer to foreign-
born youth who immigrated to the U.S. before the age of twelve.

complex identities, and their narratives evolve at university, influenced by the multiple contexts in which their lives were embedded through their studies. Further, young adults seek possibilities through transformation. In particular, Korean students alongside some other Asian immigrant students, typically categorized under the "model minority" stereotype (Lee, 2004; Shin, 2016; Suzuki, 1994), have often been regarded as having few educational needs in higher education and not requiring educational or social support (Kim, 2008). However, this attitude may not only reify socially constructed stereotypes, but also create a significant gap in knowledge. Therefore, my study examines university-aged Korean Canadians who studied their heritage language at a university. I highlight their life experiences, their past and present heritage language learning experiences, and identity construction through their own narratives, and I also include my experience as an instructor as well as insights from community leaders so as to better understand and interpret young adult Korean Canadians.

Secondly, a handful of studies have explored 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians at the university level in relation to heritage language (e.g., Cho, 2017; Kim & Duff, 2012; Shin, 2009, 2016). However, most researchers overwhelmingly focus on the contexts of large metropolitan areas such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, where about 85% of Korean immigrants are intensively distributed. Korean populations living in mid-sized Canadian cities have received little attention, and to my knowledge, there is no literature related to Korean heritage language learners who live in the prairie provinces such as Manitoba. Moreover, education in Canada is administered at the provincial level, suggesting a contextual difference based on provinces. A study on Korean immigrant parents in the U.S. by Becker (2013) concludes that in small cities, the home may be the only place where immigrant families can use their heritage language, unlike in big cities. Becker highlights that the parents wished for more

outside-the-home heritage language speaking opportunities and exposure to Korean for their

children.

The Korean population in Manitoba was approximately 4,545 as of 2016, accounting for

2.3% of the 198,210 Canadian residents of Korean origin (Statistics Canada, 2017c). Over 85%

(3,915) of the Korean population in Manitoba resided in Winnipeg (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

The University of Manitoba is the largest university in Winnipeg, with an active Korean student

population, and has been offering Korean credit courses in both introductory and intermediate

levels since 2011. I believe exploration of university-aged Korean Canadians' heritage language

learning experiences in Winnipeg can add a meaningful voice to the existing literature. All these

aforementioned research gaps contribute to the rationale and choice of site for my study.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

In my study, I describe, interpret, and seek to understand how 1.5 and second generation

Korean Canadians construct their identities as Korean Canadians, focusing on their heritage

language learning experiences. In other words, I explore how the Korean Canadians' heritage

language learning experiences and their surrounding contexts shape their identities, and how the

1.5 and the Korean Canadians negotiate and construct their identities as linguistic minorities

mainly in the landscape of being Korean and being Canadian. This study also explores

institutional heritage language learning experiences in higher education with the aim of

understanding how linguistic minority individuals' identities can be expanded through the

institutional opportunity to access their heritage language. The research questions underpinning

this study are as follows:

1. What sociocultural, political, and other factors do 1.5 and second generation Korean

    Canadians perceive have encouraged or impeded their heritage language learning

and practice?

2. How do the young adult Korean Canadians perceive heritage language learning

experiences in multiple contexts to have influenced their identities, specifically their

ethnic identity?

3. How do the Korean Canadians negotiate their identity as a linguistic minority in the

landscape of being Korean and being Canadian?

4. What were their experiences of studying and learning their heritage language at

university as a credit course?

The context, the target population, and the central inquiry and focus of this study are illustrated

in Figure 1 on page 18.

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to the extant research that examines identity issues of diverse

immigrant groups in relation to heritage language, the complex relations between social

structures and human agency, and ethnic linguistic minorities and the role of heritage language in

multicultural societies in the fields of applied linguistics, heritage language education, immigrant

studies, and Korean studies. This study also provides meaningful discussions within the

theoretical debates on the relation between heritage language learning and ethnic identity and the

social views on heritage languages.

The findings of this study can provide practical and pedagogical insights and suggestions

in terms of immigrant students' identity formation and heritage language education, affirming

linguistic diversity and the role of higher education in these processes. This study informs ethnic

communities and families of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians of how they

understand immigrant children's identity issues, and how they can support their children in

developing their heritage language and identity. This study also informs heritage language

educators and education program developers about how to support heritage language learners

and 1.5 and second generation immigrants and informs policy makers and governments about

how to include linguistic diversity within a nation-state and the education system. This study also

provided the research participants with an opportunity to understand the complex sociocultural

and political factors and their situatedness of learning and identity, by reflecting on their lived

experiences as a linguistic minority and advance to social transformation.

Definition of Key Terms

The following terms are frequently used in this study, and here I define key terms as follows.

Bilinguals: This study adopts a broader definition of bilinguals, which refer to those who

have knowledge and use two language systems, in the dominant (English) and the heritage

language. Heritage language learners are regarded as bilinguals "at least to some degree"

(Valdés, 2005, p. 412), since they use at least "parts of two language systems" (Chevalier, 2004,

p. 1). The participants in this study are regarded as bilinguals, but their heritage language

proficiencies vary widely.

Cultural identity and social identity: Cultural identity refers to "the relationship between

individuals and members of a group who share a common history, a common language, and

similar ways of understanding the world" (Norton, 1997, p. 13). Cultural identity is often related

to one's social identity, since social identity is the relationship between individuals and the larger

society in forms of various communities such as schools and workplaces.

Ethnic identity: Ethnic identity refers to a dynamic, complex, multidimensional, and fluid

construction, negotiation, and positioning that varies across members of an ethnic group, and that

refers to one's identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group (Phinney, 2003). I

emphasize self-identification as a member of and a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, but I

adopt a constructive vision of ethnic individuals as agentive actors engaged in a continual

process of making and negotiating their ethnicities. Ethnic identity is influenced by

sociopolitical considerations, and individuals' positions are often based on local contexts.

Similarly, I use Canadian identity as one's identity, or sense of self as a member of the nation of

Canada.

  ***Heritage language (education)*:** In this study, heritage languages refer to the languages

brought and used by immigrants in Canada except for Indigenous languages and the official

languages, English and French (Cummins, 2014a), with a focus on Korean. Other terms such as

mother tongue, first language, community/ethnic language, immigrant languages, minority

languages, or international languages are synonymously used by other scholars or institutions.

Heritage language education refers to the learning and teaching of heritage languages and

culture.

  Heritage language learner: In this project, I draw on Hornberger and Wang's (2008)

definition of heritage language learners, which emphasizes both familial or ancestral ties to a

language and the learners' agency in determining their identity as heritage language learners of

the language. I also problematize this label in the section of my literature review on Heritage

Language Education beginning on page 47.

  Identities & identity construction: Identities refer to a sense of who we are and how we

relate to the social world, thus representing social identities (Norton, 2000), and for this project,

identity construction refers to an on-going, dynamic process of negotiating the relations between

the sociocultural and political contexts in which minority students and their learning are situated,

and human agency by which they exert their positions and desires over contexts. Through

discursive practices and discourses, identities are expressed, negotiated, and (re)constructed. I

consider identities as multiple, dynamic, and fluid over time and space.

   Integration: This term represents the overall process by which immigrants become

accepted into the host country both as individuals and as groups, so they acquire full membership

within society. The integration process often includes all economic, social, political, cultural, and

psychological aspects (Berry, 2011). In general, this process involves the reciprocal obligation of

both the host population (the receiving country) and the newcomers (Li, 2003), although this

study largely focuses on the immigrants' experiences.

   Korean immigrants: Korean immigrants represent those who immigrated to Canada from

the Republic of Korea or South Korea.

   Korean Canadians: *1) 1.5 generation*: For this study, I employ the definition offered by

Danico (2004) that 1.5 generation immigrants arrived in the host country before the age of 13; *2)*

Second generation: Korean Canadians who are born in Canada from first generation or 1.5

generation Korean Canadian immigrant parents are considered to be second generation.

   Language learning/ practices: Language learning/practices represent any activities

which involve language learning (e.g., speaking, listening, reading, or writing) in any occasions

and places such as home, classes, churches, meetings with friends, ethnic events, media, or social

network services (SNS) such as texts, messenger or Facebook and digital spaces. Language

learning activities also include psychological processes of thinking.

   Racialized immigrants: Racialized immigrants refer to all immigrants that are non-

Caucasian in race or non-white in color. Increasingly the term is replacing 'visible minorities'

since in many municipalities the population of people who are non-white make up the majority.

Although the U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination criticized the

Canadian government for using the term visible minority because of discriminatory distinctions based on race or color, some governmental documents including Statistics Canada use the term visible minority. In terms of consistency, I use the term visible minority only when I cite government documents as indicated.

University/postsecondary-aged: I use the term university (or postsecondary)-aged population to refer to young adult individuals ranging in age from 18-26, when students typically attend higher education.

Preview of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework informing the study. This study is informed by sociocultural perspectives in language learning, identity negotiation, and their situatedness, and poststructuralists' understanding of language and discourse, multiple identities, and human agency and power. Chapter 3 provides a review of relevant research literature. I analyze research on increasing diversity in Canada, Korean immigrants in Canada and 1.5 and second generation Koreans. I then examine relevant studies in the field of heritage language education and the relation between heritage language and ethnic identity. Chapter 4 presents the methodology for this study with a discussion of my ontological and epistemological stances, drawing on interpretative and critical poststructural paradigms. I describe the multiple case study approach, the setting, the recruitment process, data collection methods, ethical issues and researcher positioning, data analysis procedures, and issues associated with the trustworthiness of this study.

Chapter 5 illustrates my six cases, focusing on each individual's (case) lived experiences, heritage language learning trajectories, and identity. Chapter 6 provides the multiple influencing factors on heritage language learning, and Chapter 7 presents the participants' identity

construction and negotiation: 1) the interplay of heritage language learning and identity

construction; 2) the relation between heritage language and ethnic identity and their construction

of a Korean Canadian dual identity. Chapter 8 explores university heritage language learning

experiences. Chapter 9 provides a final discussion on the themes within theoretical/conceptual

frameworks and recommendations with concluding comments.
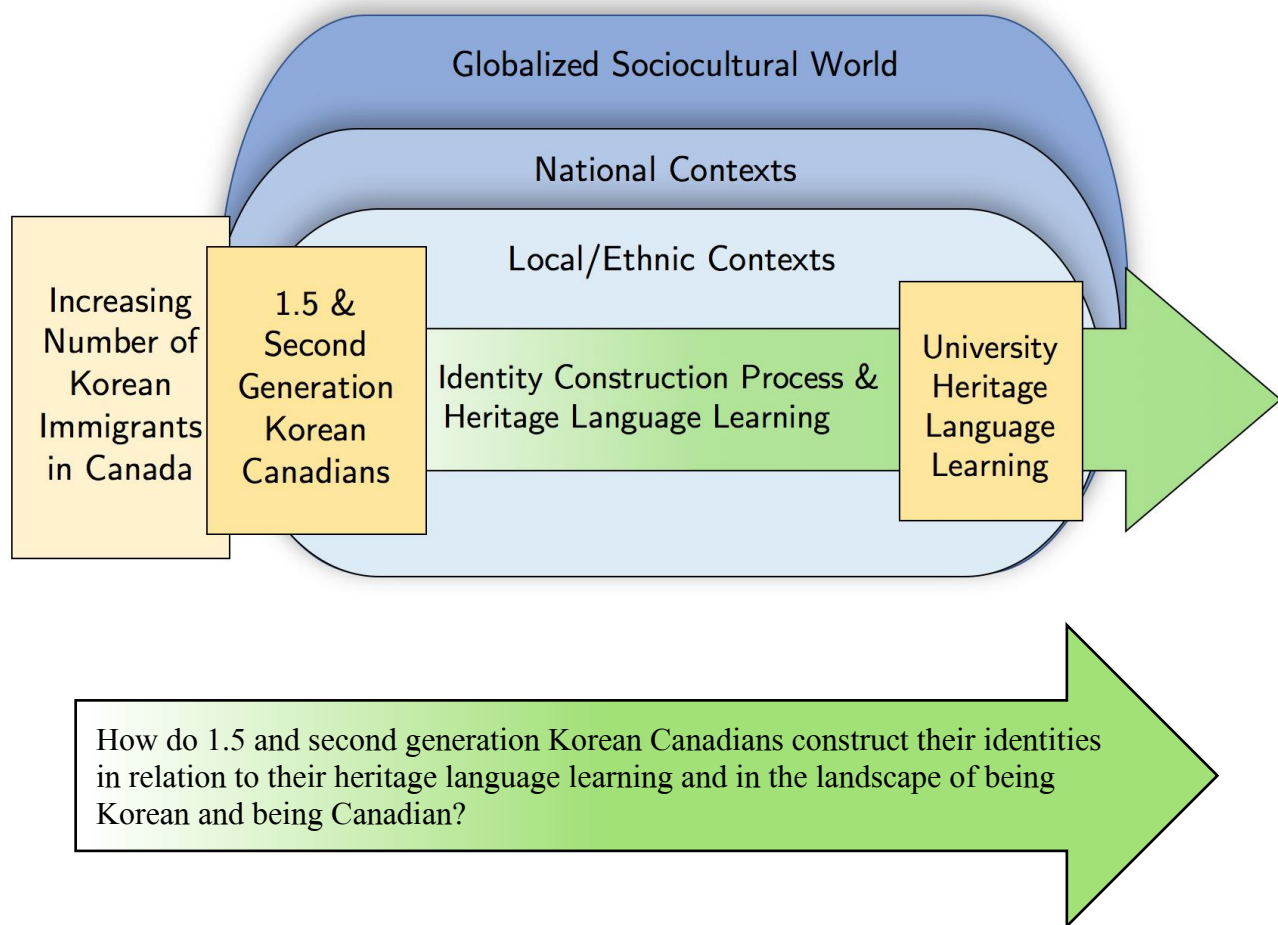
Figure 1. Context and focus of the study

Chapter 2: Theoretical and Conceptual Underpinnings

This chapter addresses the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study. This study fundamentally espouses sociocultural perspectives in language learning and learners' identities to understand their sociocultural situatedness. This study also takes up poststructural understandings of language, identity, subjectivity, positioning, and power to illuminate the dynamic pulls and pushes between the complex sociocultural and political surroundings and linguistic minorities' human agency. Both sociocultural perspectives and poststructuralists presume the multiplicity and flexibility of identities, which are discursively practiced, produced, and locally negotiated in given sociocultural contexts. The overview of theoretical and conceptual underpinnings is illustrated in Figure 2.

Sociocultural Perspectives
- Language learning as social practice
- Language learning and identity construction
- Situated contexts
- Language socialization

How do 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians construct their identities in relation to heritage language learning and in the landscape of being Korean and being Canadian?

Poststructural Underpinnings
- Language, identity, subjectivity, and positioning
- Human agency and structures
- Power/resistance
- Ethnic identity
- Hybridity and third space

Figure 2. Theoretical and conceptual underpinnings

Sociocultural Perspectives in Language Learning

Over the last two decades, sociocultural perspectives have strongly influenced the field of applied linguistics and second language education in that language and culture are understood as tools for sharing social norms, values, and thoughts (Atkinson, 2019; Duff, 2007, 2019; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Gee, 2000; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Zuengler & Miller, 2006), under the premise that "there can be no learning - or human existence - in a contextual vacuum" (Duff, 2019, p. 6). Some sociocultural theorists try "to understand the relationship between human mental functioning… and cultural, historical, and institutional setting[s]" (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 3), thereby underscoring the integrated nature of individual (psychological) and social (contextual) components in the learning process.

However, the scope of sociocultural perspectives and applications has been extended (Atkinson, 2019; Duff, 2007, 2019; Zuengler & Miller, 2006) and "more identity-oriented, social theorizing in applied linguistics and language/literacy education takes place under the 'sociocultural' banner" (Duff, 2007, p. 311). Emphasizing the highly social and situated nature of language learning, the Douglas Fir Group (2016) conceptualizes aspects of "the social" in second language learning beyond individual learners' minds/brain under the categories of *ideology* (social/societal factors), *identity* with power and agency, and *interaction* and social action (as cited in Duff, 2019). In this way, larger sociological research examines and critiques "social structure, hierarchy, ideologies about language, issues of inclusion/exclusion, human agency, and different forms of capital" (Duff, 2019, p. 7), especially in the contexts of globalization and transnational migration (e.g., Block, 2015; Norton, 2013). This study draws on these broad sociocultural perspectives as espoused by Duff and others.

In general, sociocultural perspectives understand that participation in activities, practices,

and interactions constitute human development and language learning, and they regard learning a language as "the development of increasingly effective ways of dealing with the world and its meanings" (Van Lier, 2000, p. 246). As such, sociocultural perspectives are concerned with socialization embedded in language learning and the influence of the social context in the construction of the self (e.g., Bakhtin, 1981; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Vygotsky, 1986). Accordingly, the relation between language learning and learners' identity has been intensively researched, involving the discursive construction of identities such as race, gender, foreignness, or native speaker status (Block, 2007; Norton, 2013; Zuengler & Miller, 2006).

Language practice in the real world and participation in sociocultural activities are the product as well as the process of learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Vygotsky, 1978; Wenger, 1998), and the source and structure of language learners' sociolinguistic knowledge are engrained in everyday sociocultural practices in which learners engage (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Simply put, language learning is a socioculturally situated practice, and second/ heritage language learning is a relational activity that occurs between specific speakers situated in specific sociocultural contexts (Duff, 2007; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Language learning also embodies the potential or imaginable identities of a language learner as an individual with his or her own worldviews, values, and culture, and as a member of a language community (Norton, 2013). Importantly, social-contextual components of language learning are "implicated in the provision (or denial) of access to opportunities to learn and use languages" (Duff, 2019, p. 10). My study of heritage language learning and learners is influenced by these fundamental understandings of language learning created by the above-mentioned sociocultural scholars and researchers in the fields of applied linguistics and education.

Language socialization. As a sociocultural approach, language socialization provides a

frame for understanding individuals' learning processes and learners' identities (Duff, 2007, 2019; Lee & Bucholtz, 2015). Language socialization takes place in a particular linguistic community, and language is the primary tool by which members are socialized to behave, interact, and think in culturally and socially appropriate ways. Language socialization is "a process by which individuals acquire, reproduce, and transform the knowledge and competence that enable them to participate appropriately within specific communities of language users" (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015, p. 319), and this process involves both "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language" (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986, p. 163).

As Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) describe, language socialization researchers take a perspective which "not only recognizes the existence of biological and psychological attributes in these [learning] processes but also importantly acknowledges considerable variations due to cultural factors and sociohistorical conditions" (as cited in Lee & Bucholtz, 2015, p. 319). Language socialization thus stresses the interlocked link between the structures of language and the social world by showing how language forms reflect and are reflected in sociocultural and ideological forms of knowledge that are also constructed and acquired through language (Duff & Talmy, 2011).

Socialization is also an ongoing unfinished process that spans one's entire life (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) through one's engagements in particular linguistic and cultural communities. In this way, language socialization highlights interactions and language use practiced by interlocutors as a process for developing linguistic, cultural, and social competence, and everyday interactions, and the roles of expert members in the process of socializing are highlighted (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). In this process, one's identity is in the process of others' mutual constitution within the community, and as Wenger (1998) states, "In

the same way that meaning exists in its negotiation, identity exists - not as an object in and of itself - but in the constant work of negotiating the self" (p. 151).

As Bucholtz and Hall (2005) suggest, identity can be in part intentional, in part habitual, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part a construct of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger structures. Therefore, human agency can be viewed as a broader discursive phenomenon rather than purely individualistic and deliberate action, including the multifarious aspects of identity. The use of language and learning a language is itself an act of agency as well as a social practice (Duranti, 2004), and therefore, identity is one kind of social action or practice that agency can realize (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). This approach to identity from sociocultural perspectives allows me to incorporate within identity not only the broad sociological categories, but also local positionings and human agency, further converging poststructural underpinnings of identity.

Sociocultural perspectives in heritage language learning. The notion of heritage language is sociocultural as it is defined in terms of a group of people who speak it, and heritage languages have a sociocultural function, "as a means of communication and as a way of identifying and transforming sociocultural groups" (He, 2010, p. 68). Heritage language learning needs to be understood in terms of learners' substantial participation in various practices/communities, and how the learners make meanings in relation to the sociocultural contexts should be a core aspect in understanding their heritage language learning experiences and identity (Duff, 2019). Heritage language learning takes place through a learner's interactions with various members in different communities such as parents, siblings, peers, instructors, and (ethnic) community members, each of whom renders the learner distinctive discourse and social roles, and whose responses to the learner construct the learner's language development. Simply,

heritage language development is intertwined with heritage language learners' identities and their continuous negotiations within the multiple activities in society.

He (2010) analyzes two broad approaches of research studies on heritage language learning which appreciate the mutual dependency between heritage language learning processes and sociocultural processes. While a correlational approach presumes sociocultural aspects as a priori given and assumes having a sociohistorical reality independently from language behavior, social constructivism views sociocultural concepts and labels as continually shifting, since they are constructed through human interactions and the surroundings. The correlational approach underpins essentialist paradigms by seeing sociocultural traits as consistent across time and situations (e.g., Kondo-Brown, 2005; Lee, 2002). Social constructivism, however, sees "[t]he qualities and attributes that we attach to any specific type of human activities are products of social conventions that are open to revision and renewal" (He, 2010, p. 72). This approach postulates that "participants are actively (re)constructing themselves as members of a particular ethnicity, nationality, speech community, social rank, and profession and as learners of heritage languages at various proficiency levels" (He, 2010, p. 72). In this line of studies, the forms of language and the sociocultural contexts of language practice cannot be separated from each other (e.g., Choi, 2011; Guardado & Becker, 2014; He, 2004; Jeon, 2008; Kim & Duff, 2012).

I draw on sociocultural perspectives in that heritage language learners are situated in particular sociocultural, political, and historical contexts that impact their identities and learning processes (Duff, 2008a; Duff & Li, 2014; He, 2006; Hornberger & Wang, 2008). Heritage language is not a fixed notion, but a dynamic concept and heritage language learners are not merely passive cultural transmitters but cognizant, reflexive social agents in their heritage language learning and practice (Gounari, 2014). Heritage language learning and maintenance is

grounded in each learner's "continuous adaptation to the unfolding, multiple activities and identities that constitute the social and communicative worlds that he or she inhabits" (He, 2010, p. 78). For heritage language learners, as Maguire (2005) articulates, identity construction is an ongoing process of negotiation between sites of heritage language learners and local, national, and global spaces of prospects for belonging and further becoming.

To conclude, sociocultural perspectives allow me to explore how 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians socialize in the linguistic communities, how they deal with the sociocultural surroundings and construct their meanings in different and new ways, how they can access cultural resources such as their heritage language, and how the learners participate or do not participate in given communities. Sociocultural perspectives provide plausible landscapes by which I can explore the complex relations between heritage language learning, identity construction, and the contextual factors. Moreover, sociocultural perspectives suggest neither schools nor home is the only domain essential to heritage language development and this development is not limited to any specific time period (e.g., Lee & Bucholtz, 2015).

Accordingly, I can argue that heritage language education is inseparable from school systems, social institutions, the historical experiences of linguistic communities, and language ideologies, as Campbell and Christian (2003) assert. Exploring the particular time period of university-aged students with their lived experiences can also contextualize their reflections on their experiences, adding meaningful discussions to the existing sociopolitical dimensions of heritage language learning.

Poststructuralists' Underpinnings

Several education scholars and applied linguistics adopt poststructuralist theoretical positions (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Bhabha, 1994; Norton, 2000; Weedon, 1997) to explore

identity issues, for example, linguistic identity, cultural identity, ethnic identity, national identity, gender identity, and so on, while deconstructing the existing discourses or metanarratives (Gannon & Davies, 2007). My study is largely influenced by poststructural ontological and epistemological stances and their subsequent underpinnings of language, identity, subjectivity, positioning, power, and human agency. Poststructuralists reject structuralists' claims of culturally independent meaning, and as Foucault supposes, they presume that there is no universal truth that is beyond history and society (Foucault, Rabinow, & Rogers, 1984). Doubtful of the positivistic accounts of knowledge and truths, they assert that truth is constructed through historical contingency. They advocate the ontological belief that reality is socially constructed, multiple, and subjective, their epistemology undertakes knowledge as contextual and historically contingent, and they focus on language and meaning making rather than measurement and prediction of human behaviors (Peters, 1996).

The overarching notions of poststructuralism are therefore flexibility, mutability, and plurality of meanings including language and culture over time and space. Accordingly, they view identities as multiple, changing, and often contradictory, rejecting any essentialized notion of human essence and nature. Poststructuralist epistemology also advocates for voices that are different from the norms and standards of the majority, with the assumption that the voices are suppressed and marginalized by the essentialized postulations of universal principles and normalizations (e.g., Foucault, 1978, 1979). These perspectives enable me to highlight and advocate for linguistic minorities' multiple identities, experiences, and voices.

Language, language learning, and power. As Bakhtin (1981) contends, language cannot be reduced to a set of idealized forms in a vacuum separated from dissimilar language users or their speaking, which most structuralists presume (e.g., Saussure, 1966). Linguistic

communities such as family, peers, professional or religious affiliations, and institutional history

generally have conflicting claims to power and truth among language users (Bakhtin, 1981).

Therefore, as the poststructural feminist Weedon (1997) defines, language is the place where

social organizations, individuals, and their political interests are contested, and through which

"our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed" (p. 21). Finally, language learning

involves learners' identities since language employs not only linguistic systems of signs but also

social practices in which the meaning and significance ascribed to an utterance are determined in

part by the meaning and significance ascribed to the person who speaks (Norton, 2000).

Poststructuralists thus view language learning as a process of identity (re)construction of

learners, a useful lens for exploring heritage language learners' identity in relation to larger

societal realms (Bourdieu, 1991; Norton, 2013; Weedon, 1997), since immigrant children's

heritage language can offer different ways of conveying their voices and positions to represent

their identities.

In any social interactions and discourses, power plays a crucial role (Foucault, 1980).

Social interactions are rarely established on equal positions, and many educational researchers

acknowledge that language learning engages a variety of inequitable relations of power.

Language learning thus implies a process of struggling to use and practice language in order to

participate in specific speech communities and events. Accordingly, the target language is a site

of struggles for heritage language learners and their practice of the language denotes their

endeavors to make their own meanings and their desires to participate in the target language

group. However, social positions outside language often affect individuals' speaking privileges,

and speakers of a target language are constrained by those past usages (Bakhtin, 1981).

As Bourdieu (1977, 1986) points out, particular languages in a society attain more value

as cultural capital depending on the market on which the languages are offered. Similarly, the meaning and use of a heritage language in the mainstream is differently constructed, reflecting on sociocultural orientations, language ideologies, prejudices, and stereotypes against minority languages, the users of the languages, and particular ethnic groups (Aravossitas, 2016; Brown, 2009; Hornberger, 1998). Even within the same linguistic community, heritage language learners also struggle to acquire the authority of the authentic users of the standard heritage language (Jo, 2001; Kang & Kim, 2012).

To recapitulate, heritage language is a site of struggles and heritage language learning involves constant power relations, conflicts, and negotiations. What poststructuralists suggest, however, is that learners can use language to express their own meanings with both convention and innovation characterizing language use, thereby transforming power relations (Norton, 2013). Foucauldian perspectives view power as having both negative and positive functions on individuals and social bodies (Foucault, 1978). Power exists in every social relation and through participation and negotiation of meaning, identities are (re)constructed with multiple contexts.

Identity, subjectivity and positioning. Poststructuralism postulates the essence of an individual as fluid between discourses, and identity as discursively constructed (Foucault, 1979, 1980). If identity is defined as a constant negotiation of how we deal with the world (Norton, 2001; Pennycook, 2000, 2001), individuals and social realities are the products of discursive and agentive actions (Davies, 1990; Weedon, 1997). As Bakhtin (1984) suggests, one's identity is a process of ideological "becoming," meaning how individuals develop and shape the ways of viewing the world and themselves, their positionings and values, and interactions and alignment with others. This notion of becoming finally suggests a means of examining one's voices as "newer ways to mean" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 51), since one is an individual, who is also positioned

within dialogues (Bakhtin, 1981). Simply, individuals can perform different discourses and practices to position themselves, and when positioned by others, can choose to accept, resist, or even actively fight against that positioning (Norton Peirce, 1995). Thus, the positions individuals take up in the various social sites are full of struggles, "reflecting the socially-given and the individually-struggled for" (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 418).

Weedon (1997) adopts subjectivity referring to the ways in which our identities are formed. According to her, subjectivity is "a site of disunity and conflict" (p. 21) and is "precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think and speak" (p. 32). Although subjectivity is socially constructed, it exists as a social agent that can decide between embracing and resisting new realities. Agency here is exerted by what is significant to the individual and influenced by power relations (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001). Highlighting the socio-historic nature of agency, Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) regard it as "a relationship that is constantly co-constructed and renegotiated with those around the individual and with the society at large" (p. 148). This thinking presumes that human agents have the power to modify ways of behaving across discourses by differently positioning themselves while embracing, resisting, or transforming the discursive constitutions.

Recent research on heritage language learners employs poststructural underpinnings of language, agency, and identity (e.g., Kang, 2013; Park, 2011; Shin, 2015). The research commonly highlights the power dynamics embedded in heritage language use and access to heritage language, heritage language learners' struggles and positioning, and their human agency by which they craft their identities in a newer way within the contexts.

In sum, poststructuralism suggests that heritage language learners' identities are not static constructs, but multiple, locally negotiated, and in the process of becoming and identities have

different engagements in language practices within given communities. Engagement with particular languages and cultures involves identity formation and identities and subjectivities are constantly being crafted in the positions that learners take up in local contexts and practices. Also, social agency that poststructuralism advances has immense potential to bring about social change. This constructive vision advances ethnic individuals as actors who have agency engaged in a continual process of negotiating their identities.

Ethnic Identity and Heritage Language

Although my study situates identities in broader social relations and the participants' experiences, ethnic identity is inseparable from social identities (Phinney et al., 2001; Schimmele &Wu, 2015), and heritage language is regarded as one significant factor for the maintenance of ethnic identity for immigrant students. As for an individual's identity, multiple components of the individual are considered, and ethnic identity accounts for "critical parts of the overall framework of individual and collective identity" (Chávez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999, p. 39). Ethnicity often plays a role in terms of the individual's reactions to social norms and values, and sociocultural practices, thereby shaping the relationship to the world. Early assimilationists construed ethnic identity as essentialized, mainly because of the invisibility of people of color (Danico, 2004). However, diverse ethnic minority groups have constructed "a new set of ethnic options that helps them navigate the tenuous racial terrains" (Danico, 2004, p. 47) and contemporary theorists increasingly agree on the fluid and contextual aspects of ethnic identity.

Ethnicity and ethnic identity. In general, ethnicity represents membership in an ethnic group, who generally shares the same culture, customs, and language (Phinney, 1992), an understanding I adopt in this study. Pieterse (1997) further suggests ethnicity be replaced with *cultural differences*. However, as Schimmele and Wu (2015) summarize, ethnicity represents a

social boundary between two or more groups; there is also ethnic stratification based on in-group

bias and discrimination, and therefore, ethnicity is a form of "otherness" that is reserved for

subordinate groups and entrenched in in-group biases, discrimination, and subjectifications.

Meanwhile, ethnic identity refers to an individual's self-concept with respect to how one

connects to one's own ethnic group and other ethnic groups in multi-ethnic societies (Phinney et

al., 2001). Ethnic identity relies on a complex interplay of social, cultural, personal, and

situational effects that eventually shape an individual's sense of self (Ichiyama, McQuarrie, &

Ching, 1996; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Also, ethnic identity functions at a group level connoting

the ethnic group to some extent because a shared identity determines the boundary between it

and other groups. In this case ethnic identity can respond to counter negative perspectives or

stereotypes for individual self-esteem and well-being (Phinney, 1990), and further, function as a

form of collective resistance against negative evaluations of their group (Jenkins, 1994), and as a

form of social capital that supports immigrants to overcome social constraints and discrimination

(Kibria, 2002; Schimmele & Wu, 2015).

Heritage language has been explored as a significant factor for the maintenance and

affirmation of ethnic identity for immigrant students in multilingual societies (Choi, 2015;

Cummins, 1989; Wong Fillmore, 2000; Jeon, 2010; Kang & Kim, 2012; Lee, 2002; Phinney et

al., 2001; Shin, 2015; Tse, 1998, 2000). In relation to heritage language, researchers typically

take two approaches to ethnicity/ethnic identity, primordialism and instrumentalism (Jeon,

2010). Primordialism views ethnicity as essential characteristics, postulating continuity, and

sameness (McKay, 1982), suggesting a deterministic account of the links between heritage

language and ethnic identity (e.g., Lee, 2002). Instrumentalism proposes ethnicity as a form of

capital, in which minorities rationally choose their languages or cultural practices based on

economic rewards or material reasons depending on situations. Nonetheless, the primordial or instrumental stances on ethnicity have shown limitations in explaining multifarious human experiences. Hence, as Pieterse (1997) suggests, "Ethnicity is a plural and contested category" (p. 370), in which there are both primordial and instrumental (contextual) aspects to ethnic identity. May (2012) states that ethnic identity is constructed and altered as individuals become aware of their ethnicity within the larger sociocultural setting.

For this study, I employ Phinney's (2003) broad definition of ethnic identity: "Ethnic identity is a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity, or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group" (p. 63). Phinney (1990) emphasizes *self-identification as a member* of and *a sense of belonging* to an ethnic group necessary to ethnic identity, and in fact, I adopt her understanding of the components of ethnic identity.

Race and racial identity. Ethnicity often intersects with race. The traditional meaning of race is understood as a category based on various geographic regions, ethnicities, and skin colors, and the labels for racial groups have connoted regions or denoted skin tones (Little, 2012). However, race is not a biological marker, but is socially and historically constructed by a racialization process in which certain groups are treated unequally based on their physical features or differences (Dei, 2009). Moreover, race is a fluid and multiple concept, containing extensive heterogeneity within the categories (Mukhopadhyay & Henze, 2003).

In terms of the intersection of ethnicity and race, Phinney and Ong (2007) clarify the convergences and divergences of ethnic and racial identities. Both identities encompass a sense of belonging to a group and a process of learning about that group; both are associated with cultural practices and values, with attitudes toward one's own group, and with responses to discrimination; and both vary in importance and salience over time and context. The divergences

lie in that the study of racial identity has focused on responses to racism, and "racial identity measures assess experiences related to internalized racism" (Phinney & Ong, 2007 p. 274), while ethnic identity has been explored largely with regard to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group which is defined by one's cultural heritage and language. In closing, an individual's ethnic identity is a complex and diverse construction which is in flux over time and space. As discussed so far, I locate ethnic identity in the context of a much broader, dynamic, complex, and fluid construction, negotiation, and positioning that varies across members of an ethnic group, and that refers to one's identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group.

Hybridity and Third Space

Some scholars have espoused the notions of hybridity and third space to describe the language practices and the varieties of shifting identities for multi/bilingual immigrant students, which typically involve collision and negotiation between their ethnic group and the mainstream (Bhabha, 1990b, 1994; Kang, 2013; Kramsch, 1998; Maguire, 2005). Such concepts inform the current study. Corresponding to a greater recognition of multilingualism, postcolonial cultural theorists have attended to transnational hybrid cultures, which are constructed by individuals both within and against dominant nationalist or imperial discourses (e.g., Bhabha, 1994). Simultaneously, there has been increasing recognition of linguistic hybridity (Canagarajah, 2005; Pennycook, 2001).

While reflecting the increasing global migration and the heterogeneous demographic populations in language classrooms, these theoretical innovations have also provided the development of heritage language education for immigrants (Leeman et al., 2011). Confronting essentialist understandings of immigrant students, studies demonstrate how cross-cultural/lingual experiences of heritage language learners can broaden possibilities and opportunities to enhance

their identities (e.g., Kang, 2013; Park, 2011). These experiences create a sphere called "a third place" (Bhabha, 1990b), meaning a particular hybrid boundary shaped by continuous conflict, confrontations, and negotiation between the two cultures and languages.

Hall's (1992) notion of cultural hybridity is intertwined with Bhabha's (1994) third culture or third space which can take place in not only colonial but also immigration contexts. The third space provides broader liberty for those who are to negotiate and translate all available resources in order to construct their hybrid cultures where new discourses and knowledge can be drawn upon and negotiated, and thereby constructing their identities. Hybridity is thus assumed to have an ability to subvert and reappropriate dominant discourses. As Bhabha (1994) describes, "The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation" (p. 2). The notion of cultural hybridity discards the notion of ethnic identity formation as a linear assimilation into the majority group or as holding the primordial ethnic attributes. As one aspect of cultural hybridity, linguistic hybridity gives rise to a different and new area of negotiation of meaning and representation (Bhabha, 1990b).

Employing the above notions, Kang (2013) shows that Korean American heritage language university students alternate between English and Korean and Korean is related to their traditions and childhood memories, while English is used as the basic tool for everyday communication. The Korean Americans position themselves as American or Korean depending on the situations, and further, they conceive a hybrid place for themselves, where they have taken on aspects from both worlds. Jo (2001) also asserts that heritage language learners' language practices reflect their ethnic hybridity and displacements and they structure their identities through continuous cultural and linguistic confrontations between their heritage language and the

dominant language, English. Similarly, Park (2011) argues that Korean American university

heritage language learners develop their heritage language proficiency in searching for a

comfortable sense of self and heritage language learning provides them with an effective tool for

expressing their unique identities and group solidarity, while assisting them to actively engage in

the social world. Through the narrative (third) spaces, heritage language learners make sense of

their multiple, contradictory, and evolving selves and experiences, and further advance new

possibilities for challenging social constraints. Socially prescribed understandings of ethnicity or

heritage language users limit their possibilities to maximize their potential and self-image (Jeon,

2010). The adoption of this broadened perspective of identity and ethnicity is thus meaningful

since it helps educators as well as heritage language learners better understand the interplay of

ethnicity, heritage language, and language learning, thereby highlighting the importance of

positive social arrangements.

To conclude, poststructuralists suggest a constructive vision of ethnic individuals as

actors who have agency and are engaged in a continual process of negotiating their ethnicities. I

explore not only how the learners position and construct their identities in their language

practices between their ethnicity and the main society, but also how they deconstruct the social

formation of ethnicity, race, and stereotypes that operate in everyday lives in conjunction with

normative practices (Brown, 2009; Luke, 2004). Evidently, they engage in a continuous process

of negotiation of fluid and multifaceted identities through practicing their identity positioning in

relation to their heritage language and culture and mainstream language and cultures over time

and space. This process implies the exertion of human agency involved in language choices and

identity positioning. The notion of human agency for heritage language learners is important as it

contributes to understanding heritage language learners' identity negotiation, and further to

helping those who are caught by sociopolitical constraints or stereotypes to empower themselves and attain more possibilities. Lastly, the notion of hybridity and a third place also provide a useful conceptual frame for exploring heritage language learners and their lived experiences.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings that I draw on in this study, while outlining my ontological and epistemological stances. My study draws on sociocultural perspectives in language learning and identity and language socialization, and poststructural underpinnings of language, identity, subjectivity, positioning, and power, and a strong belief in human agency. These concepts allow me to depict, interpret, and understand the various dynamic lived experiences of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadian university-aged population, their heritage language learning trajectories, and their alignments with social structures within multiple communities. These concepts also suggest a view of heritage language learners as social agents, who create their own meanings as historical subjects, developing their own languages and voices that constitute boundaries and expectations within a range of contexts.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the context and background regarding the topic and issues of this study. First, I briefly present recent demographic changes in Canada and Korean immigrants and their 1.5 and second generation children in Canada. I seek to better understand how the children of Korean immigrants have emerged historically and are situated in the context of the present day. Next, I introduce salient issues surrounding heritage language and heritage language education mainly based on the Canadian context and then explore opportunities to learn Korean heritage language in Manitoba. In doing so, I situate 1.5 and second generation Korean immigrant students in relation to heritage language education, focusing on their identity formation.

Demographic Changes in Canada

The ethnic and linguistic population of Canada has been dramatically changing over the last three decades with an increase in the visible minority population[6] (Statistics Canada, 2017a). European immigrants constituted approximately 61.1% of all immigrants in 1971 but have decreased to 16.1% of all immigrants in 2006, and to 11.6% in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017a). In terms of region, Asian immigrants have dominated recent Canadian immigration; Asian immigrants accounted for 748,700 or 61.8% of immigrants who arrived between 2011 and 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017a), while before 1970, about 9% of the foreign-born population in Canada were from Asia. Among Asian immigrants, Korean immigrants have been a growing immigrant group in Canada since the late 1990s, as it has regularly been one of the top ten source countries of immigrants to Canada since the 1990s (Statistics Canada, 2017a).

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[6] Visible minority refers to "persons, other than Aboriginal persons, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Employment Equity Act -S. C., 1995). Persons with non-European ethnic heritages are regarded as visible minorities (Kaida, Sano, & Tenkorang, 2015).

As of 2016, the number of people who reported a heritage language rose from 6,838,715 in 2011 to 7,749,115 and 62.6% of recent immigrants reported speaking a language other than English and French (Statistics Canada, 2019b). According to the population of immigrant mother tongue families, the Korean population was 153,425 in 2016, and in terms of the rates of complete and partial retention for 22 main immigrant mother tongues in Canada, Korean ranked fifth with over 90% of immigrants retaining their mother tongue, following Punjabi, Mandarin, Tamil, and Urdu in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2019b).

The Features of Korean Immigrants

Alongside the Canadian immigration policies which have overtly privileged those who have high levels of human capital or business skills and financial assets (Reitz, Curtis, & Elrick, 2013), Korean immigrants are mostly highly educated and either highly skilled or business immigrants and belonged to the middle class[7] in Korea (Kwak, 2008; Park, 2001). In terms of geographic distribution, Korean immigrants are concentrated in Ontario and British Columbia, accounting for about 83% of Korean immigrants to Canada (The Canadian Magazine of Immigration, 2016). Due to a well-established network of Korean ethnic communities, they tend to prefer big cities in English-speaking provinces.

Motivations of migration: Children's education and quality of life. Several studies suggest that children's education and quality of life have been the main impetuses behind Korean migration, which are similar to the migration motivations of other ethnic groups, as well as the well-established social welfare system, safety, and peaceful images of Canada (Kwak, 2008; Noh et al., 2012b; Song, 2010; Yoon, 2014). There are, however, other reasons regarding quality of

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[7] The middle class is defined as the segment earning 50% to 150% of the median equalized disposable income (taking into account household size), which is the standard used by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

life for families and children that are uniquely "Korean." Kwak (2008) and Hong (2008) find that the Korean immigrants in their studies were significantly affected by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) crisis or 1997 Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s and its socioeconomic instability. In their studies, motivations for immigration were identified as better living opportunities and children's education, English language education, idealized aspiration to Western culture, and escaping gender discrimination and Confucian family structure in Korea. Hong (2008) also stresses gender equity as an important migration motive for highly skilled women immigrants.

Yoon's (2014) study explores 91 households of Korean immigrants in Winnipeg and shows that the core reasons of migration are children's education (44%) and better quality of life (16.5%), followed by family immigration (9.9%) and economic purpose (8.8%). Korean immigrant parents in her study were more concerned with their children's education and future opportunities than their own. In fact, children's success tends to be understood in terms of not only the immigrant parents' goal but also the whole family's long-term project (Finch & Kim, 2012). Song's (2010) study also reveals the key migratory motivations of highly skilled Korean immigrants as children's education and quality of life, depicting their different pathways of re-entry into their professions in Canada and the importance of social identity as professionals for the whole family. Kim and Belkhodja's (2012) investigation of Korean immigrants in New Brunswick shows that due to the extremely competitive Korean educational environment and the excessive reliance on private education from early childhood and the reduced role of the public education system, Korean parents decided to migrate to Canada, which they referred to as a "children's paradise" (p. 80). The parents also chose small cities for a less competitive environment where their children can learn English and access higher education.

Common difficulties and sense of belonging. Common difficulties Korean immigrants in North America encounter in their adaptation include language barriers, employment, racial discrimination, health, interpersonal relationships, identity, and discrimination, which are similar to other groups of immigrants (Hong, 2008; B. Kim, 2013; Kim, 2001; Kim, 2008; Ku, 2000; Nah, 1993; Noh & Moon, 2012). In particular, B. Kim's (2013) research highlights high levels of racism felt by Korean immigrants in Winnipeg. Despite a strong interest in migration, many Koreans recognize that attaining permanent residency may not guarantee smooth settlement in Canada, and the adversities encountered in the Canadian labor market are a major reason for reversing their decision to apply for permanent residency (Kwak, 2012).

In terms of a sense of belonging to Canada, A. Kim (2011) conducted a survey study on 422 cases of Korean families including temporary residents in Toronto to explore the connection between transnationalism and integration. Transnationalism denotes a process of forging and sustaining multi-stranded social relations that link together societies of origin and settlement (Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1994). The participants showed a stronger sense of belonging to Korea (79.5%) than Canada (35%), but cultural, social, civic, economic, and structural ties to Korea did not appear to affect a migrant's sense of belonging to Korea or Canada; rather, emotional transnationalism and the length of residence were important for their sense of belonging. Overall, this study highlights that it is possible to have a strong sense of belonging to more than one place. Similarly, Noh, Kwak, and Han (2010) assert that transnational contacts with family members, relatives and friends are associated with lower degree of acculturative stress, an increase in self-esteem, and a decrease in depressive symptoms. Thus, transnationalism may offer an alternative model of migration and social integration. Meanwhile, M. Kim (2015) reveals that Korean immigrant parents show strong connections to their Korean heritage culture

and their heritage language practice, but they emphasize learning English to their 1.5 or second generation children. Therefore, immigrant children may not acknowledge the value of maintaining their heritage language and culture in Canada. Despite different degrees of acculturation across various domains, however, Choi and Kim (2010) stress that youth in the U.S, mostly second generations, internalize Korean traditional family values and behaviors, while maintaining a strong sense of ethnic identity of Korean American.

Recent studies suggest that the paradigm of the Korean diaspora is shifting, manifesting as transnationalism in economic, cultural, social, and educational domains (e.g., Finch & Kim, 2012, A. Kim, 2011; Kwak, 2012; Kim, Yun, Park, & Noh, 2013; Min, 2006; Noh et al., 2010). In the era of globalization, members of a diaspora traverse diverse cultural realms and identifications and are able to create new ideas and forms of expression (Appadurai, 1997). As Choi and Kim (2010) suggest, although Korean immigrant families appear to live more distinctly in the Korean culture than the mainstream Western culture, the Korean families show a new hybridity of a culture of family socialization by adopting new cultures and valuing biculturalism. More recent cohorts within the Korean diaspora, especially those who left Korea in the 1990s, tended to sustain multi-layered networks and social relationships connected to their society of origin, transcending localities and national boundaries while integrating into the host country and developing a dual identity (A. Kim, 2011; Yoon, 2012). I believe current 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians are situated in a dynamic changing environment, while being influenced by their first generation parents.

1.5 and Second Generation Korean Immigrants

When it comes to the children of Korean immigrants in Canada, there are only a handful of studies in relation to cultural and linguistic adaptations, identity formation, and heritage

language maintenance, and language shift to English (Cho, 2017; Jeon, 2012; Kim, 2008; M. Kim, 2015; Noh, 2012; Noh et al., 2012a; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Shin, 2009, 2016), mainly due to the short history of Korean migration to Canada. However, Korean communities are young, and the 1.5 and second generations are a growing population.

Originally, the term 1.5 generation was coined in the Korean American community to describe immigrants who arrived as children in the 1970s (Danico, 2004). Danico (2004) defines 1.5 generation as those who were born in Korea and immigrated to the U.S. with their families before the age of 13, have memories of Korea, and are bicultural and bilingual. She asserts that unlike the 1.5 generation, the second generation represents American-born Koreans whose dominant language is English, and do not have clear immigrant experiences. While Danico highlights the linguistic aspect, Park (1999) emphasizes the bicultural aspect:1.5 generations are those who immigrated as infants, children, or adolescents and those born in the host country "who practice aspects of biculturalism and multiculturalism" (Park, 1999, p. 158). Regardless, a flexible and broader definition of the term should be employed to encapsulate the heterogeneous nature of the population. Furthermore, in terms of applying the definition to other communities, it is crucial to understand the increasing diversity of linguistic and cultural minority communities and the imprecise borders between such communities. In this respect, this study defines 1.5 generations as those who have arrived in Canada before the age of 13.

Despite the diverse working definitions, the 1.5 generation is typically assumed to be bilingual and bicultural, representing their unique sociocultural experiences distinguished from both their parents (first generation) and their descendants (second generation). 1.5 generations are socialized in both Korean and American/Canadian cultures and convey the cultural values and beliefs of each, bridging disagreements between the two domains of home and the

mainstream, while constructing their particular sense of themselves and the world (Kibria, 2002; Shin, 2016). 1.5 generations in all immigrant groups may get the best of both domains, and they often function as "linguistic and cultural brokers" for their parents (Park, 1999, p. 140), but this often causes confusion and alienation by the contradictory state of not belonging to either culture entirely (Berry et al., 2006; Choi, 2015; Ryu, 1991; Talmy, 2005; Tse, 1998, 2000). However, we cannot clearly distinguish 1.5 generations and second generations in terms of their identity formation. Early literature tended to essentialize immigrant youths' identities often within reduced ethnic labels, but recently, scholars have asserted the multiple, shifting, dynamic, and creative aspects of identities of 1.5 and second generation youths, which are affected by sociopolitical environments and their transnational experiences (e.g., Brown, 2009; Jeon, 2007, 2010; Kim & Duff, 2012; Min & Chung, 2014; Shin, 2016). In this way, both 1.5 and second generation heritage language learners can be regarded as bilinguals despite their varying degrees of heritage language proficiencies.

Identity of 1.5 and second generation. As a line of scholars suggests (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Danico, 2004; Guardado, 2010; Phinney, 2003; Schimmele & Wu, 2015), minority immigrant youths in a multicultural society can develop multiple identities, which show multiple facets of belonging to their ethnic community and host nation. Ethnic identity and national identity are two distinct but co-existing constructs that are salient for members of ethnic minority groups (Schimmele & Wu, 2015). Noh et al. (2012a) explored the perspectives of 318 Korean Canadian youths in Toronto regarding the role of ethnic identity and national identity in relation to self-concept, "a product of how individuals subjectively and objectively define themselves" (p. 173). The findings revealed that both ethnic identity and national identity were positively related to psychological and physical self-concept. For Korean Canadian youths,

ethnic pride was more important for psychological self-concept, while Canadian pride and attachment were more important for physical self-concept. Also, being a foreign-born Korean (possibly 1.5 generation) was associated with lower psychological self-concept compared with being a Canadian-born Korean (second generation). This study confirmed the importance of the subjective sense of belonging and pride as a member of an ethnic group or host society.

Racial or ethnic stereotypes of Asian immigrant students, for example, such as the prevailing stereotype of the model minority (Kim, 2008; Pyke, 2010; Pyke & Dang, 2003; Quach, Jo, & Urrieta, 2009; Zhou, 2012), have not only silenced multiple voices from a variety of Asian immigrant students but also disseminated racial, ethnic, and gender inequalities in society. The model minority stereotype and some fixed notions of Asian immigrant students such as "Fresh Off the Boat" have largely impacted their social and ethnic identity formation, often limiting and essentializing their potentials (Jeon, 2007; Shin, 2016).

1.5 and second generation Korean immigrant students are inclined to use stereotypes in the formation of their ethnic identity. Noh (2012) conducted research with 31 second generation Korean Canadian and Korean American undergraduates in two prestigious universities, and found that ethnoracial stereotypes and gender norms ranged from strict patriarchy to gendered progressiveness in Canadian, American, and Korean families, and stereotypes often functioned as validation for the ethnic, racial, and gender inequalities in both Canada and the U.S. Second generations were confronted with the challenge to resolve conflict between their family experiences and the degrading perceptions of their ethnic, racial, and gender status, and thus, forming a "somewhat between" Korean and American/Canadian ethnic identity (Noh, 2012, p. 206).

Shin's (2016) study examines the hyphenated dual identity formation of 1.5 and second

generation Korean Canadian university heritage language learners in Ontario. According to Shin, ethnic and racial exclusion in a white dominant society appears more salient in second generation than in 1.5 generation identities. This finding seemingly counters against Noh et al.'s (2012a) finding, in which being a foreign-born Korean Canadian (1.5 generation) is associated with lower psychological self-concept compared to being a Canadian-born Korean, suggesting further investigation. Shin (2016) states that 1.5 generations tend to undertake their racial ethnic or hyphenated identities without considering them from the standpoint of the dominant group, while there is a discursive performance of self-Orientalism among the second generation identities, by which they internalize Western images of Koreans, which Kibria (1997, 2002) also supports.

In a similar vein, Palmer's (2007) study reports on the conflicts between Korean-born and American-born Korean American high school students based on their negative stereotypes of each other. According to Palmer, American-born Korean Americans thought they needed to help Korean-born Korean Americans become more American, since they looked too "Korean" and closed-minded. On the other hand, Korean-born Korean Americans felt sorry for American-born Korean Americans since they lost their Korean identity and heritage. Likewise, Kim's (2008) study reveals that the newly arrived Korean students at a high school in Canada designated a marginalized status to Korean Canadians who lacked "Koreanness" linguistically and culturally, thereby positioning them as the inferior Other. These findings suggest disparities between 1.5 generations and second generations in terms of their identity formation and the degree of acceptance of socially constructed stereotypes, although other individual factors are also important.

In terms of hyphenated identity construction, Choi's (2015) study of 1.5 and second generation Korean Americans offers insight. First, the participants in his study acknowledged the

unique duality of their cultural and linguistic background expressed in a hyphenated identity. The participants "want to be identified with the 'privileged' or 'most accepted' group" (p. 249), while recognizing the reality of not being accepted by the dominant group. Second, some participants regarded their Asian physical traits as a prominent marker to keep them in a different 'category,' which can contribute to the construction of an Asian identity, as Tuan (1998) reports. Yeh et al. (2005) also argue that physical appearance appears as a factor which may influence 1.5 and second generation Korean youths' racial and ethnic identities, since they feel discriminated against due to their phenotypes. Choi (2015) thus concludes that the dual/hyphenated identity is the product of how they are viewed by others as well as how they classify themselves based on their experiences; even though Koreans' identity is not seen as imposed or non- negotiable, Koreans' identity categorization is "still socioculturally dictated by the dominant language group's reluctance to fully accept them as 'Americans'" (p. 250).

Identity issues have been a core topic for 1.5 and second generation Korean youths, who differ in terms of negotiating their identities and responding to racial and ethnic stereotypes. Nonetheless, the literature suggests that both 1.5 and second generation Korean youths are continuously confronted with the challenge to resolve and negotiate the clash between their familial, ethnic, and social values, and stereotypes.

Heritage Language Education

Heritage language education has emerged as a new field of academic inquiry within the past two decades, especially after programming for minority language speakers rapidly increased in the U.S., Canada, and elsewhere since the 1970s (Lynch, 2014). Due to the adoption of two official languages and the policy of multiculturalism in Canada, the term "heritage language education" also appears to have originated from Canada (Duff, 2008a), representing the teaching

and learning of heritage languages and culture (Aravossitas, 2016). In fact, the choice of

terminology representing heritage language and heritage language learners has been a political

issue as well as an educational one, reflecting the multiple and contested nature of not only

languages but also historical, societal, and political contexts. Heritage languages fundamentally

suggest the identities and cultural and linguistic diversity of a range of minority groups, and

therefore, stances on heritage language education may eventually reflect the host nation's

attitudes and strategy of how to deal with diversity within the nation state (May, 2012).

This section examines the definitions of heritage language and heritage language learners,

the relations between heritage language and ethnic identity, and heritage language education in

Canada. I then explore opportunities to learn the Korean language in Manitoba and present

common challenges encountered in heritage language education in postsecondary institutions.

Heritage language and heritage language learners. Fishman (2001) emphasizes the

historical and cultural dimensions embracing Indigenous, colonial, and immigrant heritage

languages; in a broad sense, the term heritage language includes all immigrant minority

languages and Indigenous languages. The term heritage language in Canada was introduced and

came into use in the 1970s and 1980s, especially in reference to the languages of immigrants

(Cummins, 2014a). Following Cummins and Danesi (1990), this study defines heritage

languages as all languages except for Indigenous languages and the official Canadian languages,

English and French.

Scholars, however, have employed multiple terms that potentially overlap with the

concept of heritage language, such as mother tongue, first language, home language, native

language, language of origin, immigrant minority language or community language (He, 2010).

In educational settings, a heritage language is generally employed as "a language spoken in the

home that is different from the main language spoken in society" (Bilash, 2011, para. 1), which

overlaps with the more contemporary term plurilingual and has connections to family

implications regardless of a learner's daily use and fluency (Aravossitas, 2016). However, there

is a critique with respect to the term heritage as it can connote more of a connection to the past

and traditions rather than to the contemporary and the future (Li & Duff, 2008; Wiley, 2001);

thus, heritage might imply only the symbolic connections to one's ancestors, undervaluing the

communicative function of the language.

Gounari (2014) argues that heritage language is not a static paradigm that is assumed to

be delivered to descendants, instead it reflects an ongoing negotiation of social and political

contexts. As Hornberger (2005) claims, the terms for heritage language are contested and

fluctuate in meaning and therefore, the identities, knowledge, and purposes the languages deliver

are also contested and changing. In this sense, heritage language education is inherently a

political issue as differing perspectives on heritage languages greatly impact educational

understandings and inclusion of heritage languages (Cummins, 2014a; Duff, 2008a).

Accordingly, naming or labelling learners within the category of heritage language

learners seems to be a pertinent issue for many heritage language programs and research studies

(Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Li & Duff, 2008; Valdés, 2001). Definitions of heritage language

learners are important because they "shape the status of the learners and the languages they are

learning" (Wiley, 2001, p. 35), and thus naming learners under the heritage language label

involves not only learner identity and ethnicity but also institutional inclusion and exclusion.

Many university language programs divide their programs into a foreign language track and a

heritage language track, based on whether a learner has any heritage background or not (Carreira,

2014). However, there is a complex population of learners, so it is not easy to decide who

belongs to the heritage language track. Issues reside in determining not only who belongs to the group of heritage language learners but also who makes the decision. Polinsky and Kagan (2007) identify broad and narrow definitions of heritage language learners. The former denotes those who have a family or cultural connection with the heritage language without language proficiency, while the latter denotes those who acquired the language to some extent but did not attain complete proficiency before switching to the dominant language.

In terms of Korean language education in the Canadian context, the broad definition of heritage language learners may represent those who are grandchildren (possibly third generations) of immigrants who arrived before the 1980s. Meanwhile the narrow definition matches 1.5 and second generations, which my study targets, and takes their language proficiency into consideration. Regardless, my study adopts a broader definition of heritage language learners because although 1.5 and second generations are the target population, they are not necessarily presumed to have proficiency in the heritage language. I draw on Hornberger and Wang's (2008) definition of heritage language learners which emphasizes both "familial or ancestral ties to a language" and the learners' "agency in determining" their identity (p. 6), since this fits the focus of my study. In this way, heritage language learners are situated in particular contexts under larger historical and sociopolitical influences, in which their language learning and practices both construct and are constructed through their notion of themselves, relations, negotiations and positioning with others and a variety of social institutions. Their struggles and negotiations reside mainly between the dominant and the heritage cultures and language usages.

The Relations between Heritage Language and Ethnic Identity

A body of studies has focused on different influences of ethnic identity on heritage language maintenance of minority groups and identified a positive relation between ethnic

identity and heritage language fluency, maintenance, and development (Cho, 2000; Choi, 2015; Jeon, 2010; Lee, 2002; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Phinney et al., 2001; Tse, 1998, 2000). However, a direct connection between ethnic identity and heritage language proficiency cannot be assumed due to differing roles and understandings of ethnic identity and increasingly heterogeneous populations.

Most heritage language learners tend to show their interest in learning their heritage language because of their cultural identity; they want to connect to their ethnic culture (Cho, 2017; Guardado, 2008, 2010; He, 2006; Park, 2009; Shin, 2015). The degree of heritage language maintenance and development is also associated with the amount of contact one has with the language and one's ethnic community. Tse (1998, 2000) appears to be the first scholar who investigated the relationship between heritage language attitudes and ethnic identity development, inquiring whether language is a salient feature of ethnic identity formation. Tse (2000) confirms that the ability to speak their heritage language helps ethnic minorities develop their ethnic identity, and points out that in the cross-cultural/lingual juncture, minority students tend to believe that the majority group holds more values and higher status, which Bourdieu (1986) calls cultural capital; thus, they feel a need to adopt and to assimilate into the majority culture (Tse, 1998). Their adoption of the dominant culture, however, often leads to detachment from their ethnic culture, and this process typically entails ambiguity or alienation.

Through a survey from diverse ethnic families in the U. S., Phinney et al. (2001) demonstrate that heritage language proficiency is positively related to ethnic identity, parental cultural maintenance, and social interaction with ethnic peers. Meanwhile, Lee (2002) attempts to discern the inter-relationship between cultural identity and heritage language maintenance among Korean American university students. Lee asserts that cultural identity and heritage

language maintenance are strongly interrelated, and those who are more proficient in the heritage language tend to be more bicultural. Cho (2000) also affirms that heritage language proficiency tends to reinforce the ethnic identity of the participants who are competent in Korean by allowing them to participate in cultural activities to affirm their membership to the Korean community. Conversely, those with low proficiency of heritage language do not participate in cultural activities as much as their counterparts. Guardado's (2010) study of Spanish immigrant families in Canada emphasizes that heritage language is a starting point for learning other languages including English (a dominant language) and thereby increasing their professional and meaning-making potential; immigrant children's heritage language maintenance is regarded "as a passport to a worldview that went beyond the limits posed by narrower notions of identity, such as ethnic, nation-state, or even pan-ethnic identities" (p. 342). Heritage language maintenance and development is critical not only to ethnic but also national identities and developing cosmopolitanism, which is regarded as a worldly perspective that leads to novel experiences and broader social connections (Cho, 2017).

Regardless, recent literature contends that the positive link between heritage language and ethnic identity cannot be automatically guaranteed (Brown, 2009; Kang, 2013). The main argument the literature makes is that social assumptions and understandings of ethnicity in a multicultural society critically influence both heritage language users' identity formation and their heritage language maintenance. In Jeon's (2010) study on Korean immigrant youth in the U.S, she argues how different notions of ethnicity, particularly the dichotomous frame of ethnicity, either primordial or instrumental, restrict or create possibilities for students in constructing and negotiating ethnic identity. She thus disputes that educators need to encourage learners to develop perspectives which acknowledge the role of ethnicity in the heritage language

learning process and the new perspective of the ethnicity continuum can capture the dynamic nature of ethnicity. Through a study of Korean American college students, Brown (2009) also contends that heritage language proficiency is not automatically linked with ethnic identity for the selected students, and thus, multiple identities for heritage language learners are not necessarily a voluntary choice; the choice is socially and culturally determined through public sectors, and negative stereotyping is one critical source of identity conflict for heritage language learners. Given this, Brown argues that schools should strive for multicultural education and heritage language development should start from creating a safe environment, "especially in schools where heritage language speakers are protected from negative stereotypes" (p. 1).

Although there is controversy surrounding the relation between heritage language maintenance and ethnic identity, many heritage language learners show their interest in learning their heritage language with the aim of connecting with their ethnic culture (Cho, 2017; He, 2006; Shin, 2015), while for some individuals, losing their heritage language is like losing an essential part of their identity (Babaee, 2010; Kouritzin, 1999), suggesting the critical contribution of heritage language to (ethnic) identity. On this point, how researchers approach ethnic identity appears critical. As poststructuralists suggest, I adopt a constructive vision of individuals as actors who have agency engaged in a continual process of making, remaking, and negotiating their ethnicities. This view suggests the need to consider the innate nature of sociopolitical influence on ethnic identity formation. Individuals' ability to make choices about their ethnic alignment(s) is inevitably restricted by wider sociopolitical and historical processes, and thus, as May (2012) argues, "ethnicity needs to be viewed both as constructed and contingent, and as a social, political, and cultural form of life" (p. 12).

Heritage Language Education in Canada

Heritage languages and multiculturalism. Following the Official Language Act of 1969 by which English and French became the official languages of Canada, Canada first declared a federal policy on multiculturalism in 1971 and then adopted official legislation in 1988. Multiculturalism officially encourages the promotion of multilingualism as one aspect of its national identity, and this policy seems in favour of heritage language development and education (Duff, 2008a). Multiculturalism aims to avoid unilateral assimilation of diverse minorities into the mainstream language, and these ideologies eventually support cultural pluralism, in which all members in Canada are encouraged to maintain their heritage languages and cultures (Cummins, 2014a). The promotion of multi/bilingualism also appears grounded in the view of language as a resource and public efforts for language rights and cultural democracy.

Nonetheless, the reality of multiculturalism as an initiative for encouragement of heritage language education remains limited and disappointing at all levels of educational institutions (Cummins, 2005, 2014a, 2014b). The federal government ceased its involvement in heritage language since the early 1990s (see for more information, Aravossitas, 2016; Duff, 2008a), and heritage language education has since been under provincial control. Without any support from the federal government, heritage language education is marginalized with respect to funding provisions, number of languages involved, mainstream school instruction, and the number of students participating (Cummins, 2005). Furthermore, "there is no provision for a national mechanism of reporting the state of Heritage Language Education or an official registry of heritage language programs or a scientific agency to study the field," which serves as Canada's multilingual resource, and this situation seems "unacceptable after many years of claims that Canada is a world leader in multiculturalism" (Aravossitas, 2016, p. 6).

In addition, as Bale (2010) points out, "despite the fact that the term *heritage language* was coined in Canada," there is almost no recent research on Canadian heritage language education policy after the 1990s. Churchill (2003) points out that "current policies do not force integration but nevertheless result in considerable degrees of language shift over short periods and in adoption of a Canadian civic identity" (p.32). In fact, Jedwab's (2014) analysis of the retention of non-official languages reveals progressively faster assimilation of linguistic minorities into the mainstream and rapid loss of their home languages, especially in groups of European background. In this respect, "if the retention of non-official languages is considered an important dimension of ethnic persistence then the evidence here clearly contradicts the view that cultural transmission is being encouraged via federal policies" (Jedwab, 2014, p. 252). Canada, despite its multiculturalism policy, has neglected to develop or implement educational policies designed to conserve the heritage language resources of minority language students.

When it comes to heritage language education in postsecondary institutions, linguistic diversity and multilingualism are not promoted in college and university classrooms, and there is little effort to promote and teach minority languages (Duff, 2008a; Kiernan, 2011, 2014). Kiernan (2011, 2014) shows that there does not seem to be any heritage language that is used as a medium of instruction (i.e., not as a subject) in university courses, which can engage and serve allophone postsecondary students; Kiernan argues that in higher education, monolingualism or English hegemony appears pervasive and although university students represent great ethno-linguistic diversity, this diversity is predominantly restrained to home and communities.

Heritage language education in Manitoba. Education in Canada is under provincial jurisdiction and opportunities to learn heritage languages vary from province to province. Based on the provincial policies, heritage languages can be learned at Canadian schools in dual track or

transitional bilingual programs or as a subject. The instructional time designated to heritage

language instruction also varies from program to program and province to province. In Western

Canada, heritage language learners have the option to enroll in intensive bilingual programs for

the most common heritage languages. In dual track bilingual programs, a heritage language is

used as a medium of instruction, with the second language (L2) being used for up to 40% or 50%

of class time. In transitional early exit and late exit bilingual programs, linguistic minority

students attain heritage language medium instruction for a few years (e.g., one to three years in

early exit and five to six years in late exit programs) before transferring to the L2 medium

classrooms (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarthy, 2008). Moreover, those whose heritage language is

not taught in their day school can enroll in after school or weekend programs conducted by

community levels under provincial support (Duff, 2008a). As my study is situated in the context

of Manitoba, I introduce heritage language education in Manitoba without reviewing all

provincial contexts for heritage language programs (for more information, see Aravossitas, 2016;

Cummins, 2014a; Duff, 2008a).

In Manitoba, heritage language education has been a part of Manitoba's educational

system since the 1870s (Aravossitas, 2016). A heritage language has been allowed to be used as

the medium of instruction for up to 50% of the school day in bilingual programs (Manitoba

Education & Training, Policy for Heritage Language Education, 2018). Currently, there are four

bilingual programs which include English/Ukrainian, English/Hebrew, English/German

programs, and English/Cree. Other heritage languages offered in Manitoba public schools

include Ukrainian, Portuguese, Spanish, Mandarin Chinese, Filipino, German, Japanese, and

Hebrew. Cree and Ojibwe are also offered in Manitoba schools. The languages are taught as a

regular subject, as a medium language of instruction (bilingual heritage language program), and

as a language of instruction in an enhanced heritage language program. However, Korean is not included in any school heritage language programs in Manitoba. Without any access to heritage language learning opportunities in the K-12 school system, Korean immigrant students must rely on home and communities for their heritage language development and maintenance.

Manitoba Education and Training (2019a), however, provides the Special Language Credit Option, which is a credit granting system that permits students in high school to attain credits for proficiency in heritage languages either through taking special language examinations or recognition of non-Manitoba Education credentials that demonstrate prior instruction or proficiency in heritage languages.

Opportunities to learn Korean in Manitoba. In general, heritage language education takes place in the domains of school, communities, home, and private lessons. In this section, I describe various opportunities to learn Korean in community and (postsecondary) institutional levels in Manitoba.

First, there are two community-based Korean programs in Winnipeg which offer the opportunities to learn Korean: The Manitoba Korean Canadian Heritage Language School and the Manitoba Saesoon Korean Language School (Saesoon School). The Manitoba Korean Heritage School was founded in 1978 by a few community leaders and is funded by the Canadian federal government. This Saturday school is a non-government, charitable organization that offers Korean heritage language programs and cultural classes in Winnipeg (which take place at Grant Park High School). The classes are open to those in the general public aged 4 and above with an interest in Korean language and culture. Regardless, most students consist of Korean immigrant children, but adult foreign language learners are also enrolled. The budget relies on the student tuition fees, support from the provincial government and the Korean

government, Korean ethnic communities such as the Korean Society of Manitoba, and charitable donations. However, the language classes are not transferable for academic credits. There is also Saesoon School established recently and administered by a Korean Presbyterian church in Winnipeg. The Korean language program had been limited to church members, but the classes have been open to the general public since 2014. Additionally, some Korean churches (there are approximately 15 churches total in Winnipeg) provide Korean language instruction with their religious classes for Korean children and youth.

Second, there are two Korean language programs offered as credit courses at postsecondary institutions in Manitoba, which are the University of Manitoba and the University of Winnipeg. Upon students' request, the University of Manitoba[8] offered a two-semester introductory Korean language credit course through the Asian Studies Centre for the first time in 2011. The Korean program was successful and popular, and in 2012, an intermediate Korean course was added. The maximum capacity is 30 students for the introductory class and 25 students for the intermediate class, and about 1 to 5 students in each class are Korean heritage language learners, either 1.5 or second generation students. Although both classes are open to heritage language learners and foreign language learners, Korean heritage language learners must take a placement test before enrolment to determine their proficiency. Some of them are assessed to be at the level of Advanced Korean, even though the University of Manitoba has not yet offered a Korean course at the advanced level.

The University of Winnipeg offered an introductory Korean credit course in 2012, and an intermediate Korean course in 2014 through the Department of East Asian Studies. However, the University of Winnipeg has been offering only an introductory course since 2016 and restarted

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[8] Regardless, there had been Korean conversational language courses that are non-credit evening classes and administered by the Extended Education program at the University of Manitoba.

an intermediate course in 2019. The University of Winnipeg ceased to provide a non-credit

evening Korean class after the credit course was established. To conclude, the university Korean

language programs are the only institutional formal opportunities for Korean heritage language

learners to explore their heritage language with academic credits, in addition to a few community

weekend programs.

Postsecondary Korean Language Education in Canada

Canadian higher education is decentralized and operates as an uncoordinated network of

provincial systems (Jones, 2014). Moreover, there is little literature which focuses on heritage

language programs offered in postsecondary institutions across Canada. The first Korean

language credit course was offered at the University of Toronto in 1978 (Overseas Korean

Journalist Association, 2015). For this study, I sought out Korean language programs offered at

university levels across Canada, however, there does not exist a national or collective registry

with this information. Although the Korean Education Centre in Canada (KECC) in Toronto

provides rough data regarding Korean programs at the university levels that indicate that most

major universities and some local colleges across Canada offer Korean language credit courses,

there is no accurate data regarding the numbers of students and programs. In contrast, for

community-based Korean heritage language programs supported by the Korean government,

there is a national umbrella body called the Canadian Association of Korean Schools (CAKS);

the national body of CAKS provides data on the community-based heritage language schools and

professional development opportunities through annual conferences.

On December 12th, 2016, the first meeting for Korean education in higher education in

Canada took place at the University of Toronto with Korean government workers such as the

director of KECC and the consulate in Toronto, the director of the Culture and Public Centre and

the director of the Sejong Institution in Ottawa, and 12 Korean instructors and professors across

Canada (Kim, 2016). I participated in this meeting and we shared the different contexts of each

institution. After the meeting, the Canadian Association of Teachers of Korean (CATK) was

founded, and the CATK successfully hosted the first academic conference at York University in

March 2019. According to discussions at the meeting in 2016, most universities cannot

accommodate all students who wish to study Korean within their current programs. This

observation resonates with my experiences at the University of Manitoba, in that many students

are unable to register for the Korean introductory course and subsequently contact me attempting

to enroll into the Korean course. A lengthy waiting list system was adopted in later years. The

meeting also revealed a wide range of support for Korean programs, depending on the provinces

and institutions and their attitudes to the Korean language. Carreira (2014) underscores the

importance of institutional commitments to encourage heritage language education; this holds

true for both public K-12 and postsecondary institutions.

     The most salient issues surrounding heritage language education in postsecondary

institutions include a lack of heritage language programs to instruct diverse minority languages,

inequitably designed programs by which some heritage languages are included as credits while

other heritage languages are excluded (Duff, 2008a), and no or little effort on the part of the

governments and institutions to encourage heritage languages in higher education. Also,

common challenges in heritage language education in postsecondary institutions include

managing mixed classes, assessing the diverse needs of both heritage and non-heritage language

students, planning curricula and developing effective instructional resources and assessment

procedures, and providing advocacy for the legitimacy of heritage language learners while at the

same time attending to non-heritage language students' needs (Li & Duff, 2008). Within the

context of Korean heritage language education, mixed classes appear to create the most

challenges (Shin, 2009; Yu, 2008). There are different needs between these two groups of

learners in terms of their motivations, contents, and skill areas of the languages (Yu, 2008). Also,

there is a clear lack of appropriate instruments to measure language proficiency and many

instructors are not well equipped with the essential skills to effectively function in mixed class

environments (Shin, 2009). Meanwhile, Shin's (2015) study in the U.S. highlights the

importance of the opportunities to learn heritage language at a university for adult learners,

especially those who have not had opportunities to attend community-based heritage language

programs when they were children.

   Korean heritage language learners. Despite certain differences, 1.5 and second

generation Korean heritage language learners have often been raised according to Korean culture

and values (Choi & Kim, 2010; Min, 2007), and acquiring their mother tongue at home or

through ethnic communities. Studies confirm that Korean parents demonstrate positive attitudes

towards the retention of the home language (Kang, 2013, 2015; M. Kim, 2015; Park & Sakar,

2007; Park, 2009), although there is a complex relation (or disparity) between parental language

ideologies and their actual application in language-practice patterns, for example, co-use of

English and Korean (Kang, 2015). Some literature, however, suggests that once Korean heritage

language learners start school, their heritage language development clearly stagnates (Jeon,

2008; Kang, 2013; Kondo-Brown, 2005; Lee & Shin, 2008; Wong Fillmore, 2000). Kang and

Kim (2012) state that in terms of the language development and choice faced by heritage

language learners, they often show stagnation in the proficiency and use of their heritage

language once they start formal schooling, as they value acquiring English and school curriculum

more than developing their heritage language. Priorities on English and academic achievements

commonly function as a negative factor for many Korean heritage language learners.

Moreover, some Korean heritage language learners feel that the Saturday schools and the community-based programs intended to develop the heritage language are not effective and are discouraged by the fact that it is a class that the host country may not value (Lee, 2002). The situation, however, seems to change depending on age. Since Korean heritage language learners are already proficient at English by the time they enter college or university, they are interested in taking Korean classes, with the intention of reconnecting with their ethnic identity and reacquiring the language they used to practice (Lee & Shin, 2008; Park, 2011; Shin, 2015), and this shift toward pluralist language ideologies can create a positive impact on the heritage language students' language development (Jeon, 2008).

More importantly, university Korean programs that offer Korean courses for credit suggest the social recognition of the heritage language as legitimate knowledge. Offering minority languages in higher education provides many heritage language learners with opportunities to formally develop their heritage languages and experience educational equity (Kang, 2013; Lee, 2002). This experience can critically influence the learners' identity since language learning encompasses both cognitive dimensions and highly complex sociocultural practices through which learners' identities are constructed (Brown, 2009; Duff, 2008a; Jeon, 2010; Jo, 2001; Shin, 2015).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the overall context surrounding 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians and heritage language education in Canada. Identity issues have been important in studies on the children of Korean immigrants. Both 1.5 and second generation Korean youths face similar challenges in negotiating the bridge between their ethnic and

mainstream values and cultures and dealing with ethnic racial stereotypes. I also discussed some relevant issues in heritage language education in Canada, the relationships between heritage language and ethnic identity, opportunities to learn Korean in Manitoba, Korean heritage language education in postsecondary institutions, and Korean heritage language learners. The literature review confirms that heritage language education is situated in the realm of not only language education but also political issues including cultural and linguistic democracy since heritage languages represent diverse minority groups' languages and identities.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter begins with my ontological and epistemological stances rooted in interpretive and critical poststructural paradigms that inform this study. I discuss my approach within traditional paradigms, focusing on the complementary aspects of the interpretivist and critical and poststructural underpinnings. Next, I introduce the common features of a case study approach within a qualitative framework chosen to suit the goals and focus of this study. Then I present the research setting, the recruitment process, data collection methods, and data analysis procedures. I also discuss ethical issues and my position(s) as a researcher in this project, and the trustworthiness of this study.

Interpretive and Critical Poststructural Approach

Paradigms in qualitative research have evolved alongside postmodern and poststructural paradigms (Gannon & Davies, 2007; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011) and researchers combine multiple paradigms that are compatible (Creswell, 2007). I take the position that different non-positivistic paradigmatic traditions can be complementary, especially when exploring the complex and changing aspects of social realities. Commonly, non-positivistic paradigms share the assumptions that knowledge is socially and culturally constructed by individuals and groups, and thus the actors and the knowers participate in constructing social and cultural realities (Lincoln et al., 2011). My study largely draws on poststructural perspectives, which embrace both interpretivist and critical paradigms. Willis (2007) describes this confluence:

> Postmodernism thus questions the benefits of progress and challenges the idea that the scientific method is the sole source of knowledge. Postmodernism has been *critical* because it highlights the negative results of progress on oppressed peoples…It is *interpretive* because… [for] postmodernists true knowledge comes from knowing in

context, and we acquire this type of knowing in many ways, including the uses of "nonscientific" research methods. (p. 55, italics original)

The ontological position I have taken in this project is rooted in the interpretative tradition in which truth and meaning are socially and subjectively constructed based on individual interpretation, and therefore there are multiple realities. Individual meaning making is subjective and takes place in different ways (relativism), and thus is often contradictory, but equally valid versions of the world and realities can exist. Their meanings, however, "are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others…and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives" (Creswell, 2007, p. 21). Opposing objectivism, the interpretative paradigm postulates that "the reality we know is socially constructed. Researchers therefore have access only to a socially constructed reality" (Willis, 2012, p. 4). Simply, realities are "local and specific co-constructed realities" (Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 100), and thus this paradigm is also called social constructivism (Creswell, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln et al., 2011; Mack, 2010). For interpretivists, then, understanding reality means understanding both historical and contemporary contexts (Willis, 2007).

This ontological stance is intertwined with its epistemological position, in which individuals cannot be separated from their knowledge, and as such, researchers cannot be separated from the researched. Within this paradigm, the goal of research is understanding based on the participants' views of the situation, rather than making predictions based on generalized rules, and accordingly, the role of the researcher is to, "understand, explain, and demystify social reality through the eyes of different participants" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 19). In this way, researchers view the knowledge cumulated from the research not as stable and universal but relative to the specific culture, context or time within which the research was

conducted, and therefore transactional and subjectivist (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Central to this

approach is thus co-construction of meaningful realities; researchers "must participate in the

research process with our subjects to ensure we are producing knowledge that is reflecting our

knowledge" (Lincoln et al, 2011, p.103). This approach suggests "a dialectical interchange"

(Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111), by which varying constructions are interpreted and the chief

data collection methods such as in-depth interviews and observations of the research participants

are employed.

My study explores the complex aspects of identity construction of 1.5 and second

generation Korean immigrants in relation to their heritage language learning, by examining their

lived experiences and their own accounts of their experiences. I view their identity construction

and heritage language learning as social phenomena and the social realities consist of "the

meaning-making activities of groups and individuals around the phenomena" (Lincoln et al.,

2011, p. 116), in other words, constant interactions, relations, and negotiations within the

context. Additionally, their experiences and constructed meanings differ from each other,

suggesting multiple realities. I attempt to better interpret the phenomenon of their identity

construction and interpretive processes evolve "within a fluid process where individuals interact

to create shared meanings and differences emerge that requires further interpretation. In this

dialogic process, meanings are constantly adjusted and assumptions…are challenged" (Amalia et

al., 2015, p. 180). In this respect, I value the co-construction of meanings and knowledge with

the participants.

An interpretivist epistemology provides a lens to understand how meanings are socially

and historically constructed by those living in particular time and spaces in the formation of local

cultures and their own identities, so that I can discuss how people see their realities as situated at

a particular temporospatial context. Furthermore, I employ sociocultural perspectives in exploring the relation between heritage language learning and learners' identity that suggest the innately intertwined relation between ontology and epistemology. That is, learning is understood as a process of identification, in other words, that of "coming to be, of forging identities in activities in the world" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 3), implying non-dualistic ontology, congruent with poststructuralism (Packer & Goicoechea, 2010).

Next, my inquiry also draws on a critical paradigm as the research advocates for linguistic minorities and their identities and advances potential for social change. I recognize the marginalized position of linguistic minorities as social reality and I view identity construction as a process of constant struggle for power and recognition within society and interactions. Critical theory was "conceived within the intellectual crucible of Marxism" (Bronner, 2011, p. 2) although it is regarded as a "multidimensional term that continues to take on differing connotations and uses and is embedded in many different disciplines" (Kellner, 2008, p. xv). The ontological position of critical theory views the nature of social reality as an apprehendable virtual reality, which consists of "historically situated structures" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111). From a stance of historical realism, a critical paradigm emphasizes that human nature operates in a world that is based on a struggle for power, and this leads to "interactions of privilege and oppression that can be based on race or ethnicity, socioeconomic class, gender…" (Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 102). Critical theory fundamentally seeks to challenge the actual mechanisms of social domination and power in modern societies (Thompson, 2017). In this view, minority languages are marginalized in the mainstream, and minority language learners' positions often intersect with the socially and historically imposed positions of race, ethnicity, and language within society.

Critical theorists embrace the epistemological stance that research is conducted by the study of social, cultural, and political structures, oppression, and power imbalance, in terms of equity, inclusion, and social justice (Gannon & Davies, 2007), and the knowledge produced can transform existing oppressive structures (Lincoln et al., 2011), and expand human emancipation through consciousness and action (Thompson, 2017). The object of study and the subject of study are inseparably linked, and the researcher is part of the object inquiry; the knowledge produced should impart social change, change how people think, and contain an action agenda for reform (Creswell, 2007). Accordingly, this epistemological stance requires values and ethics innate to a critical paradigm. Knowledge is also presumed to evolve based on a dialectical process of historical revisions, which requires a constant dialogic process between the researcher and the researched involving more informed consciousness (Lincoln et al. 2011). Through a dialogical process such as in-depth interviews, knowledge evolves.

Following poststructuralism and postmodern movements, critical theory has witnessed a proliferation of new theoretical approaches, which "generated new discourses that were also assimilated to the cover concept of critical theory" (Kellner, 2008, p. xiv). Poststructuralism problematized critical theorists' assumed liberation (see Foucault, 1978) because individuals cannot pre-exist or stand outside of discourse. Critical theorists envision actual social change, by seeing emancipation and freedom of individuals "as a necessary and permanent possibility" (Gannon & Davies, 2007, p. 77). Since power is often presumed as oppressive and unilineal and enacted by the oppressors and the oppressed, freedom is a central goal of critical theorists, which can be attained through changing existing power relations. And social transformation "is dependent on a notion of subjectivity that allows some agency and incorporates possibilities for choice and for freedom to act in the world" (Gannon & Davies, 2007, p. 77). For

poststructuralists, however, the relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified can never be fixed, and language is fundamental to the construction of subjectivity (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2003). Agency is also conditioned by the positions made available to the acting, agentic subject, and subjectivity is always also subject to the available ways of being (Gannon & Davies, 2007). Poststructuralists further reject the absolute moral and truth claims of critical theory. Critical theorists thus eventually rejected static notions of hierarchies of social domination and disturbed disciplinary authority by criticizing the supposedly objective view based on universal reason and objective thought (Agger, 1991). However, they did not give up their Enlightenment thoughts: their belief in reason and the rational subject (Gannon & Davies, 2007). Critical theory was always "preoccupied with the normative validity of human progress, by the need to defend the political and cultural values of the Enlightenment and to expand the sphere of human emancipation through reasoned, rational consciousness, and activity" (Thompson, 2017, p. 2).

In this disjuncture, my understanding of power, human agency, and truth draws on poststructuralism. I view power not simply as repressive but also multiple, shifting, contesting, and paradoxical, in other words, both negative and productive (Foucault, 1978). As Foucault (1978) enunciates, power is not reducible to dominance, but rather transformative between force and resistance. I discard ubiquitous power relations that penetrate a whole society, while suggesting, "[w]here there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault, 1978, p.95). Based on this notion of power, I will discuss not only the sociocultural and political constraints which oppress linguistic minority students but also the possibilities and positions that linguistic minorities can project, rebuilding their surroundings. These critical poststructural underpinnings of power and human agency enable me to see that the socially stratified worlds not only constrain heritage

language learners but also push them to exert their human agency in dynamic ways in resistance, and thereby construct their identities.

Poststructuralism stresses the inherent resistance that people mount against their different treatment from others and social constraints (Agger, 1991). This poststructural underpinning supports a critical view of multiple and contesting realities or meanings of 1.5 and second generations and their struggles for power and their sense of themselves, exerted through their actions, positions, and negotiations, which are also socially and historically situated (Bourdieu, 1991). As a matter of fact, any project of critical theory enables thinking differently and thus opening the possibility for acting differently (Agger, 1991), despite diverging practices and conflicting models of critical theory at present (Kellner, 2008), and in this way, critical theory and poststructural paradigms are compatible.

Poststructuralism can also provide a means of addressing the divergences of critical and interpretivist paradigms. In terms of the foundations of truth and knowledge, a conventional critical paradigm places "the foundations of truth in specific historical, economic, racial and social infrastructures of oppression, injustice, and marginalization," while interpretivism tends toward "the antifoundational," which refuses to adopt any fixed standards by which truth can be universally known (Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 120). Within the interpretive paradigm, however, agreements about truth can be accomplished through community negotiations and as the result of a dialogue that moves arguments about claims of truth (Lincoln et al., 2011). Simply, validity can never be fixed but is shifting based on "means of community narrative, itself subject to the temporal and historical conditions that gave rise to the community" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 204), as poststructuralism postulates. Furthermore, as Schwandt (1989) notes, community narratives and discourses need to be bounded by moral considerations, a premise grounded in the

emancipatory narratives of critical theorists, and the democratic focus of constructivist inquiry (as cited in Lincoln et al., 2011).

In light of this discussion, the poststructural paradigm, which presumes the social historical construction of social reality and truth, multiplicity and fluidness of identities, ever-changing nature of narratives, and the locality and partiality of all truths can embrace and integrate the critical and interpretive paradigms. For my research project, as Norton and Morgan (2013) argue, poststructural paradigms can highlight how meaning is constructed across time and space, how identities are implicated in meaning making, and how power is embedded, and how power and knowledge are intertwined.

In summary, my research paradigm is interpretive as I seek to better interpret and understand the phenomenon of identity construction of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians in relation to heritage language learning, and simultaneously, my inquiry is critical as I advocate for linguistic minorities and their identities and advance social transformation. I undertake both interpretive and critical paradigms within poststructural underpinnings, following a qualitative research framework (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln et al., 2011; Willis, 2007).

Multiple Case Study Approach

Congruent with the paradigms, inquiry, and the goals of this study, I used a qualitative multiple case study approach. Case study investigates "a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident" (Yin, 2014, p. 16). Qualitative case study is thus conceived as "the in-depth study of instances of a phenomenon in its natural context and from the perspective of the participants involved in the phenomenon" (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2005, p.436), and offers "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such

as a program, an institution, a person, a process, or a social unit" (Merriam, 1998, xiii).

Case study highlights the features of the bounded system, the singular nature of the case, the significance of context, and the availability of multiple sources of information or perspectives (Creswell, 2007; Duff, 2008b). If one is able to identify the phenomenon of one's own interest and clarify its "boundaries" for investigation in terms of time, place or any substantial boundaries, it can be called a case, which can be distinguished from other research approaches. Case study can be criticized for its lack of well-defined and structured protocols, which makes it "a contested terrain" (Yazan, 2015, p. 134); however, divergent practices of qualitative inquiry (Lincoln et al., 2011) may render more flexibility and applicability for the case study to be used in a wider array of various studies.

The primary intent of this study is an in-depth description and understanding of realities experienced by the participants and the identity construction of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians, focusing on their contexts where their heritage language learning and identity construction is situated. I also investigate the participants' heritage language learning experience at the university and their meaning making. Thus, their institutional heritage language learning experience binds them, constituting each heritage language learner as a case. The agenda of the inquiry and research goals fit well with the abovementioned definitions and insights on case study. As such, I explored the interplay of identity construction and heritage language learning within sociocultural contexts. I also employed a multiple case study, since the analytic benefits from multiple cases are considered more substantial and convincing. Further, I have compared the findings within and across cases.

The tradition of conducting case studies in applied linguistics and second language education also influenced my approach. In these fields, cases are studied in depth in order to

provide an understanding of individuals' experiences or issues within a particular linguistic or

social context, and thus case studies focus on sociocultural, discursive, and personal aspects of

experience and learning (Duff, 2014). The case(s) in the fields has been an individual (e.g., a

learner, a teacher, or a speaker) or a small number of individuals in a group (e.g., a family, a

class or a community of practice). Duff (2014) highlights that "[a]t the core of case study is the

case itself-the individual entity-which…constitutes one or more persons learning and using

language in such settings as homes, educational institutions, community settings, virtual worlds,

and peer groups" (p. 4), and multiple studies employ individual cases (e.g., Kim, 2008; Morita,

2004; Norton, 2013).

Findings generated by case studies have not only contributed to theories of language

development, learners' motivation and identity, and language socialization, but have also

suggested educational practices and policies (Duff, 2008b, 2014). A large portion of case studies

also uses qualitative research frames, focusing on sociocultural and personal aspects of the

participants' experiences (i.e., an interpretive paradigm). In this way, researchers investigate

what meanings are created by exploring the perspectives and experiences of the participants, and

thus, they focus on the interview content such as the changing social identity of the participants,

their social relations, and their sense of power and agency, or their investment in language

learning. Theories function as guidelines for case study and the findings obtained by case study

can generate theories or models, informing academia (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2014). Although the

small number of cases and the theoretical frames preclude generalizability for a large population

or contexts, a case study allows me to contribute to existing theories about language learning and

identity while informing practices and policies.

In summary, this approach was well-suited to my inquiry and enabled an in-depth

description and analysis of how 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians construct their identity by exploring their lived experiences and their own narratives. This research also sought to provide participants with an opportunity to reflect on their lived experiences and the social constraints and power relations embedded in their social relations, since research is regarded as a way of legitimizing people's voices and life experiences and making social changes (Brown & Strega, 2005). I often asked my participants about how they felt participating in this research, and many participants in fact expressed their gratitude for this research opportunity by which they could reflect on and analyze their past, present and future.

For this study, I define a case as a 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadian "individual." I define the boundary of the cases as the Korean courses offered at the University of Manitoba. My study is also instrumental in illustrating a particular issue rather than an intrinsic issue (Stake, 1995).

Research Settings and Participants

This study involved the Korean language program at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada. To review the history of the Korean program: upon the request of students, the University of Manitoba first offered introductory level Korean under the Faculty of Arts, Asian Studies Centre in 2011. Given its popularity, the program added an intermediate class in 2012. There has been a growing need for and interest in Korean courses at the University of Manitoba, often with full classes and waiting lists. Despite the popularity of the Korean class among students, however, due to budget cuts, in 2016-2017, only one introductory class was offered where usually one introductory class and one intermediate class are offered every fall-winter school year, and two introductory sections are open during the summer sessions. There is no advanced course in Korean.

The Korean courses are 6 credit courses, requiring an 8-month enrolment from September to April. Lectures run twice a week for a total of 2.5 hours excluding the weekly mandatory 1- hour language lab class. The Korean courses have a maximum student enrolment of 25 (intermediate level) or 30 (introductory level). Like most universities with Korean language programs, the Korean language program at the University of Manitoba offers classes to a mixture of heritage and non-heritage language learners. Most students consist of Asian background students including Filipino and Chinese background students with a portion of European background Canadian students. Every year, approximately 5% to 15% of the classes consist of Korean heritage language learners.

Students with a Korean heritage background are generally asked to complete an assessment or eligibility test and many of these students are not eligible for any Korean courses due to their high proficiency and prior knowledge. Usually, due to being overqualified for the introductory course, 1.5 or second generation Korean Canadian students enroll in the intermediate course, although some may start at the introductory level. The formal education in Korean and the length of time spent living in Korea are important criteria. Challenges occur if a heritage language student hides his/her real proficiency, and many heritage background students show weaknesses in writing and reading compared to speaking and listening, so it is often hard to assess their overall proficiency. In general, there are gaps in language proficiency between 1.5 generations and second generations as well as between individuals based on their previous exposure to and investment in Korean. Regardless, all heritage language learners including the participants in this study are regarded as bilinguals "at least to some degree" (Valdés, 2005, p. 412), since they use at least "parts of two language systems" (Chevalier, 2004, p. 1). As Valdés (2001) argues, the narrow definition of bilinguals as those who have equal proficiency in two

languages is too idealized and thus a broader view of bilingualism as a continuum is required.

Primary 1.5 and second generation participants. I recruited six primary participants consisting of four 1.5 generations and two second generations based on convenient purposeful sampling. The following was the eligibility criteria of the primary participants: the participants satisfied any combination of either 1 and 2 or 1 and 3: (1) those who have taken any Korean language credit course at the University of Manitoba; (2) 1.5 generation Koreans who migrated to Canada before they had completed their elementary school education in Korea; (3) second generation Korean Canadians who were born in Canada.

As the first instructor of Korean at the University of Manitoba, I have been teaching both introductory and intermediate Korean courses since 2011, and I have interacted with many Korean heritage language learners. Some students completed both introductory and intermediate courses with a two-year commitment, and this situation helped me attain greater rapport and trust with the students. I recruited former students who had already finished the Korean credit courses to avoid any power relations of instructor and student. Since I had been keeping touch with some of my former students including a few Korean heritage language students, I was able to personally contact them to recruit and also to ask that my contact information be passed along to other prospective participants. Also, I have often run into my former students on and off campus and thus utilized these opportunities to ask that my contact information be passed along to other prospective participants. I also included participants who had graduated from the University of Manitoba, as their retrospective narratives on their heritage language learning experiences at the university and their current practices of heritage language, such as the workplace, could enlarge my research agenda in terms of how meanings are constructed over time and space. See Appendix A and B for the invitation letter and consent form for primary participants.

Overall, I employed a purposeful sampling method, in which the researcher "selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and [central] phenomenon in the study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 125), and maximize variation to represent diverse cases, for example, variations in backgrounds such as 1.5 or second generations, gender, and age, to describe multiple perspectives about the case(s) (Creswell, 2007). Stake's (1994) suggestion also informed the recruitment procedure, in which "balance and variety are important and the opportunity to learn is of primary importance… without strong argument for typicality, weighting the consideration of access and the primary criterion - the opportunity to learn" (p. 224). Duff (2014) suggests the appropriate number of cases (individuals) for doctoral research as "four to six cases" (p. 237), so I recruited six primary participants and among them five participants were my former students and one participant took the Korean course from a different instructor.

The recruitment process was time-consuming because of my effort to balance the ratio between 1.5 and second generation participants, as well as male participants and female participants, although this was not feasible during my recruitment. For example, two male prospective participants declined my invitation, where one had already left the university without graduating and informed me of his rejection, but the other expressed his decline by not replying to my invitation. Although they could have their particular contexts or personal reasons for their decline, I also could not help but think that my gender as a researcher may have influenced their decision to decline, since all the female prospective participants I invited were willing to participate in the research.

Community leaders. In terms of gaining multiple perspectives and highlighting the importance of sociocultural factors in heritage language learning and (ethnic) identity formation

of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians, I recruited community leaders for focus group

participants. Community leaders are those involved in overseeing ethnic community-based

programs and organizations that support Korean immigrants and their children and identity

formation of 1.5 and second generations. Thus, I explored the community leaders' perceptions of

heritage language education and identity formation of 1.5 and second generations. As Cummins

(2014a) states, with little supporting minority language education in Canada, all responsibilities

of heritage language education and maintenance fall on home and communities. Perceptions and

narratives gleaned from community leaders who are also parents provided the local, political,

and sociohistorical situatedness of 1.5 and second generations and the Korean community, thus

adding valuable data for the case study narratives in terms of multiple perspectives.

I recruited four community leader participants through purposeful sampling. Community

leader participants included leaders involved in ethnic organizations in Manitoba such as the

Korean Society of Manitoba, Manitoba Korean Seniors Centre Inc., Korean Cultural Centre,

Korean community heritage language schools and Korean ethnic churches. Considering the

predominance of male community leaders, I recruited three male community leaders and one

female community leader. I also purposefully recruited community leaders who were parents,

and two community leaders were parents of 1.5 generation Koreans while the other two

community leaders were parents of second generation Koreans. Their experiences of not only

being community leaders but also parents of 1.5 or second generations contributed rich insights

to my study. See Appendix C and D for the invitation letter and consent form for community

leader participants.

Research Ethics and Researcher Positioning

Ethical considerations in the design and procedures of research are essential to any

research involving human participants, and common ethical principles must be considered (for the principles see Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Stringer, 2014). I informed the participants of all processes and ensured transparency of all research processes (Stringer, 2014). Even though I recruited former students to avoid any current power relationships, I was very cautious when recruiting the primary participants since their younger age and my position as an instructor may influence them especially in the context of the traditional Korean culture. I acknowledged and mitigated any possible power relationships between the researcher and the participants, I gave the participants time to decide whether they wanted to participate in the study, I informed participants that the research posed minimal risk and that it was confidential, and I reminded all participants that they could withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

In general, qualitative inquiry involves two dimensions of ethics (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). The first dimension is procedural ethics commanded by the institutional ethics boards. I submitted my research protocol to the University of Manitoba Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board (ENREB). Also, I submitted the Request for Approval of the Survey Review Committee at the University of Manitoba, since my study involved past or current students. In September 2017, I received approval from both bodies, and I carefully followed the policies and procedures of the bodies. When the primary students were current students, I obtained permission to conduct my research from or informed the department heads of the departments that the primary participants belonged to; some department heads granted me permission to proceed with the research if the participant had consented. I followed all the procedures to maintain the confidentiality of the participants, as prescribed by the ENREB.

The second dimension is ethics in practice or contextual ethics, in which a researcher handles some unpredictable but ethically imperative moments that arise in the field. In addition,

Ellis (2007) has added relational ethics which is about an ethics of care; according to Ellis, "Relational ethics requires researchers to act from our hearts and minds, to acknowledge our interpersonal bonds to others, and initiate and maintain conversations" (2007, p. 4). Relational ethics guided my research agenda since the primary participants (in addition to the community leaders) were selected based on convenient personal recruitment, and thus based on the relationship between former students and the instructor. Furthermore, my inquiry took an approach of co-construction of knowledge between the researcher and the participants, which entails trust and rapport.

In this regard, I continued to reflect critically on ethical practices at each step (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004), based on respect and reciprocity. For example, I always used the polite speech style with frequent honorifics rather than intimate/casual speech levels when interacting with the primary participants in Korean (e.g., before or after the interviews), although it was not culturally necessary as I was older than the participants. I reflected on my use of the polite style, which helped me uphold a certain distance and mitigate a power imbalance in relation to my participants. As Frank (2004) describes, "We act as best we can at a particular time…By remaining open to other people's responses to our moral maturity and emotional honesty...we engage in the unfinalized dialogue of seeking the good" (pp. 191-192). I also adopted 'friendship as method' (Tillmann-Healy, 2003) to assure relational ethics, and tried to function during and after the research as a friend as well as an academic or ethnic mentor for the participants.

As for the debate on insider/outsider, I am an ethnic insider in terms of the shared cultural contexts between the participants and myself. I share the same first language, culture, and similar experiences as immigrants in Canada, in particular, to those of the parents of the primary participants, albeit to varying degrees. As a parent of two Korean Canadians, I have been deeply

engaged in my own children's life journeys, identity formation, and heritage language learning, and I believe this position overtly and covertly enhanced the understanding of the participants in my study. I have been also involved in the research site as an instructor, which positions me as an insider. The "insider" positions can function as advantages in understanding and describing the participants' experiences in terms of accuracy and depth. Insiders' positions, nevertheless, may create a researcher's bias in data collection and interpretation, and participants can also "make assumptions of similarity and therefore fail to explain their individual experience fully" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 5). Hence, I was aware of the possible concerns related to the insider positionality through a critical reflection of my personal perspectives and biases at every stage. As an illustration, I had assumed that both 1.5 and second generation Korean families would use Korean as their home language, and that the parents would teach Korean to their children at home, but I soon realized that was not the context for each participant, challenging my positions and assumptions. As Kanno (2003) notes, the similarities can incite different challenges and successes and even construct different identities among representatives of the same ethnicity. In this regard, multiple methods were employed as an important dimension throughout my study.

On the other hand, I may be an outsider within the group since my experience is different from each individual. As a user and instructor of the standard Korean and as a first generation Korean immigrant, I was not able to share the primary participants' challenges, unique lived stories, and their particular micro contexts, since they are 1.5 and second generation immigrants. This outsider position was also helpful in terms of considering the contextual factors surrounding the primary participants from a distance. Importantly, a researcher should not make assumptions or take shared knowledge or experiences for granted (Jankie, 2004), and the outsider status can provide researchers with the opportunity to (re)learn and reflect what they know. In fact, every

primary participant provided me with a learning opportunity by which I could expand my understanding of others and their worlds. Regardless, the two positions of insider and outsider were mutable, and I was aware of the dynamic and fluid aspects of my positions between insider and outsider. The stories and experiences each primary participant shared with me were unique, and I adopted an empowerment approach that researches "on, for and with" participants and entails maintaining dialogue with the participants, engaging them in feedback, and sharing research findings and knowledge (Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, & Richardson, 1992).

Furthermore, I sought to create an inclusive research study, by which both the participants and the researcher can (re)design their multiple worlds, reflect on the practices of their identities, and extend their potential and imagination (Lincoln et al., 2011). I hoped that participating in this study and sharing their lived experiences and perceptions with someone else (the researcher) could function as an opportunity to reflect for each participant on their life journey, which may provoke them to reflect on and to rearrange their past, current, and future identities and realities. Although I did not measure their level of reflection, many primary participants explicitly expressed that they had never had an opportunity to voice their lived experiences or their identity confusion in depth through their own narratives, although identity issues had been one of their biggest concerns in their life. Many participants expressed that they were grateful for this research opportunity, since as Clandinin and Connelly (2004) argue, the participants were able to make heard the voices of the minorities whose stories had not been told and through their narratives, they tried to make sense of their past, present and (imagined) future experiences. Overall, throughout the research project, I realized that my position traversed from multiple realms, unfixed between categories such as insider or outsider.

Data Collection Procedure

I collected data from multiple sources, which help researchers attain trustworthiness of

the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Mills, 2007) and build an in-depth picture of the case (Yin,

2014).

In-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were employed as the main data collection

method for this study. This study required documenting perspectives and accounts of learning

experiences and identity construction of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians, and these

were gained mainly from interviews through the primary participants' narratives.

To gain a holistic understanding, I created semi-structured open-ended interview

questions. The interview protocol, however, differed among participants depending on their

background and responses. Among the six primary participants, five had face-to-face interview

sessions, while one participant, Steve, provided written interviews upon his request. All

participants except for Steve signed the consent form at the first interview session. I conducted

each interview session, and each participant had three interview sessions between October 2017

and May 2018, with each session lasting about 2 hours. The average total interview time was 6

hours per primary participant. Most participants preferred the campus as the location of the

interview, so I conducted interviews mostly in a small, quiet, and cozy seminar room on campus,

and once in my office for one participant. At every interview session, I brought donuts or

muffins and drinks to share with the participants at the beginning of each interview. I also gave a

gift card of $50 to each participant except Steve at the first interview session to express my

gratitude for their time; I prepared varying gift cards from Safeway and Starbucks to Co-op Gas

suiting the participants' preference. The participants chose pseudonyms and unanimously

selected English as their interview language since English is their strongest language, although

most participants and I used Korean off the record for informal conversations outside of

interviews. Each interview was audio recorded, and interviews were transcribed as soon as

possible. I transcribed the audio recordings of two participants' interviews and hired a transcriber

who transcribed three participants' interviews. The transcriber signed a confidentiality pledge

and data confidentiality and destruction procedures for the data were followed in accordance

with ENREB. Once the transcription for each participant's interviews was complete, I sent the

participants the original transcripts with additional questions and they reviewed and edited their

transcripts for member checking and answered the additional questions.

The first interview session focused on the participants' background information and

overall educational and lived experiences, and the rest of the sessions focused on their learning

and practices of Korean at/outside home and ethnic communities, and heritage language learning

experiences at the University of Manitoba, their identity formation and their heritage language,

and their views and negotiation of identity as Korean Canadians (see Appendix E for the

interview questions). In fact, conducting multiple interview sessions allowed me to analyze how

their narratives evolved over time, and in this way, as Talmy (2010) describes, interviews

function as a social practice in which the content and the interactional procedures of knowledge

production are embedded. I also made descriptive and reflective field notes during interviews

(Creswell, 2007).

As described above, Steve provided me with written interview answers. First, I met him

on campus, and he signed the consent form and received a gift card of $50. Due to his busy

schedule and his preference of having a written interview, I sent him the interview questions by

email, and he sent back his written answers. I sent him additional questions after reading his

answers for the purposes of clarification and elaboration, and he elaborated his answers.

However, I perceived some differences between oral and written interviews. For example, I could not catch the spontaneous reactions or feelings of the respondent to each question, and it was difficult to create more spontaneous dialogues which typically take place in face-to-face oral interviews. There were also limitations in describing in detail his life events and his feelings. Regardless, his unique experiences as a participant added a valuable voice to my research.

Focus group interview. One focus group interview was conducted with four community leader participants during the data collection period (see Appendix F for the interview questions). I conducted one 2.5-hour group session at the Korean Garden meeting room in Winnipeg. The purpose of the collective conversation was to attain multiple perspectives and glean the local, sociohistorical, and political situatedness of Korean immigrant children, focusing on heritage language education and their identity formation. Interview questions were semi-structured, and the interview language was Korean since the main language used by Korean ethnic organizations and community leaders is Korean. The interview protocol was sent in advance through email, the community leader participants selected pseudonyms, and I functioned as a facilitator during the focus group. Although the community leaders did not mind using their real names, they unanimously chose English pseudonyms. The interview was audio recorded and then transcribed and translated into English by me, and the participants reviewed the final transcripts for member checking.

Primary participants' past writings. Primary participants were asked to share any past writings such as journals, school projects, or personal narratives about heritage language learning and their identity issues, which were constructed before or during the data collection period, if any and available. These data were expected to be supplements for other data sources, but this data collection was optional based on the primary participants' willingness to share their

writings. In the end, only one participant, Jung-Ah, provided me with her essay regarding her

cultural identity conflict, which she wrote for her university course assignment a few years prior.

The essay was helpful since by sharing the participant's past experiences with me as a

researcher, it helped me gain a greater understanding of the participant's perceptions of her

experiences.

Researcher's reflection journal. Researcher's reflection journal entries were also

collected throughout the research journey. I wrote notes of my experiences and feelings as a

researcher and an instructor of Korean language at the university. Some ideas and thoughts

sometimes emerged randomly and spontaneously, so keeping a written record of my feelings and

thoughts throughout the whole research process helped me organize my ideas, while reflecting

on a researcher's possible biases, positions and the relationship between the researcher and the

participants. The journals or short notes were usually written in English, but I sometimes

wrote in Korean.

In summary, these multiple data sources helped me glean detailed information about the

primary participants for a rich and "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) and understanding of their

realities in relation to their identity construction and heritage language learning experiences. This

variety in the data also helped me establish the credibility of my findings, supporting the

trustworthiness of this study.

Data Analysis

Consistent with traditional qualitative inquiry, data analysis for this study was inductive,

Iterative, and interpretive (Creswell, 2008). Merriam (1998) defines data analysis in case study

as "the process of making sense out of the data. And making sense out of data involves

consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen

and read - it is the process of making meaning" (p. 178). Interpretive analysis focuses on

revealing the meaning-making practices of participants, while depicting how the practices

organize to generate observable outcomes (Elliott & Timulak, 2005). Stake (1995) proposes two

strategic ways for data analysis, categorical aggregation and direct interpretation, but he also

recognizes that researchers need to find the forms of analysis that work for them "through

experience and reflection" (p. 77). I was informed by all three methods of analysis.

For this study, data analysis and data collection were concurrent and interactive processes

constituting a dialectical relationship since qualitative methodology encourages an emerging

design (Creswell, 2007). For example, I often made additional interview questions to use in the

coming interview sessions that were tailored to each participant. Data analysis was more

concentrated as the study progressed, and once data had reached saturation. I first identified the

following data sources and made a case database for each individual which included individual

interviews, focus group interview, and reflective journals. I also added Jung-Ah's past writing

(essay) to her interview data. Once I started collecting interview data, I read transcripts multiple

times with verbatim notes (interview field notes), coded key words, recurring phrases, and

themes, wrote more reflective notes in the margin, highlighted sentences and paragraphs that I

found critical, and found emerging themes from each transcript. Then, I coded the emerging

themes of each transcript into numbers according to the related research questions, and sorted

them accordingly (Creswell, 2007). Journals or writings from the participant and me, as well as

reflective field notes from interviews were also coded and all data sources were utilized for

alterations in the ensuing phases of research.

I continued to make in-process memos and summarize the themes, which functioned to

address incidences within a case and across cases underscoring methodological concerns or

temporal interpretations developed from the earlier data. Thus, salient themes were generated from the collective data and I reflected on the themes as potential answers to the research questions. However, the data analysis process was not linear, and it continued until I finished this dissertation; I revisited the transcripts numerous times while writing and revising my dissertation and cited direct quotations from the transcripts. When I felt overwhelmed with the volume of the data, I went to back to the research questions, which guided this study.

Due to the nature of a multiple case study, my study involved two levels of analysis which are within-case and cross-cases. Each case was treated individually, and a cross-case analysis was conducted, once the analysis of each case was completed. A qualitative multiple case study seeks to build abstractions across cases (Merriam, 1998). Researchers attempt to build a common explanation that fits each of the individual cases, although the cases differ in terms of details (Yin, 2014). I focused on the complex configurations within each case and understood the particular and local conditions, and then identified patterns that surpassed particular cases. Finally, natural generalizations were formed as "conclusions arrived at through personal engagement in life affairs or by vicarious experience" (Stake, 1995, p. 85).

Presenting the preliminary findings at conferences also helped with the analysis process. Furthermore, my advisor provided me with a monthly opportunity to interact with her other doctoral students and discuss any issues I encountered from data collection to data analysis and presentation of the findings. Through discussions with critical friends or colleagues in multiple contexts, additional data analysis was conducted, and reflections were incorporated.

The Trustworthiness of the Study

In lieu of the positivistic term validity, referring to how the researcher knows that the data collected accurately gauges what she is trying to measure, many qualitative researchers use the

terms *trustworthiness* or *understanding* (Mills, 2007), which refers to how accurately research data and reported findings deliver the participants' perspectives on the phenomenon for the study. Lincoln and Guba (1985) identify four criteria which I used in my pursuit of trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility refers to the researcher's ability to consider and deal with "complexities" or "patterns that are not easily explained" (Mills, 2007, p. 85). Important techniques for establishing credibility include developing early familiarity with the culture of participating organizations, engaging in prolonged and in-depth observations, member checking, employing multiple data sources, and collaborating. To ensure the credibility of the results, I engaged in prolonged and persistent contact with the participants and I was available as a former instructor, researcher, and an academic or ethnic group mentor before, during and after the study. Overall, my insider position contributed to the credibility. I also recruited multiple cases, multiple data methods and sources and I utilized member checking to ascertain the validity of interpretation.

Transferability involves the extent to which information can be transferred to other contexts, referring to researchers' beliefs that the findings of the study are context-bound. This requires descriptive, rich, and context-relevant data and descriptions, so that those engaging with the research can vividly identify the similarities and differences, thereby enabling them to compare the instances of the phenomenon described in the research report with those that they have seen in their local situations. I provide sufficient detail of the local contexts in which the participants and the researcher are situated, to allow readers to ascertain the extent to which my findings might apply to other settings.

Dependability refers to the reliability of the data and confirms the documentation of methods and the interpretation process. Lincoln and Guba (1985) stress the connection between

credibility and dependability; a demonstration of the former goes some distance in ensuring the latter. This may be achieved through the use of "overlapping methods", such as focus group interviews and individual interviews. To address the dependability issue, the processes within the study should be reported in detail, thereby enabling a researcher to repeat the work in the future. In this study, overlapping methods were used and the advisory committee members for this project and critical colleagues were engaged in examining the process and products of the study.

Confirmability involves how the research findings are supported by the data collected. This is a process to determine potential researcher bias. The underpinnings of the decisions made and methods adopted should be acknowledged in the report, the reasons for favoring one approach explained and weaknesses articulated for the strategies or techniques employed (Shenton, 2004). This condition also requires reflexivity of the researcher where she discloses her underlying assumptions. In terms of findings, preliminary theories that are ultimately not generated from the data should also be discussed. I incorporated the above components, and researcher's reflections were also helpful to confirm analysis.

Conclusion

In this chapter I clarified my ontological and epistemological stances, which are rooted in interpretive and critical poststructural paradigms. A qualitative multiple case study approach was adopted to suit the goals and the inquiry of this study, based on multiple data methods and sources that involved in-depth interviews with the primary participants, a focus group interview with the community leaders, primary participants' writings, and the researcher's reflective journals. I discussed the research setting, the recruitment process, data analysis procedures, my position(s) as a researcher in this project and means of establishing trustworthiness of this study. This study sought to interpret and understand the perspectives and narratives of learning

experiences and identity construction of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians. The

information gleaned from their lived experiences provides a deep understanding of how 1.5 and

second generation Korean Canadians construct their identities as well as insight into the nature

and practice of heritage language education.

In closing chapter 4, I provide the following table of methods and sources of data

employed for the inquiries of this study (see Table 1), and the profiles of the primary participants

(see Table 2) and the profiles of the community leader participants (see Table 3).

Table 1

Methods and Sources of Data

Methods of Data Collection	Sources of Data Collection	Purpose of Data Source
In-depth interviews	Primary participants (1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians)	To understand their narratives and perceptions of their lived experiences, heritage language learning, and identity construction
Focus group interview	Community leaders (group)	To gain multiple perspectives and insights on the situatedness of heritage language learning and identity construction of the primary participants
Researcher's field notes & reflection journals	During and after interview field notes During the research period reflection journals/notes	To follow the participants' experiences To follow up on interview discussions To organize researcher's ideas To document researcher's reflections and possible biases
Primary Participants' writings	Primary participants' past personal writings	To better understand primary participants' experiences as connected to or revealed in the writings

Table 2

General Profiles of the Primary Participants

	1.5 generations (N=4)				Second generations (N=2)	
	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
Name	**Jung-Ah**	**Steve**	**Ariel**	**Minny**	**Jen**	**David**
Age	26	23	21	26	23	20
Sex	F	M	F	F	F	M
When they left Korea	12y	11y	5y	7y	Born in Winnipeg	Born in Winnipeg
Nationality	Canadian	Canadian	Korean (PR in Canada)	Canadian	Canadian	Canadian
Current Position	Nurse	Science student	Nursing student	Master's student in Arts	Accountant	Science student
UM Korean Course taken	Interme-diate	Interme-diate	Beginner	Interme-diate & Beginner	Interme-diate & Beginner	Intermedi-ate
Family Members	Parents/ 1 older brother/ 1 sister	Parents/ 1 older brother	Parents/ 1 younger brother/ 1 younger sister	Parents/ 1 older brother	Parents/ 1 younger brother/ 1 younger sister	Parents/ 1 older sister
SES	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	Working class	Middle
Residence with Parents	Lives with parents	Lives with parents	Lives with parents	Lives with parents	Lives with parents	Lives with parents

Trips to Korea	1 time	6-7 times	2 times	2 times	1 time	1 time

Table 3

The Profiles of the Community Leader Participants (Focus Group)

	Community Leader Participants (N=4)			
Name	**John**	**Jason**	**Doug**	**Jane**
Age	40s	50s	50s	Early 60s
Sex	M	M	M	F
Children	2 sons (1.5 generations)	1 daughter (1.5 generation)	2 sons (second generations)	2 daughters (second generations)
Past/Current Involvement in Korean Communities	Korean community organizations in Manitoba such as Korean Society of Manitoba, Korean community language schools, and Korean ethnic churches in Winnipeg, and Korean Cultural Centre			

Chapter 5: Overview of Integration, Heritage Language and Life Experiences of the Six

Cases

Introduction

This chapter presents the life experiences of each 1.5 and second generation participant, focusing on their heritage language learning experiences, particular contexts, and identities, mainly based on their retrospective narratives and perceptions. All six participants have their own unique backgrounds and thereafter different trajectories of heritage language learning and identity formation. Duff (2014) states that "a qualitative case study of a person presents a contextualized human profile" (p. 233) by which each individual's sociocultural, linguistic, and political environments are illustrated and analyzed. Considering familial, sociocultural, and political antecedents of the participants' narratives of their life and learning experiences can also allow an investigation of the interface between structure and agency, in other words, the complex interplay of the self, the other, and society. I describe each participant, characterizing their unique personal and sociocultural realms, focusing on their heritage language learning and identity.

Literature suggests differences between 1.5 generations and second generations, and the characteristics of 1.5 generations also vary based on the duration of living in their home or host country. Each participant also commands a different level of performance and comprehension of Korean due to different heritage language learning experiences throughout their life. Thus, there are differences in the participant's heritage language learning trajectories, their identity construction, and their integration experiences in Canada, which are interconnected. I classified the participants into three groups based on their duration of living in Korea, which can signify their level of formal education in Korea and proficiency in Korean. Starting with the participants

with the longest living experience in Korea and progressing to those with none, the three

categories are: (1) 1.5 generations who left Korea at the age of 11 and 12; (2) 1.5 generations

who left Korea at the age of 5 and 7; and (3) second generations who were born in Canada.

According to the categories, the descriptions of the participants follow in the order of: (1) Jung-

Ah and Steve; (2) Ariel and Minny; and (3) Jen and David.

I sought balance between providing a rich detailed description of each participant so that

the readers can effectively imagine each participant's experiences and protecting the

confidentiality of each participant. I was also attentive in describing the participants using the

principle of respect for their dignity as human beings. I tried to understand the participants from

multiple perspectives, without imposing my own values or feelings onto them. With this in mind,

I revised the participants' descriptions multiple times, allowing for my analysis to evolve each

time. To better understand the participants' experiences and perspectives, I also utilized my

multiple positions and experiences as, for example, a first generation Korean immigrant raising

children that were similar in age to the participants and a Korean heritage language school

principal/teacher who worked with a variety of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians. My

position as a Korean instructor who knew and taught five out of six of the participants also

shaped my description of their heritage language proficiency as well as their identity.

The following chapters represent my interpretations established through ongoing

dialogue, cooperation, and negotiation with the participants. This chapter offers a holistic

narrative for each participant as a case for the following chapters where I compare and contrast

participants' experiences and perceptions while answering the research questions. In terms of

quotes from the participants, I employed transcription conventions by which I denoted omissions

in the context and added supplementary words and phrases to clarify meanings (see Appendix

G). My reflections were constructed and gleaned from the interview field notes and reflection journals.

Group 1: 1.5 Generations Who Left Korea after the Age of 10

This group represents the highest proficiency of Korean in all language skills and heritage language maintenance in addition to home language use. Participants possessed clear childhood memories of living in Korea, and a high level of attachment to the Korean community and Korean identity. The motivations of the two families' migration to Canada were similar since both sets of parents disliked the competitive educational environment in Korea, desired a better place to live, and envisioned other life opportunities for their children.

Jung-Ah

Jung-Ah was a 26-year-old registered nurse who worked in a hospital for over a year since graduating from the University of Manitoba. I vividly recalled Jung-Ah from my class; although she seemed shy, she always looked joyful and was surrounded by close friends, and she along with her group of friends actively participated in class activities and created a relaxed environment for the class. When I contacted her for this study, Jung-Ah was eager to participate, and I realized that she welcomed an opportunity to voice her experiences as a 1.5 generation Korean Canadian. She earnestly wondered if other Korean Canadians had similar experiences or struggles in answering "who I am" and "where I belong," since she had rarely interacted with any other Korean Canadians while living in Canada.

When I asked Jung-Ah to choose a language for the interviews, she did not feel confident in conducting the interview in Korean and perceived her Korean skills as "very limited." However, she used Korean for any external casual conversations outside of the interviews and replied to me in Korean over email, later telling me that it took a long time for her to send these

emails as she had to look up words and check the spelling. Interestingly, Jung-Ah chose a

Korean pseudonym, unlike the other participants who used English pseudonyms or a name that

could be either Korean or English, such as Minny. These observations provided a greater context

for examining her attitude towards her heritage language and her identity.

Jung-Ah migrated to Canada with her older brother and twin sister and her parents after

finishing Gr. 5. Her parents disliked the harshly competitive educational environment in Korea

and sought to raise their three children in a place with greater freedom and better life

opportunities. Jung-Ah, however, reported that her parents faced difficulties in terms of

economic integration after migration, struggling with financial instability. Her mother was able

to get a job as a skilled worker relatively early, but her father, who was an engineer in Korea, had

to endure a long period of unemployment and downward mobility.

Jung-Ah started sixth grade in a small school which consisted of a mostly white

population, barely able to speak any English. Her shy personality was also a deterrent, even to

the point that she was not able to say the words "thank you" out loud. For her, acquiring English

and adapting to a new school were by far the biggest challenges and her parents were strict in

ensuring their children learned English and attained educational achievements. Jung-Ah recalled:

> In my home environment, that was difficult more than my school. My dad was very, very
>
> strict, so he didn't like us watching TV...They allowed it except he said you have to write
>
> phrases down from what they say on TV… so he would make us write those down and he
>
> would correct them… Yeah, he had a very Korean way of teaching. (Interview 1, Oct. 18,
>
> 2017)

Her father strictly enforced rules to ensure their academic integration; for example, they were

limited to only 30 minutes on the computer daily. Also, her parents did not want their children to

watch Korean TV shows or make Korean friends in order to push them to learn English and adjust to life here, and this behavior was quite common amongst newcomer parents. Jung-Ah expressed that she had little choice but to comply with her father's discipline as a child, although in high school, her father's control loosened; Jung-Ah recalled, "we have some foundation [of English] so he's now letting us do things...our own kind of things" (Interview 1).

Nonetheless, Jung-Ah's home language was always Korean as it was the most comfortable and efficient language for her family members to use to communicate. Jung-Ah perceived that this informal home language policy of Korean supported her heritage language maintenance; at home, Jung-Ah reported using Korean with her parents for almost 100% of their communication, and over 90% with her siblings. Being the youngest child also gave her access to practice her Korean with more competent speakers such as her parents and her older brother. However, expressions at home were often repetitive, thus, Jung-Ah perceived that her proficiency of Korean was stuck at the level she had when she moved to Canada, and she expressed that she was "a little ashamed that I'm not able to fully express myself in Korean but then because I'm starting to shy away from speaking Korean other than…my family members or people who I'm comfortable with" (Interview 1). In this regard, I was aware that one's self evaluation of heritage language proficiency is subjective and relative.

Overall, school experiences were positive for Jung-Ah. She mostly felt secure because she always attended school with her twin sister, and they continued to speak in Korean in informal settings. Not only were they twin sisters but best friends, and they explored the new environmental and linguistic changes together. Nonetheless, Jung-Ah's perception of her ESL[9]

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[9] Jung-Ah recalled her experience as ESL so I used this term; Manitoba changed the terminology ESL (English as a Second Language) to EAL (English as an Additional Language) after 2005 through the ESL Action Plan.

classroom experience during her first year at school was not entirely positive, since she felt that she could not access the regular class content and the natural non-ESL classroom environment as an ESL student. Another critical contributor was the English name policy enforced in her ESL class, which forced her to create and be called an English name against her wishes to keep her Korean name. She recalled, "the English name does not fit me," "…doesn't resonate with me" and "I don't respond to it either [if I am called by my English name]." At this point, I gained a better understanding of her choice to use a Korean pseudonym for this study. One year later, Jung-Ah finally entered a non-ESL class, which was the result of her mother arguing with the school for her daughters to enter a regular class. Her mother believed that ESL students were disadvantaged, having spent the entire day with other immigrant students and having fewer opportunities to use English, and Jung-Ah felt grateful for her access to the regular classroom since it was beneficial.

> My mom just asked me, why do you always hang out with Asian kids? Why don't you hang out with white people like your sister? I don't know. I guess I just feel comfortable more around them, I guess we have more to talk about because my friends are interested in K-pop and Korean shows. (Interview 1, Oct. 18, 2017)

As the excerpt above indicates, Jung-Ah preferred to socialize with Asian friends, mostly Canadian-born Chinese and Filipino background people, because she felt more comfortable with Asians based on similarities such as family-centered cultures, emphasis on education, and similar experiences as immigrant children. This connection allowed Jung-Ah to open up about her lifestyle and share Korean food such as Bulgogi and Kimbap with her Asian friends without feeling embarrassed or insecure.

Jung-Ah also recalled that many of her Asian friends started showing a keen interest in

Korean dramas, TV shows and pop music starting from high school onward. The global

popularity of Korean pop music and TV dramas, for example, the phenomenological popularity

of "Gangnam Style" by Psy, was felt in her high school, and her friends began asking her about

Korea. She was happy to answer their questions and felt proud of her ability to speak Korean,

and this situation suddenly gave her a new position as a teacher of her heritage language and

culture to her peers:

> I'm a little thankful to my friends, none of them were Korean…but they are watching
>
> dramas and it gives me something to talk to them about or I can share with them, all of
>
> the cultural things relate to that...I'm just happy that I have friends who are very open to
>
> my culture and it's very important. So, I don't think I felt the necessity to make Korean
>
> friends because my friends were kind of doing that... (Interview 1, Oct. 18, 2017).

Jung-Ah became a big fan of Korean dramas and K-pop, encouraged by her Asian friends, and

she further took an intermediate Korean course at the university with her friends who were also

interested in Korean culture. She was happy with this opportunity since she desired to improve

her Korean skills, in particular, writing skills and complex expressions that were rarely practiced

at home.

Regardless, Jung-Ah recalled that she had gone through a tough time due to conflicting

identities which shifted between being Korean and being Canadian:

> I identify myself as Korean and Canadian. However…I went through a cultural identity
>
> crisis for the majority of my teen years trying to fit in with one or both cultures…For the
>
> first few years in Canada I resisted Canadian culture and only identified as Korean.
>
> However, as the years passed, and I met newer Korean immigrant children I felt I was
>
> different from them. My Korean friends did not see me as completely Korean, nor did my

Canadian friends ever view me as a Canadian. I…felt alienated that I did not belong to anywhere…The inner conflict left me feeling like an outcast in a new place I had to call "home." I constantly weighed myself on a cultural scale, trying to determine which culture had the most influence in my heart. (Writing, 2015)

Jung-Ah wrote the above essay as an assignment for a course for her major at university. She wrote about an experience of loss that had been steadily causing her to question her sense of self. In Gr. 8, her Korean identity was challenged by new immigrant Korean students at her school, who were fluent in Korean and had different ways of speaking and behaviors. Her claimed Korean identity was confronted by "the real Koreans," and she perceived that she could not claim to be Korean any longer and should start claiming to be Canadian. She also lost her confidence in Korean and often withdrew from practicing Korean. For her course assignment, Jung-Ah wrote about the loss of her cultural identity and mother tongue, and her struggle of conflicting identities between the two cultures. The professor, a white Canadian who was born and raised in Canada as a monolingual, commented that he had never experienced nor thought of these kinds of loss and conflicts before. Jung-Ah perceived that her essay opened a new viewpoint for the professor towards understanding linguistic and cultural minority immigrant students' identity issues.

Feeling pride in her heritage, Jung-Ah expressed that the Korean language was "a necessity" for her to be Korean as language is "the essence" of one's sense of self and connection to the community. She also expressed that she would never lose Korean, articulating a strong belief in the intrinsic relation between heritage language and Korean identity. She began incorporating her Canadian identity into her Korean identity; even so, her Canadian identity was constantly in dispute by others despite her legal citizenship and having completed most of her

education in Canada. Although she felt Canadian through her everyday community of practice

such as her hospital workplace, her claim was frequently challenged by others:

>They just think that oh, you must be from somewhere else and a lot of people ask, where
>
>you are from? They can tell that I'm not a native speaker...And also, my appearance
>
>contributes to that because I'm not a white or an Aboriginal person. (Interview 1, Oct. 18,
>
>2017)

Her Asian phenotype and her non-native English speaker status rendered her in the perpetual

position of "foreigner", effectively excluding her from being accepted as a full Canadian. She

understood, "that's kind of putting me aside as not from Canada, they don't assume that I lived

here for a while." Thus, she felt "[f]rom my experience, from what other people are asking me or

judging, I feel like you have to be white or you have to speak English fluently or French [to be

Canadian]" (Interview 1). Jung-Ah wished that people would develop an alternative discourse to

circumvent assumptions, bias, and exclusion, and people should acknowledge others' ability to

speak their heritage language other than English and French.

Constructing a Canadian identity was another journey for Jung-Ah as a racialized

linguistic minority immigrant. Although Jung-Ah described herself as "timid" and "shy," she

was brave enough to voice her thoughts and critical perspectives that she obtained by living as a

bilingual/cultural 1.5 generation immigrant.

Steve

Steve was a 23-year old student, the only male participant among the four 1.5 generation

participants, who was applying to enter a professional school. Steve took my Korean course

several years ago, and I recalled that he was a friendly student who created a positive rapport

with his classmates of various backgrounds. When I invited him to this study, he was willing to

participate in the study and we met soon for the invitation meeting. However, I could not conduct

face-to-face interviews with Steve since he was leaving to go on a trip in Korea for more than

three months, and instead, I sent him the interview questions by email, and he provided me with

written interview answers. I read through his answers and then sent him a set of additional

questions for clarification, which Steve responded to.

Out of all six heritage language learner participants, Steve was the most fluent in Korean

in all four language skills. Also, as he expressed, he did not have any language anxiety, which is

often generated when second/additional language learners use the target language and interact

with more competent speakers of the target language such as native speakers (MacIntyre &

Gardner, 1991). Unlike other participants, as a result of his high proficiency and frequent use of

Korean, Steve always felt confident when speaking Korean regardless of age or social status of

the speakers that often impedes Korean heritage language learners' performance.

Steve was from a middle-class family, who lived in a satellite city nearby Seoul; his

father was a public officer and his mother ran a small business in Korea. Steve's transnational

trajectory started in Grade 4, when his parents sent him and his older brother to the U.S. to study

for three years until he migrated to Canada. According to Steve, his parents sought a better

quality of life and economic prospects for their children; for example, learning English would

accrue economic, symbolic, and global value and the children would experience a different

education in a multicultural country unlike Korea. Like Jung-Ah's case, Steve's parents disliked

the tough competition and the harsh academic environments in Korea such as extracurricular

schooling through private institutions called "학원/Hak-won/" and extensive studying.

Regardless, his parents valued the Korean educational system in terms of acquiring a huge

amount of knowledge and advanced content, so they did not immigrate until they perceived

Steve had learned sufficient information in Korea to live abroad.

Steve recalled that the overall schooling experience in the U.S. was enjoyable, although he was surprised that his school consisted of about 99% Caucasian students, and he was confused by his sudden status change to a minority. Even so, as he reported, "[o]ther than speaking English to communicate and get around, which was the major issue, it didn't take too long for us to settle in since…everyone was really nice to me too" (Written Interview). His life in the U.S. was positive due to nice friends, teachers, and the different education system, in which they pursued "a balance of academics and physical activity."

After 3 years in the U.S., Steve and his family moved to Vancouver, British Columbia. Canada was a new country for the whole family, but due to his acquired English and experience in the U.S. he had an easy adjustment period. Moreover, Vancouver consisted of various ethnic groups with a large Asian population, and the school he attended was highly multicultural with many Asian students, including Korean students. Steve consciously recognized the notion of multiculturalism as the distinguishing feature of Canada, which helped him and his family to adjust life in Canada.

As for his Korean, Steve expressed that he continued developing his Korean since his parents emphasized the importance of Korean as their mother tongue and a tool for family ties and communication. For example, they had a home language policy, and sent Steve to a community heritage language school in Vancouver when he was in Gr. 9. Steve also frequently visited Korea, about 6 or 7 times in total; all these practices greatly helped him keep up to date with the Korean language and culture. Steve described:

> While English is a very prominent and important language to have, I think it would be
> beneficial overall to have the parents emphasize learning Korean, at least on a common

usage, because of the idea of maintaining tradition and pride of our roots. My parents had rules to speak only Korean in our home which helped me a lot to keep my Korean fluent. (Written Interview, Dec. 22, 2017)

Steve reported that he usually used Korean except for unavoidable contexts such as when they had "home contractors, pizza deliveries, and other English-speaking visitors who come inside our house momentarily." In these situations, Steve often took on the role of translator for his parents, who required his help. Unfortunately, his parents never held a job in Canada due to their limited English, despite multiple attempts to secure employment. In general, for immigrant parents with full-time jobs, the long hours of daily separation can decrease face-to-face interactions between children and parents, thus impeding children's heritage language learning opportunities (Chee, 2003). Although this situation may not be financially possible for some, Steve's parents stayed home without economic integration to the mainstream, which might have contributed to maintaining Korean values, cultures as well as language in his home. In fact, Steve viewed that practicing Korean culture and language at home is a prominent practice of multiculturalism, and that this situation did not conflict with his social integration into the mainstream society as a Korean Canadian.

After three years, Steve and his family moved from Vancouver to Winnipeg, since it was easier to facilitate his family's immigration in Manitoba. He described that his new high school was also highly multicultural with many Asian students, and due to the multicultural school environment and his "open-minded" personality, Steve did not recall any hardship, feelings of isolation or any discrimination in adjusting to the new school. He stated, "I am grateful for the understanding people I met during my school years. Also, I was very outgoing and tried to communicate with them from a young age, so I never felt left out from my peers" (Written

Interview). Steve's experiences suggest how both embracing environments and one's positive attitudes interplayed in a constructive way, enhancing educational and social opportunities.

Steve made mainly Korean Canadian friends and he described that his Korean friends were an important part of his life, since they shared similar concerns, educational goals, and values to those of their parents. In particular, his continuous interaction with Korean Canadian friends expanded his domain of Korean practice beyond the home to social media such as Facebook and KakaoTalk[10] to communicate with his Korean friends. He explained his various practices of Korean:

> Despite moving to a different country, I keep up with the new terms, slangs, trends and events in Korea by watching…Korean variety programs. I listen to Korean music periodically…If there are major developments happening in Korea, I am usually updated through Facebook. Frequently, I read Webtoons[11]. Continuously absorbing Korean influences maintains the idea that I am a Korean living in a Canadian land, that I am a Korean Canadian. (Written Interview, Dec. 22, 2017)

Among the participants, Steve seemed to be most engaged in various types of Korean multimedia, and Steve perceived the strong relation between his sense of being Korean and his practice of Korean media. He also took the Korean course at university intending not only to improve his writing skills but to interact with those who were interested in Korean culture and entertainment. For his final group project for the class, he actually performed a skit based on a Korean TV comedy program, and at the time, I realized that Korean media could function as a useful tool for students' language literacy development.

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[10] Kakao is a South Korean Internet company. KakaoTalk (or KaTalk) is a free mobile instant messaging application for smartphones with free text and free call features, operated by Kakao company.

[11] Webtoons are a type of digital web comics, which originated in South Korea.

Unlike Jung-Ah, Steve reported that he rarely faced a critical identity conflict or loss of his Korean or cultural identity, since he made mostly Korean friends and often visited Korea. When he moved to the U.S., he once described temporarily feeling a "Korean waver" in which he was doubtful about his Korean identity due to the drastically different environment with a majority white population. Steve seemed to have constructed a solid dual identity of Korean Canadian, and proudly identified himself as a Korean Canadian:

> When I practice Korean outside the home, I feel very connected to Korea and overall, I feel a greater sense of being a Korean. As a bilingual speaker and having more preference for my native tongue, the feeling of being with Koreans and speaking Korean outside the home in a land that speaks mostly English brings a sense of fulfillment for me as a Korean Canadian. (Written Interview, Dec. 22, 2017)

Steve reported that living in Canada as a 1.5 generation was more beneficial to him, because it presented him with opportunities to have diverse experiences and develop greater maturity and embrace diversity, while maintaining his heritage language and Korean identity. When my data collection was complete, I heard that Steve was accepted into the professional school of his choice.

Group 2: 1.5 Generations Who Left Korea before the Age of 10

The participants in this group both left Korea at ages 5 and 7, but their life trajectories and heritage language learning investments differ in multiple aspects. Ariel lived in Europe for 5 years, and then moved to Canada, while Minny had lived in Winnipeg for about 18 years from when she migrated to Canada from Korea. The migratory motivations for the two families were also different, which influenced their life paths and heritage language learning.

Ariel

Ariel was a 21-year-old nursing student. Although she was not my former student, I had a chance to meet her on campus a couple of years ago when one of my students introduced me to Ariel, who was taking the introduction course from another instructor at the time. My student, a European-background Canadian, was attending the same Korean church as Ariel where Ariel's father was serving as a pastor. At the research invitation meeting, Ariel gave an overview of her transnational history of 5 years in Korea, 5 years in Europe, 7 years in Edmonton in Canada, and her life in Winnipeg since the final semester of Gr. 12. Notably, she held Canadian permanent residency with Korean legal status. While Ariel identified herself as a Korean who was influenced by the Canadian culture, it seemed that her self-identification as Korean was not necessarily influenced by her legal status. Ariel seemed quiet, and she used Korean for informal conversations outside the interviews, also texting me in Korean, even though her Korean was short and basic. Ariel reported that she used Korean with her Korean friends, home, and church, and yet, she admitted that she did not feel confident when she spoke in Korean with strangers or Korean adults, and her repertoire was very limited.

When Ariel was 5, she moved to a small English-speaking country in Europe with her parents and her younger brother and sister. Her father wanted to attain his master's degree in Europe in the hopes of starting a new career as a pastor, and thus, Ariel distinguished her family's migration to Canada from the other common migratory motivations shared by many Korean immigrants, such as children's education:

> We just moved because of our parents' jobs. We didn't choose Canada because it would benefit our education...they were glad that there are more jobs in Canada and the pay is better. But at first, they thought that Canada's school system is a bit slow cause Korea is more fast-paced. (Interview 1, Nov. 20, 2017)

Ariel recalled that her parents had a hard time in Europe due to their limited English. Her mother worked small part-time jobs to alleviate the financial pressure of her father's full-time enrolment as a student. At school, Ariel was the only Asian student among all white students, but she had a very pleasant experience at school, getting along with her classmates while receiving ESL support. She recalled, "Yes, it was really nice. What I remember was that it was really quiet and peaceful, lots of fields…places for kids to play around and you can go to the village and town just by walking…" (Interview 1). Upon moving to Canada, Ariel felt significant culture shock due to school assessments with "lots of tests," the student population with "lots of Chinese people and multiple ethnic groups" and different styles. For example, she recalled, "everybody had phones, everyone was up to style. They would dress a lot differently. We wear uniforms in [Europe] .... When I came to [Canada], they were all dressing up and putting makeup on. Everything was kind of a shock" (Interview 1).

Ariel reported that her parents consistently taught her Korean in Europe, engaging her in all language skills. They were strict on ensuring that the family spoke Korean at home once Ariel started forgetting Korean, and focused on teaching Ariel, the eldest child, compared to her younger siblings. Ariel described:

> It was ongoing. [My mom] just kept reading together, it didn't stop, it was an ongoing process until I came to [Canada]. After we came to Canada, she didn't teach me that much. Just like general speaking at home. When I came to Canada I did 한글학교 (Korean school). I did the church one, the church that my father worked at…I did on and off because I didn't really like it. (Interview 1, Nov. 20, 2017)

Moving to Canada provided Ariel with huge changes in her life. First, due to her father's job as a pastor, Ariel was actively engaged with her ethnic church, where she interacted and

practiced Korean with diverse Korean immigrants. Next, she met many Korean international

students and 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians from junior high school, and she

strongly desired to assimilate into the Korean friend group, especially with those who came from

Korea. Ariel also reported that she chose which schools to attend since junior high school

independently of her parents. She chose a high school which consisted of about 90% Asian

students, including a large number of Korean students.

Ariel expressed that the most significant factors in her heritage language learning and

identity formation throughout her life were her Korean friends at high school and her

consumption of Korean media, but these two phenomena were inextricably intertwined,

drastically impacting her language use, lifestyle, and identity. Ariel shared an episode where at a

church event in Edmonton, other Korean peers were dancing to the K-pop song "Gee" and one

girl asked Ariel, "You don't know "Gee"?" At the time, Ariel did not know about K-pop at all,

and she felt thoroughly isolated. Ariel soon realized that K-pop and Korean media were a

common topic for Korean peers.

> I felt Canadian in elementary and junior high, and in high school I thought I am Korean.
>
> There was a shift of friends and…changing views… because from that point I started
>
> hanging out with more Korean friends and Asian friends. It was around that time that I
>
> started watching Korean dramas and listening to Korean music, from high school Gr. 10.
>
> (Interview 1, Nov. 20, 2017)

As the above excerpt shows, the Korean friends at high school encouraged her to learn Korean

and be more Korean, and she desired to belong to the "real Korean" friend group, sharing similar

cultures, values, and interests such as Korean dramas with them. A shift of her friend group

gradually created a shift of her views, and her everyday interactions with her Korean friends

helped improve her Korean and build her Korean identity.

Ariel also admitted that Korean media significantly shaped her lifestyle and identity. She consumed K-pop "24/7" and watched new TV dramas as "a daily routine" since she found them more fun compared to Canadian shows. She also shared the same interests with her Korean friends and incorporated the fashion and makeup styles into her life, so "now it is my clothing style, the way I think, what I watch and what I listen to are all influenced by Korean [media]" (Interview 3). She also expressed that the more she practiced media, the more she felt attached to the culture.

At home, Ariel used mostly Korean with her parents since Korean was more comfortable, and she was able to convey some subtle contexts and emotions in Korean better than English. However, due to her personality, she interacted very little with her parents and the interactions were very repetitive in terms of language repertoire. Also, she used mainly English with her siblings, since they were not proficient in Korean, and had "an English accent" when speaking Korean. She also reported that her Korean was often influenced by her comfort level with her interlocutors. For example, when she faced some gatekeepers such as first generation Korean adults who were "scary" or "쎈" (strong personality) and criticized 1.5 generations' pronunciation at the church, she felt that her Korean performance as well as her identity was diminished. She recalled that when she was discouraged by some ethnic gatekeepers after moving to Winnipeg, the Korean course at the university was helpful since she could improve writing and the basic grammar and foundations. Ariel wanted to learn the basic foundations and grammar through the introductory course since she never had learned Korean formally. In the first years of the Korean courses, the assessment system for eligibility of students was not well established, and any students could register for the introductory course without any assessment

from the instructor. Ariel further perceived that Canadian multiculturalism encourages all immigrants to explore their heritage language and culture, and in this respect, higher education has the potential to exercise multiculturalism through heritage language education.

Nonetheless, Ariel reflected that her Korean background was not an advantage and she identified herself as Canadian until junior school. For example, she felt parental pressure and had conflicts with them due to the high expectations placed on her by her parents compared to the expectation from her school. As an illustration, in middle school, Ariel's father refused to sign a test that Ariel received a bad mark on, and Ariel's teacher just could not understand why her father would not sign it; while she understood that many Korean parents shared a strict emphasis on academic achievements, she did not know how to negotiate the conflict at that time. Regardless, she also admitted that her lived experiences taught her independence, understanding, and negotiation skills and thus, her bicultural/lingual life trajectory eventually presented her with an advantage of "knowing two different cultures, having that broad mind, being able to fit in to two groups" (Interview 3).

Ariel perceived that many 1.5 generation Korean Canadians suffer from identity confusion in which they feel attached to neither being Korean nor Canadian and that being Korean is more challenging due to the social environment. She highlighted the importance of having a Korean identity, because it is the part that she can "relate most to, find a common ground." She also believed that the Korean language is "the basis of what connects a person to their community", and "a huge part, because that's how I communicated or understood what I was reading, listening to, watching" (Interview 2).

Ariel suggested that parents and communities offer more resources and supports to young Korean Canadians while having an open mind to "their choices." In fact, during the

interview sessions, I observed that Ariel often expressed her strong agency, for example, "I

choose what I want to be," and "I just try to be as I am. Not let others influence how I am."

Although she understood the multiple influences of her surroundings on her identity, as seen by

her assimilation into her Korean friend group in her high school, as a young adult, she

highlighted her own agency in how to respond to the social forces. At the last interview, she

shared her future plans; she wanted to get a job in a bigger city and pay off all her student loans,

and then marry preferably a Korean, and when asked, she said that she would definitely teach

Korean to her future children.

Minny

Minny was a 26-year-old graduate student in the Faculty of Arts, who was actively

engaged in activities relevant to her future professional career. Minny took my Korean courses as

an undergraduate student, and we sometimes ran into each other on campus, where she would

update me on her former classmates, what she was currently doing, and her plans. She was

willing to participate in this research study, and during the interview sessions, she showed a

sense of maturity and deep reflection on her past experiences as a 1.5 generation Korean

Canadian, including her awareness of stereotypes which are often collocated with Asian

immigrants' identity formation.

In terms of language, Minny felt much more comfortable with English, and thus,

whenever I had informal conversations with her, I always observed a language shift taking place

during our dialogue. We initiated our conversations in Korean with typical greetings, but as our

conversation developed, Minny freely switched from Korean to English when describing

complex situations.

Minny was born as the second child to a middle-class family in Korea, where her father

was an engineer, and her mother was a housekeeper. When Minny was 7, her parents decided to migrate due to the harsh Korean workplace culture and the competitive educational environment in Korea, similar to the parents in Group 1. They wanted a better future for the whole family and fortunately, some of their relatives had already settled in Winnipeg. After moving to Winnipeg, however, Minny's father had difficulty getting a professional job due to his limited English and his Korean credentials which were not recognized by Canadian workplaces. He continued to work at a convenience store to support his family financially, and after about 6 years, Minny's parents bought their own convenience store. Minny thus described her parents as a stereotypical integration case, which applies to many highly skilled Korean immigrants. She also pointed out the negative impact of her parents' busy life on her heritage language development since "they worked from open till close so there wasn't a lot of family involvement teaching Korean" (Interview 1).

> [My parents] always tried to emphasize the Koreanness and maintain our Korean culture...when we came here, they would always show us, even now, historical dramas… [my mother] understood that was one way for us to listen to Korean. When we were kids she made us have 일기 쓰기 (Writing daily journals). She made us write to our grandparents in Korean regularly. (Interview 1, Nov. 17, 2017)

As she described above, although for the first few years, her parents "tried to…juggle things," but "in the end, life got in the way, they're busy and so it just didn't work out" (Interview 1). Minny perceived that her heritage language development was not fully supported, and her parents' approach to heritage language teaching, which presumed that speaking in Korean would be sufficient, was not as successful as expected. Minny also perceived the negative influence of her limited heritage language proficiency on her communication with her

parents, since she felt the language and culture barrier with her parents. In addition, English and

academic adjustments at school were the biggest challenge and priority, and her parents

prioritized English and schoolwork. Like Jung-Ah's case, her parents did not support Minny

interacting with other Korean children. Instead, Minny was encouraged to watch lots of English

TV programs so that she could learn English quickly.

According to Minny, she used Korean for 50% of her communication with her parents,

and only English with her older brother. When she was younger, she had used more Korean, for

about 80% of her interactions at home. Although her parents' English improved, Minny still felt

communication barriers and conflicts with her parents as she got older, especially when it came

to complex issues such as her future marriage with her white fiancé, "because the cultures clash

more, there are more factors involved" (Interview 1).

Minny recalled that her schooling experience was good overall. She started Gr. 2 at a

school with many Asian students such as Vietnamese and Filipino students as well as First

Nations students. Although she did not recognize stereotypes and the school populations' low

socioeconomic status at the time, she was often a "case study" for teachers and students in

elementary since she was usually the only Korean. Fitting in was most important to her school

life, and she made a strong effort to assimilate. For instance, in the beginning, she brought

Korean foods for lunch at school like "김치 (Kimchi) and 밥 (rice)," but her cousin told her

mother that "if she wants to get along, she can't bring Korean food," and ever since then she

brought typical "white people food."

When moving to a few different schools, which all had majority white students, Minny

gradually recognized the differences between her background and her Caucasian friends'

background, with a strong awareness of her ethnicity, her heritage language, and immigrant

position. She described, "Caucasians always have nice homes, food and it's more comfortable and have less rules. My parents never really wanted us to have any modern toys and stuff because it would have distracted us from our education" and "my Caucasian friends' parents' jobs are the standard, whereas mine, they work a lot and it's a very stereotypical occupation. There's bit of an embarrassment" (Interview 2). Minny admitted that she constructed certain stereotypes of her Caucasian friends when she was younger.

It was high school when Minny changed her perspective on her race, ethnicity and heritage language, which she often associated with embarrassment. She met many Chinese background and Korean students in high school, especially in her advanced school program. She began speaking Korean for the first time at school and realized the benefits of bilinguals, "That was really nice since I never had that before. We used it to our advantage to have private conversations..." (Interview 1). Speaking Korean was no longer embarrassing, although "when I was younger, I would have been more embarrassed... You learn as you get older that everyone is unique, and it doesn't matter. That I shouldn't be embarrassed" (Interview 1). In this way, she invested in heritage language by taking the Korean courses at the university since she desired to improve her Korean skills overall and after the Korean courses, she witnessed great progress in her writing skills and formal expressions.

Although Minny felt her Korean was not good, she perceived that Korean was key for her family communication and that there were advantages to be able to speak Korean, and she expected to use it in the future. Minny also perceived the critical relation between Korean language and Korean identity since language is "this key to unlocking these doors and becoming involved." Not surprisingly, Minny also perceived that Korean media functioned as resources for her educational and entertainment purposes, fulfilling her desire to keep up with the Korean

culture. For example, she reported, "it's nice to see the Korean scenery from the dramas, or what they're wearing or what they're listening to, or food, it's just one window into the Korean culture even though I know it's staged" (Interview 1).

Minny reflected that stereotypes or others' views of her and her ethnicity played an important role in her identity formation, especially when she was younger. Minny was very careful in choosing how to describe her past experiences with racism or stereotypes. She recalled, "In the early 2000s, at least in Canada, there was still a negative, not negative view, but that stereotype of Asian people" (Interview 2), and the social impositions in relation to race and ethnicity impacted her identity negatively. To negotiate her racialized linguistic minority position, Minny had to put in great effort to acquire English, even at the cost of her heritage language, so that she was not stereotyped as a FOB (Fresh Off the Boat), which she defined FOB as a slang "to refer to Asian people who have recently arrived in Canada and look and act like where they came from" (Interview 3). English proficiency plays a core role in the FOB stereotype, and in general, FOBs are associated with not being accepted in American society (Jeon, 2007).

> As a kid I always wanted to be more Canadian to fit in better and have white people food and watch white TV and stuff like that. Now retaining my Korean culture is important and I appreciate it more. I think the bigger problem is how I will pass the Korean culture onto my children, as a 1.5 generation parent. Especially when my Korean isn't great. (Interview 3, Nov. 28, 2017)

As the above excerpt demonstrates, her life experiences changed her view of herself and others as she matured. Minny expressed that she felt proud of being Korean and appreciated the ethnic capital she acquired from her parents, such as the value of education and hard work. On the other

hand, she also admitted that she felt more Canadian due to her everyday community of practices

which involved English and white Caucasian peers, and her heritage language use was limited

mainly to the home. At this juncture, how to disseminate Korean culture and values as well as

her heritage language onto her future children seemed to be a clear challenge to Minny.

Minny reported that while growing up, she felt comfortable shifting between the two

cultural and linguistic worlds since she could "pick and choose" her language and identity

depending on the situation. Minny reflected that her life journey as a 1.5 generation Korean

Canadian granted her unique and hybrid but simultaneously conflicting positions.

Group 3: Second Generations Who Were Born in Canada

This group represents second generation Korean Canadians who were born and raised in

Winnipeg and have a relatively lower heritage language proficiency and lower use of heritage

language at home. Unlike the 1.5 generation participants (except Ariel), the two participants'

parents did not share common migratory motivations such as children's education and were

based more on their economic and family situation. Regardless, Jen and David showed widely

varying familial structures, history and forms of interactions, which influenced their heritage

language learning and identity formation, along with their unique personalities.

Jen

Jen was a 23-year-old professional accountant who had been working for about a year

after graduating. It was harder for me to recruit second generation participants compared to 1.5

generations but fortunately, I ran into one of my former students on campus, who was also Jen's

classmate. I asked him to pass on a message to Jen to contact me, and a few days later Jen

emailed me. I then introduced the research study to her and then we met on campus for the

research invitation meeting. Jen was a student in my introductory and intermediate Korean

courses, and I remembered that she was very quiet and shy in the classroom, usually sitting in the back with a few friends. Regardless, she was a responsible and strong student, demonstrating excellence in her academic performance, although she rarely spoke in Korean. When I met her again, Jen looked the same with a slightly shy smile, but her new position as a professional gave her a more mature and subtly confident look. She used almost exclusively English during and outside our interview sessions.

Jen was born in Winnipeg to a working-class family as the eldest child, and in fact, she was the only participant from the working class. Her father migrated to Canada when he was in his late 20s following his entire family who had already settled in Winnipeg, and her mother came to Canada later based on her marriage to him. Jen's father worked in manual labour, and her mother was mainly a housewife but recently started working at a restaurant run by Koreans. Jen, however, claimed that her family was not extremely poor since they at least had a house, although she shared a room with her younger sister and brother until she was in Gr. 12.

Jen grew up with few interactions with her family, and family interactions in general were minimal except between her parents. Her parents rarely spoke English, and Jen expressed, "I don't think I've ever heard [my father] speak a sentence in English at home." Jen almost never conversed with her father, rarely engaged in conversation with her younger siblings, and had very little conversation with her mother. Jen even rarely talked with her mother since "it will start good, and then it will turn sour" due to "misunderstandings" and "different personalities." Jen used English almost 100% of the time for family interactions, her siblings used only English, her father used only Korean, and her mother used a little English for about 5% for her communication with her children. Regardless, Jen was the only child who could speak and understand Korean, so Jen functioned as a translator between her parents and her siblings:

I: In terms of communication, does it still work?

Jen: Yes, it's enough to get by. My mom speaks Korean, I speak English, there's no problem. It looks weird to other people, even Koreans.

//Jen: I speak Korean rarely in case my mom doesn't understand what I'm saying. I try to explain it in Korean, because I know how to say it in Korean, but sometimes she doesn't know the English. (Interview 1, Mar. 11, 2018)

Jen clearly perceived that her family was "still the odd one out" compared to many Korean immigrant families since her parents never encouraged heritage language, family conversations, and academic achievements for their children. Jen reflected, "if you know Korean… it's just a good skill. But we didn't learn Korean growing up. Our culture at home is different. We don't have family dinners; we don't eat together" (Interview 1). Jen sometimes wondered why her parents did not teach Korean to them, but she understood that things just happened that way due to her parents' circumstances; for example, she recalled that when she was younger, her mother always looked sad and did not have any friends.

Interestingly, she recalled that her parents loved watching Korean dramas at home even before the Internet was widely popular, so Jen started watching dramas as well, and this was the catalyst that she pointed to as sparking her interest in her heritage language learning. Jen recalled:

Starting in Gr. 5, I started taking an interest in Korean dramas… I remember I watched this one drama, 쾌걸춘향 (Delightful Girl, Chun-Hyang); the first drama I watched is my favorite, I watched it like 3 times…so interesting. Then I started watching more things … that's when I started learning Korean too; I decided I wanted to learn. (Interview 1, Mar. 11, 2018)

According to Jen, "that's what started everything" and "that also determined what path I took. I could have become like my sister or my brother," who cannot speak Korean (Interview 1). Her interest in Korean dramas and TV shows was the most important factor in her heritage language learning path. Jen learned Korean on her own, and thus, she also highlighted her internal desire or motivation as the very driving force that pushed her to self-learning.

Jen reflected that she never missed her past school experiences as they were full of loneliness and isolation. According to Jen, she attended schools whose populations were about 99% white during elementary school and 95% white during middle school. Jen often brought up the word "normal" when she was describing her school experiences since her Korean or Asian identity always differentiated her from her white counterparts, which made her question to herself, "why I am different," and aware that "I am on the outside," and "white is normal." In elementary she felt alone during recess and she had to ask other classmates and ask, "Can I play with you?" In middle school, she experienced being left out, always taking the "odd" number in any group work; for example, when she belonged to a group of 5 students, they went in pairs, and she "automatically" realized that she would have to do the work alone. Jen was also afraid of packing Korean food for lunch for fear of "what if I am bullied?" Fitting in was most important to her and she gradually learned how to fit into each situation quietly, without provoking any problems. Jen recalled:

> I was always floating around. I didn't grow up with one friend. Some people, they grow up with their friend since elementary school. For me, I'm always moving around. There was nobody like oh you're my best friend. Except for that one Korean girl in Gr. 3, but she was only here for one year. (Interview 3, Mar. 24, 2018)

The Korean girl mentioned had an American father and a Korean mother, and Jen recalled that

they played with each other and their mothers talked with each other in Korean. Jen experienced

a world where she had a best friend and did not feel embarrassed of her mother speaking Korean

at school; it had seemed previously impossible. Apart from this moment, Jen admitted that she

did not embrace her Korean identity and heritage language at school when she was younger, for

example, she did not want her mother to speak Korean in front of her classmates at school. Being

Korean was perceived as a disadvantage as it was hard to get along with other friends, due to the

lack of a cultural common ground.

 Intriguingly, her high school experience provided a critical point where she met Asian

friends, including other Koreans. She felt she finally had a group where she could fit in for the

first time and her belief in white normalcy was challenged. On top of that, the global popularity

of Korean pop culture also presented her with positive values of being Korean. Jen finally started

to accept her Korean identity, understood the value of Korean during high school, and felt an

even greater increase in the value of knowing Korean through the university Korean credit

course.

Jen clearly perceived the close relation between her Korean language and Korean

identity, "the fact that I know it, it's a huge role. Because if I didn't know Korean, I wouldn't

feel connected at all. I would just feel Canadian" (Interview 3). Jen also recognized the

fundamental role of Korean in family communication because if she did not know Korean, she

would not have communicated with her parents, like her younger siblings; in fact, Jen seemed

very proud of her bilingual ability, albeit limited, especially in her household.

 I just feel not 100% Korean but not 100% Canadian. In terms of language skills, I feel

 Canadian. But interest and hobbies, Korean. But also, at the same time, I didn't grow up

 in Korea, so I don't know lots compared to someone who immigrated here. So, I don't

feel Korean, I don't know much about Canadian culture completely...so in that aspect, I

don't feel Canadian either. (Interview 1, Mar. 11, 2018)

As the above excerpt describes, although Jen identified herself as Korean, she felt

shifting identities between being Korean and being Canadian over time and across contexts, and

sometimes she felt she belonged to neither. Only in language did she feel Canadian since she

used mostly English, but other than language, for example, her hobbies, foods, her childhood

memories, and home environment reflected her Korean identity. Thus, Jen was reluctant to

identify herself as Canadian, and felt as if she would almost be lying. Similarly, based on her

experiences, Jen viewed white Europeans representing Canadians as the *de facto* reality.

Jen proudly reported that she had successfully become the first professional in her family,

achieving upward social mobility independently. She felt much better having adopted an identity

and sense of belonging as a working professional, compared to her past as a lonely racialized

minority student. Due to her successful professional integration, she also perceived that her

ethnic background would not hinder her from her future career. At the end of the last interview, I

carefully suggested that she could be a social and professional leader, but she clearly answered

that she would be "a follower" trying to fit in any situation, due to her long history of sticking

out as a minority as well as her quiet personality. She also said that she would follow her

parents' laissez-faire style in heritage language education for her future children, since if they are

interested, they would initiate learning Korean like she did.

David

David was a 20-year-old student, who was applying to a professional school during the

time of the interview sessions. I was looking for a male second generation participant and David,

who took my intermediate Korean course, was willing to participate in the study. I had originally

met David when he was of elementary school age, at a community heritage language school where I was involved as a teacher and later as the principal. David attended the school for about 6 to 7 years, but I did not have any opportunities to see him after he left. When I finally met him again in the setting of a university classroom, his face still had traces of his younger self, and I became to be impressed by his growth as a young adult.

David was born in Winnipeg as the youngest child to an older sister and his parents, who ran a grocery shop. David was knowledgeable about his parents' migration stories and family history, demonstrating his strong relationship with his parents. Both his parents moved to Canada in their 20s based on personal survival; his father's family business went bankrupt and his mother's family lived in extreme poverty in Korea. They met in an Eastern city in Canada and both attended a college in order to achieve social integration, but before completing their degrees, they moved to Winnipeg for business and partly religious purposes after marriage. David distinguished his parents' case (or cases for many second generations' parents) from many 1.5 generations whose parents' migratory motivations are mostly based on their children's education and a better life. He perceived that his parents' different background also influenced their parenting style which conceded freedom and independence to children rather than strict control:

> Yeah, they wanted to just be able to have a roof over their head and eat. They
> weren't even thinking about having a kid…Luckily…that alleviated some of the
> pressures that most Koreans get about school, which ultimately helped me make my own
> decision to value my own education, which I think is a lot more empowering than some
> of the Korean students who immigrate. (Interview 1, May 2, 2018)
> David felt lucky that his parents use both Korean and English, so he had no

communication problems with his parents. At home, he used Korean about 20% and English about 80% of the time with his parents, although he used more Korean before he started schooling. 80% of his father's communication was in Korean and half of his mother's communication was in Korean; David thus felt that his father taught him more Korean than his mother through daily interactions. David used English with his older sister, apart from addressing her as "누나 /Noo-na/" (older sister), which is a cultural custom in Korea. However, David would freely switch to English when it became a serious topic or a deeper conversation. He also reported that his parents never forced him to speak in Korean, since his older sister struggled with her lack of proficiency in English when she entered kindergarten. David perceived that this flexible situation facilitated ongoing family conversations, and he strongly believed that home should be a secure place where one does not feel judged in terms of language proficiency. He expressed:

> My parents never forced me to speak Korean, nothing but encouragement, and I think that's the best way to get their child to involve themselves in Korean. As a 10-year old or a 12-year old, I don't know the benefits of Korean, I just want to speak in English with my friends, why do I have to learn Korean. If my parents just force me to talk to them at the dinner table like that, that can discourage me, I can be rebellious... (Interview 1, May 2, 2018)

David was the only participant who attended a community heritage language school in childhood, supported by his parents. Surprisingly, David recalled, "it was really hard for me to learn because… there was a language barrier and I couldn't understand the teaching..." (Interview 2). The majority of the students already spoke some Korean, as they were 1.5 generations and came from Korea, and the teachers used only Korean in the classes. His

struggles with the language barrier constructed his identity as "a terrible student," and finally he quit the school without finishing the program. Due to his negative experience at the heritage language school, he advocated for heritage language learning opportunities at universities because young learners may not only misperceive the social meaning of learning Korean, but also be sensitive to peers' views. Simultaneously, David also reflected that it was a great opportunity to interact with other Korean kids, since building up connections "with other people similar to my lifestyle, or my own issues" was a definite advantage of attending the school.

David recalled that his school experiences were enjoyable. He grew up interacting with various ethnic friends, exploring different cultures, since the schools were multicultural, consisting of many East Indians, Filipinos, Caucasians, and some Chinese and First Nations students. Despite the multicultural environments, he admitted that the common ground among friends was ultimately the mainstream culture or white European culture that was practiced and transmitted at school. Thus, David always strived to fit into the school environment, and "being accepted" was most critical to his school life, and this desire often led to distancing himself from being Korean at school. For example, in high school, David met a few Korean students for the first time in his school experience, but he deliberately avoided interactions with them, since they looked weird and "they didn't know the Canadian culture." When two Korean girls asked David to perform Taekwondo with them for school culture day, he was shocked and interpreted this offer as "social suicide":

> This is a social issue, if I was doing Taekwondo in front of my whole high school, I would get made fun of… in Korea, Taekwondo is an art, art of self-control. Here, it's a little bit more stigmatized, oh, you're doing martial arts when you're in high school, are you some kind of 왕따 (outcast). (Interview 1, May 2, 2018)

David was aware of his minority position and thus, he expressed that he could do it, "if 20% of his high school were Koreans," demonstrating how he had submitted to the unavoidable peer pressure and his position as a minority. Similar to Jen, his Korean background felt like a burden, since it did not conform to the mainstream Canadian culture or lifestyles, and it did not represent the common discourse for being "cool" at school.

Things changed with a dramatic shift of friends around the time David entered university. David reported that he was the only one to enter university among his high school friends, who pursued vocational school or jobs rather than higher education. He also became a congregant in a Korean church and began interacting with Korean students at university who were also his church friends. The change in his environments significantly impacted his life, his Korean identity and heritage language learning. David realized that there is "another community" that he wanted to belong to, and his desire to be accepted in the Korean community pushed him to invest in Korean. His registration for the Korean course at the university was thus driven by his desire to communicate with Korean community members and his grandmother, who could not speak English. For him, the university course was the most effective heritage language learning in his life since he was a motivated adult learner. He elaborated the importance of the Korean community:

> It's the biggest motivator, and the biggest contributor to my Korean language abilities and my learning drive. Without these communities, I believe there are no reasons to learn, practice Korean. Embarrassment drives me. Disappointing my fellow members in the community drives me. I believe that if anyone is not in a community that shares a language they want to learn, they're not going to learn it. (Interview 2, May 9, 2018)

David also perceived the significant role of the Korean language in his identity as a Korean

Canadian, by describing that "the more proficient I become in language, the more confident [I am] in my identification" (Interview 2).

Regardless, David acknowledged his ongoing mixed feelings, mainly shifting between two worlds, "If I'm with Canadians I feel more Korean because of the differences. If I'm in a Korean community I feel more Canadian because of my differences" (Interview 2). Although he went through "lots of crying and fighting" due to the different cultures between home and school, David perceived that his lived experiences with the two cultures and languages have taught him to adjust to a different culture, shifting his positions more confidently as a bilingual/cultural Korean Canadian. He expressed that ultimately, he aimed to attain "the pros of being Canadian and the pros of being Korean."

At the last interview, David was excited to be going on a trip to Korea for the second time in his life with his Korean friends the following week. When he came back to Winnipeg, I asked for member checking with additional clarification questions. While answering my questions, it seemed that he had gained successful admission to a professional school.

Summary

I described the six primary participants' life experiences and their perceptions, focusing on their heritage language learning, identity, and contexts within three categories. Group 1 (Jung-Ah and Steve) represents the 1.5 generations who left Korea after the age of 10 with similar migratory motivations of the parents, a relatively high proficiency of heritage language and heritage language maintenance, and a solid Korean identity. Both tried to construct their Korean Canadian dual identity as bilingual/cultural individuals. Group 2 (Ariel and Minny), which represents the 1.5 generations who left Korea under the age of 10, showed heterogeneity in terms of family background, self-identification, and their engagements with heritage language use.

While Ariel was intensively engaged with her Korean friends and an ethnic church, Minny's domains of heritage language learning involved mainly the home and she felt more Canadian due to her everyday community of practice. Both, however, showed flexibility in shifting their identities between being Korean and being Canadian. Group 3 (Jen and David) represents the second generations who were born in Winnipeg, with a relatively low proficiency and use of heritage language, and differences in their parents' migratory motivations compared to 1.5 generation groups. Although both distanced themselves from heritage language and Korean background due to their desire to fit in at school, they began embracing their heritage language and ethnicity since high school and university. While Jen still felt confused in self-identifying, David showed confidence in self-identifying as Korean Canadian and bilingual/cultural.

Despite some similarities within each group, each participant's life experiences revealed the complex interplay of familial, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and transnational factors underlying the participant's identity formation, heritage language learning pathway, and language choice at home. The common domains of heritage language learning and practice for the participants include home with parents, school with Korean friends, ethnic communities, the Korean course at the university, and their transnational consumption of Korean media. The participants' investments in heritage language learning were related to parents' attitudes to heritage language development and Korean identity, parents' socioeconomic integration, the participants' effort to fit in into the mainstream at school, their schooling experiences and friend groups, their engagement in the ethnic communities, and their consumption of Korean media and others' acknowledgement of Korean pop culture. Table 4 summarizes each participant's past and current domains of heritage language learning and practice.

Home was the core landscape for the participants' heritage language learning and

practice, so I summarized each participant's language uses/choices in family interactions, which

was also a result of the interplay of the multiple factors surrounding the participants. Table 5

shows each participant's language uses/choices at home, and this table shows a language shift

from heritage language to English across the groups, especially second generation participants.

Although this study does not focus on the participants' heritage language shift or loss

particularly, the table provides a bigger picture on how 1.5 and second generations' heritage

language is maintained. Further discussions will follow in the subsequent chapters, and the tables

are also referenced in the following chapters.

Table 4

The Main Domains of Heritage Language Learning and Practice

		Parents' attitude to Korean/Home environments	Korean friends at school	Involvement in ethnic communities	University Korean course(s)	Consumption of Korean media
Group 1	Jung-Ah	Strict/Mainly used Korean	No	No	Yes	Almost daily
	Steve	Strict/ Mainly used Korean	Mainly interact with Korean friends	Heritage language school in Gr. 9	Yes	Daily
Group 2	Ariel	Strict/ Mainly used Korean	Mainly interact with Korean friends	Active/ ongoing (church)	Yes	Daily
	Minny	Strict/Was almost Korean, but half in Korean now	No	No	Yes	Regularly
Group 3	Jen	Less strict/ Mainly used Korean	No	No	Yes	Daily
	David	Less strict/ Parents are bilingual	After university, mainly interact with Koreans who are church friends	Active/ ongoing since late high school (church) Heritage language school for 7 yrs when he was young	Yes	Often/ regularly

Table 5

Language Uses/Choices in Family Interactions

		Language uses in family interactions	Supplementary Background
Group 1 (1.5 generations who left Korea after age 10)	Jung-Ah	Korean almost 100% with parents Korean over 90% with older siblings	
	Steve	Korean almost 100% with parents and older brother	
Group 2 (1.5 generations who left Korea before age 10)	Ariel	Korean almost 100% with parents English with younger siblings	Siblings are not good at Korean
	Minny	Korean about 50% and English about 50% with parents English with older brother	Parents use English about 50% with Minny
Group 3 (second generations who were born in Canada)	Jen	Korean rarely/English almost 100% with parents and younger siblings *The only child who speaks/understands Korean at home and functions as a translator between parents and younger siblings	Parents speak only Korean Mother uses a bit English Siblings speak only English
	David	Korean about 20% with parents English with older sister	Father uses Korean 80% with David Mother uses Korean about 50% with David

Chapter 6: The Multiple Influencing Factors on Heritage Language Learning

This chapter addresses the first research question: what sociocultural, political, and other factors do 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians perceive have encouraged or impeded their heritage language learning and practice? I address the multiple influencing factors for heritage language learning experienced by the participants throughout their lives. Although I framed the factors into encouraging and discouraging factors based on whether my participants interpreted and perceived their own lived experiences positively or negatively in relation to their heritage language learning, it should be noted that the multiple factors were sometimes conflicting and mutable over time and context rather than being fixed dichotomously. Starting from this chapter and throughout the next chapters, the findings from each participant are compared and contrasted under the themes that emerged through my interpretation based on the data gleaned and relevant literature. In terms of shedding light on the importance of heritage language, I cited the original transcript in Korean from the community leaders with its English translation.

Encouraging Factors

Ample literature discusses the internal and external or micro and macro factors that contribute to heritage language maintenance and its subsequent effects on immigrant children and their families (Kang, 2015; Kharchenko, 2018; M. Kim., 2015; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Wong Fillmore, 2003). My participants' heritage language learning path fluctuated as a result of a web of multiple forces in social domains such as family, friends, institutions (school), ethnic communities, and national or transnational realms. The forces often interacted with each other, creating complex permutations, and emerged with the following common encouraging factors.

      Parents and home environments. Parents and home environments are known as the

most critical factors for immigrant students' heritage language learning and maintenance (Cho, 2008; Guardado, 2008; Guardado & Becker, 2014; Kang, 2015; Kharchenko, 2018; Kouritzin, 2000; Wong Fillmore, 1991). Given the lack of institutional support, families and their home language policy can play a pivotal role in heritage language maintenance (Kang, 2015). Reinforcing the existing literature, most participants in this study reported that their parents encouraged them to learn and use Korean at home, and the parents continuously used Korean for family communication at home. Some 1.5 generation participants' (Minny, Ariel, and Steve) parents tried to teach Korean reading and writing skills to the participants especially when they were younger, although it was limited and as they grew older, the parents instead focused on practicing Korean with them daily at home through oral communication. Thus, the parents' consistent spoken use of Korean appeared as the common strategy across the three groups, which generated a home environment where the participants were exposed daily to Korean and encouraged to use/learn Korean.

However, according to the participants, there were tangible differences between 1.5 and second generation parents in terms of parents' level of commitment to heritage language maintenance. The parents of 1.5 generation participants tended to show a strong commitment to maintaining and developing Korean through home language policy and teaching listening, reading and writing Korean through educational materials (e.g., books and videos), with a belief in the importance of heritage language maintenance for their children's Korean identity and family communication. In contrast, the second generation participants' parents tended to show less commitment in developing heritage language at home, and mainly provided oral communication in Korean rather than having a strict home language policy and developing heritage language literacy skills such as reading and writing. Nevertheless, this does not mean

that all the parents of second generations did not value their heritage language since for example, David' parents sent him to a community heritage language school for many years. Rather, this may be explained by different parenting styles between stricter 1.5 generation parents with less strict second generation parents and different attitudes to children's heritage language maintenance and bilingualism between 1.5 generation parents and second generation parents as well as other familial factors.

For Group 1, Korean was used by both Jung-ah and Steve almost 100% of the time at home, and both parents enforced a Korean language policy for family interactions to maintain their children's heritage language. For example, Steve described, "My parents had rules to speak only Korean in our home which helped me a lot to keep my Korean fluent" (Written interview).

The parents of Group 2 also encouraged their children to develop and maintain Korean through teaching and using Korean at home. Ariel described learning Korean from her mother as an "ongoing project" when she was younger, and Minny also recalled that she was engaged in watching Korean videos, writing in daily journals and reading books in Korean with her mother. However, while Ariel's parents strictly enforced the rule of using only Korean at home, Minny's parents did not have any strict rules on home language, and this consequently contributed to their current language choices at home, where Ariel speaks with her parents in Korean much more than Minny does (see Table 5), although other factors such as Ariel's socialization with Korean friends also influenced her language use. Importantly, this difference can also be understood within the context of their parents' economic integration in Canada: Minny's parents led a busy life and their lack of presence at home influenced her heritage language maintenance negatively, while Ariel's parents worked within the ethnic enclave and mainly used Korean at home. Migration often modifies parent-child relationships and family structures, and the long hours of

separation of parent and child can negatively contribute to immigrant children's heritage language development (Chee, 2003).

For Group 3, according to Jen and David, their parents employed a different parenting approach which in result favored their children's autonomy and refrained from employing any family language policy or formally teaching Korean. In particular, Jen's parents never initiated teaching her Korean, although this situation ironically motivated her to start learning Korean by herself when she became interested in Korean dramas. David also reported, "my parents never forced me to speak Korean, nothing but encouragement" (Interview 1) due to the parents' value on English acquisition and successful adjustment in school; instead, they sent David to a community heritage language school. According to Kharchenko's recent (2018) study, Ukrainian immigrant parents' intentional and consistent use of heritage language is the most critical factor for heritage language maintenance for their children in Canada. Although Jen's parents did not demonstrate intentional and consistent use of heritage language for Jen's heritage language development, her parents' consistent use of Korean provided Jen with continuous exposure to Korean. Also, Cho's (2008) study of Korean immigrant families in Vancouver reveals that Korean parents watching Korean dramas was the main source of practicing Korean at home. Jen's parents continuously watched Korean dramas at home, which eventually motivated Jen to learn Korean. However, as a line of studies evidence (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Choi & Yi, 2012; Kang, 2015), most participants were engaged in developing heritage language oral skills rather than written literacy development.

In the focus group interview, community leaders overwhelmingly highlighted the critical role of parents and home environment in children's heritage language education. Jane proudly shared her own successful experience of her two second generation daughters, who are fluent in

Korean and are now working professional jobs; the daughters' fluency of Korean is not related to their professions but rather related to their continuous involvement in the ethnic church community and the parents' strong commitment to their heritage language learning. Jane always encouraged her daughters to use Korean at home; for example, when they were watching an English movie together, Jane paused the movie when she did not understand something and insisted that her daughters explain these parts in Korean. Jane thus expressed:

> 학교에서 애들은 영어를 공부했지만 집에서는 한국어를 쓰다 보니까… 애들한테 한국어를 배우게 하고 대화하고 마음과 마음이 통하고 교감이 일어나므로 모국어 배우고 유지하는 게 중요합니다. 한국어 배울 때 한국의 창의성과 우수성을 알아서 …소중한 언어를 구사해서 [한인] 사회와 단체에 큰 기여를 할 수 있다고 봅니다.
>
> [*Kor.* At school, the kids studied English, but at home they spoke Korean. It is important to learn and maintain their mother tongue because by letting children learn it, we can better communicate and sympathize with each other. I think that they can make a great contribution to [Korean] society and organizations by knowing the creativity and excellence of Korean while learning Korean and by using the precious language.] (Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017)

James, another community leader, further highlighted the importance of developing both speaking/listening skills and writing/reading skills, since language learning involves all four skills. James also called for parents' continuous long-term support for successful heritage language learning for children:

> 부모님들이 꾸준히 관심을 안 가지면 어느 순간에 내 자녀들이, 손자들이 한국말을 못하게 돼요. 자연적으로 못하게 돼요. 아마 성인이 될 때까지 20세가 넘을 때까지 지속적으로 모국어에 대해 부모님이 관심을 많이 가져주면 좋겠어요." [*Kor.* If

parents are not interested continuously [in children's heritage language education], their children and grandchildren will not be able to speak Korean. It naturally happens. I would like parents to be interested in our mother tongue continuously until children are over 20 years old, until they become an adult.] (Focus Group, Nov. 11, 2017).

Nevertheless, the community leaders understood the often-vulnerable conditions of immigrant parents and their economic integration status which may hinder parents' sustainable support for heritage language maintenance. The community leaders thus agreed that there is a need for collaboration among communities, school, and society at large. Jane highlighted, "가정과 한국 교포사회, 학교와 캐나다 사회가 모두 책임을 가져야 하고, 한국어의 전문가가 많이 나와서 연구하고 보급해야 자꾸 아이들이 더 배우려고 하지요." [*Kor.* Home, the Korean communities, schools and the Canadian society all have to take responsibility [of heritage language education], and further, there should be more specialists in Korean who research and disseminate their studies so that more children can learn Korean.] As Guardado and Becker (2014) state, family alone cannot replace the important functions of communities and moreover, society.

Coethnic friends at school. Frequent interactions with coethnic peers tend to create strong ethnic and heritage identity through language (Phinney et al., 2001; Vietze, Schachner, & Juang, 2019). According to Hong's (2016) literature review, peer interaction increases motivation to learn heritage language and develops ethnic identity; for example, Belanger and Verkuyten's (2010) study describes that Chinese immigrant adolescents reported a sense of belonging and security by speaking in their heritage language with peers (as cited in Hong, 2016). J. Kim's (2015) study also stresses the importance of socialization with peers at a heritage language school, but most peer interactions in the literature took place in ethnic communities

such as heritage language schools.

This study found that interactions with coethnic Korean friends *at school* functioned critically to stimulate the participants' heritage language learning and practice. Remarkably, most participants encountered Korean friends in high school, where the participants were assumed to have acquired English and subsequently their parents loosened their control over their children's language use. The Korean friends proved to be a strong motivator for my participants' heritage language learning, although not all participants interacted with coethnic friends and utilized this factor for their heritage language learning (e.g., Jung-Ah and David). For example, Ariel regarded her Korean friends as the most critical contributor to her heritage language learning, since "I wanted to keep up with my friends and be able to follow up with them, talk with them and write and they encouraged me to do that" (Interview 2). She also saw the progress in her Korean, "In junior high… I couldn't speak well or write at all almost and read, but in high school, I still understood pretty well. I spoke a lot better, more naturally and my reading got better" (Interview 3). Similarly, the presence of Korean students in high school gave Minny and Jen opportunities to engage in Korean and shed their previous notion that speaking Korean was an embarrassment.

Given this information, the type of school one attends, the makeup of the student population, and the presence of coethnic populations at a school can be very important for immigrant students' heritage language learning path and identity, demonstrating the significance of immigrant families' school choice. Considering that some 1.5 generation parents who restricted their children from interacting with other Korean students (e.g., Jung-Ah and Minny) in order to encourage them to learn English, this finding can inform the positive role of coethnic friends in heritage language development.

Non-Coethnic friends at school. Non-coethnic peers at school who respond positively to linguistically diverse students may play a crucial role in helping children to learn their heritage language and cultural identity (Guardado, 2002; Lee, 2013). According to Vietze et al.'s (2019) study of secondary school students with migration backgrounds in Germany, the participants who often talked about their heritage culture with peers from both the same-heritage and a different-heritage culture showed stronger heritage identity.

Some of my participants experienced a positive influence of non-coethnic friends on their heritage language learning, especially in high school. Although most participants socialized with friends of various racial backgrounds when they were younger, upon entering middle school, most participants gravitated towards Asian background friends (e.g., Chinese and Filipino students) over Caucasians. My participants overwhelmingly reported that they felt more emotionally secure in practicing and sharing their heritage language and culture, since Asian students had similar phenotypes, cultural values, and shared experiences as minority immigrants. In addition, their Asian friends showed a strong interest in Korean pop culture, and their interests encouraged my participants to invest in heritage language more. This peer factor can be understood within the intersection of the global popularity of Korean pop culture and its Asian consumers (Y. Kim, 2013). Jung-Ah reported this aspect:

> K-pop started getting really popular. My [Asian] friends were saying get into it and they are watching dramas and it gives me something to talk to them about or I can share with them, all of the cultural things related to that… I'm just happy that I have friends who are very open to my culture and it's very important. (Interview 1, Oct. 18, 2017)

In the focus group, John also shared a similar experience:

> 한 고등학생이 있는데, 학교에 있는 아이들이 한국 드라마를 보고 한국에 대해서

묻고 그러는데, 한국 아이인데 한국말을 못 하는 게 조금 창피한 상황이

되었대요...케이 팝이라든가 한국의 문화를 접하면서 한국말을 해 보라고 하고

물어보면 그 아이가 설명을 해 줘야 하는데 그러지 못하는 사례를 이야기를 통해

들었거든요. [*Kor.* There was a high school student. It was a little embarrassing for the

Korean student because he could not even speak Korean when his peers at school asked

him whether he could speak Korean since they watched lots of Korean dramas and

became interested in Korea. I heard this story that the Korean student couldn't speak

Korean and explain about K-pop or Korean culture, when his friends talked about K-pop

or Korean culture.] (Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017)

What John highlighted was the influence of peers at school, which was also embedded in a

global and a local context. However, an essentializing link between one's heritage language and

ethnic background or any presumption that Koreans should know about K-pop and Korean

culture cannot be expected since there are heterogeneous levels of heritage language proficiency

and knowledge of heritage among immigrant children.

On the other hand, the capability of speaking a different language other than the official

languages by itself can be appreciated by non-coethnic school friends, especially white

monolinguals. Speaking a heritage language signifies "difference" which ultimately contributes

to the mosaic ideology in a multicultural country such as Canada. For example, from high school

onward, Minny no longer saw her heritage language as an embarrassment, and began using

Korean with her Korean classmates at school for private communication. Interestingly, her

bilingual ability attained acknowledgement from her Caucasian monolingual friends and their

appreciation boosted her pride in knowing Korean and her investment in Korean: "It was really

nice, having that advantage of knowing a different language because I knew my Caucasian

friends didn't have that. And they were jealous sometimes…They're always fascinated when I call my parents and I talk in Korean" (Interview 1).

Cho (2017) explores both heritage and non-heritage language learners of Korean in Toronto and affirms the "coolness" in heritage language learning, in which ethnic languages are explored and valued under the cosmopolitan language ideology. Minny's white friends' reaction can be construed as an appraisal that Minny's heritage language was "cool", similar to Cho's (2017) finding. According to English sociolinguist Maher (2005), the use of an ethnic language by ethnic minorities is regarded as "cool" in the highly multicultural cosmopolitan era. Maher's notion of "cool," is "the unexplained force that adopts cultural heterogeneity by coopting difference as design and fashion" (p. 90), and "cool includes a perceived ability to see the flipside or alternative side of things; an ability that multicultural-perspective people or ethnic minorities are uniquely believed to possess" (p. 99). This attitude appreciates the increasing multiple linguistic identities that facilitate the capability to shift languages, rather than an imposition of a static notion of ethnic immigrants as those who speak a different language. This perception is thus different from either essentialism or orientalism; rather this suggests bi/multilinguals' transnational and cosmopolitan identities, who are living in superdiversity (Vertovec, 2009), and their borderless language practices and life activities. My participants reported that they realized the value of "uniqueness" and "difference" living a multicultural society, and the benefit of becoming bilingual, which can lead to the notions of transnational and cosmopolitan identities (Duff, 2015; Guardado, 2018).

Involvement in ethnic communities. Ethnic communities are regarded as a critical domain for immigrant children's heritage language learning. Ample literature asserts that Korean churches play an important role for Korean immigrants and heritage language dissemination

(Hurh & Kim, 1990; J. Kim, 2015; Park, 2009; Park & Sakar, 2007). However, exposure to ethnic communities is largely guided by parents' participation, religious practice and positive views of the communities. In this study, Ariel and David were involved in Korean churches, and Steve and David were involved in community heritage language schools. This study found that involvement in ethnic communities was positive to the participants' heritage language learning and development in the long term, although their interpretations of their experiences evolved over time.

David reported that his investment in Korean was supplemented by his participation in a Korean church, around when he entered university. His desire to be accepted in the community was the most inspiring factor for his heritage language learning. David reported, "my first time involving myself with other Koreans, that's what helped me realize that I needed to learn it, the Korean language, although it is discouraging at times" (Interview 1). Ariel also admitted that her engagement with a Korean church provided her with opportunities to practice Korean with a variety of Koreans on a regular basis. Ariel was in charge of teaching kindergarten aged children every Saturday for a few years and participated in church events which often required interactions and conversations in Korean with the church members.

The engagement in heritage language schools appeared to be a positive influence on the participants' heritage language learning, and yet, their interpretations of the influence of heritage language schools seemed to evolve with their maturity. Although David reported that he had not fully enjoyed his heritage language school in his childhood, he acknowledged the benefits:

I think it helped lay the foundations, the basics, of course, it was very shaky. But I

believe that if I wasn't exposed to a community like that for a long period of time

especially when I was younger, I don't know if I would have the drive to learn Korean.

(Interview 1, May 2, 2018)

The community leaders also emphasized the critical role of ethnic communities for Korean immigrant children's heritage language maintenance and identity formation. Jane shared her experience of her daughters who attended both a heritage language school and a Korean church. Although it was challenging to attend the heritage school every Saturday for a decade, her daughters attained high proficiency of Korean including reading and writing skills. Jane highlighted:

> 교회 같은 곳에서는 …한글로 [연극을] 만들어서 액션으로 하니까 아이들이 기뻐하고 관심 갖는 것을 보게 됐어요. 그리고 배운 것들을 부모와 교인 전체 앞에서 발표하는 기회를 해 주니까…한국어 한 마디를 하는 것을 굉장히 자랑스럽게 여기는 것을 보고서 교육이 참 중요하다는 것을 생각했어요.[*Kor.*
>
> In places like churches ... they made [a play] in Hangul and performed, and I saw that the children were delighted and interested. Since they were given an opportunity to present what they learned in front of parents and the church members... I thought that education was very important after I saw many children feel very proud to say a word in Korean.] (Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017)

Consumption of Korean media. The participants' regular consumption of Korean media such as Korean TV dramas, K-pop, shows, and videos appeared as one of the strongest factors that encouraged their investment in heritage language, across all three groups. Korean media stimulated them to explore the various forms of the Korean language and Korean culture, and to learn Korean in order to understand the entertainment and the embedded cultural aspects shown in the media. While the participants varied with regards to the level of engagement and time commitment depending on their schedules, many participants consumed it daily.

Their engagement in Korean media stemmed largely from their home environments where their parents regularly watched Korean dramas, videos, and shows ever since the participants were children (e.g., Steve, Jen, and Minny), but it also stemmed from their interactions with Korean friends or Asian friends in the context of the global popularity of Korean pop culture (e.g., Ariel and Jung-Ah). According to Steve, "At a young age…I became interested in Korean entertainment through media, TV, Facebook, etc. I understand Korean humor and I value its culture" (Written Interview). David summarized the critical influence of Korean media in heritage language learning:

> The main factor is Korean media. All my friends who are fluent in Korean all have one thing in common, they all enjoy consuming Korean media… I think by them constantly consuming Korean media they are able to expose themselves to the Korean language more, allowing them to learn it much faster... (Interview 1, May 2, 2018)

Research identifies the critical role of Korean media and technology in heritage language learning. For example, Kim and Duff (2012) report that 1.5 generation Korean Canadians acquire contemporary Korean language by watching Korean TV shows, listening to Korean music, and embracing Korean fashion trends. Choi and Yi (2012) examine the use and role of pop culture in advanced Korean heritage language learners' literacy and identity and assert that the heritage language learners considerably drew upon the Korean media and pop culture for their classroom literacy practices. My participants unanimously validated the powerful function of Korean media in relation to their heritage language learning, suggesting a transnational realm where they were situated.

Global popularity of Korean pop culture and local acknowledgement. The global popularity of the Korean cultural economy, including pop culture, music, and TV dramas, has

surpassed the geographical, sociocultural, and linguistic realms which traditionally used to align with the ethnolinguistic territories (Y. Kim, 2013). This phenomenon has generated global recognition of Korea, and the global and local acknowledgement of Korean culture and industry in turn motivated my participants to establish and strengthen their connection to their heritage language.

My participants were well aware of this unprecedented global phenomenon, as they felt the local acknowledgement of the Korean culture in Winnipeg; Jung-Ah reported her Asian friends' interest in Korean pop culture, Minny mentioned the increasing number of Korean restaurants in Winnipeg, and David was pleasantly surprised when he heard Korean music on a local radio program. As they sensed the positive shift in the local climate toward Korea(ns) in Canada, my participants have positively incorporated this global factor into their motivation to learn more about Korea and their heritage language. For example, David described, "it helps other people's perspective on Korean people, like wow, they make great music, they're great dancers, wow! so talented, very entertaining…In that sense, I see the positive impacts about learning about my Korean heritage" (Interview 1).

Regardless, there have been critiques of Korean pop culture, especially K-pop, around issues such as the commercialization of young women, exploitative contracts between idols and management agencies, and the underlying market-driven neoliberal doctrine. For example, Kim (2017) criticizes, "K-pop idol groups, as a systematically administered, factory-produced commodity, are formulaic by using American cultural hegemony" (p. 2374). However, most participants did not express these aspects because they had very positive experiences with Korean pop culture due to the fact that they had rarely experienced any recognition of Korea or Korean culture in the mainstream when they were younger.

Global trends impact individuals' language learning investment (Darvin & Norton, 2014; Norton, 2013), since a language with global popularity is more highly valued as a resource (Bourdieu, 1991). Most participants also commonly reported a shift of interest within Asian cultures from Japanese to Korean over the last decade; many participants were engaged in Japanese culture in their middle/high school personally or explored Japanese as a credit course in high school or university. Jung-Ah described:

> Not until about 10 years ago, I think. Before K-pop started being popular - before then…
> my friends, we were Asians, we liked cartoons like anime, Japanese, we were mainly into
> that, rather than Korean. I can't remember when...my friends were starting Korean stuff
> like drama, like K-pop. (Interview 1, Oct. 18, 2017)

In fact, this global phenomenon has created many institutional and community Korean language programs across the world, since many foreigners who are interested in Korean culture desired to learn Korean to understand these commodities, such as lyrics or what their idols say through media. According to Cho's (2017) study, "[a]n overwhelming majority of non-Korean participants cited K-pop as the factor that sparked their interest in Korean culture and later attracted them to learn the language" (p. 59). A great deal of K-pop mixes the Korean language and English phrases and this "hybridization" has attracted more people (Ryoo, 2009), even though K-pop's hybridity can also be understood "not as a cultural term, but as an industrial strategy" (Kim, 2017); these aspects demonstrate how my participants' heritage language learning is situated within neoliberal global influences as well.

All the community leaders in the focus group also recognized and appreciated the dramatic change in the local acknowledgement of Koreans in Winnipeg corresponding with the global recognition of Korean technology and cultural industries. Doug expressed that there were

not many people in Canada who knew about Korea about 35 years ago, when he moved into Canada, but he felt that many Canadians now recognize Korea positively. John also added, "경제적인 성장과 함께 문화적인 컨텐트들이 커지니까 그게 역으로 한국 사회에 대한 인식들이 캐나다인들 사이에서 많아진 것 같아요." [*Kor*: As cultural content [of Korea] grows along with its economic growth, it seems that the perception of Korean society has increased among Canadians.] (Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017). The community leaders strongly perceived that the positive views and recognition of Korea played a role in many young Korean Canadians' interest in heritage language and culture.

University opportunity and Multiculturalism. Institutional opportunities to access heritage language learning at the university and the Canadian policy of multiculturalism appeared to be important sociopolitical factors that contributed to my participants' engagement with heritage language learning. In Manitoba, the University of Manitoba Korean program was their first point of access to institutional heritage language. All participants thus expressed that they were "fascinated", "surprised", or "excited" by the fact that they could access a Korean class at the university. For example, Ariel reported that she really wanted to take the course to improve her writing skills, and she recalled, "I improved a lot in writing, my spelling got better, my grammar got better. That was a huge improvement for me..." (Interview 2). All the participants agreed that the university course provided them with a meaningful heritage language learning opportunity. For example, Jen had regarded the value of Korean as zero at elementary and middle schools, "[b]ut in high school there was more interest, so the value goes up a little bit. And then you meet some Korean people, so the value goes up a little more. Then [in] Korean class in university, [the] value goes up more" (Interview 2).

Scholars attest to the importance of social opportunities in accessing heritage language

learning for immigrant students (Cummins, 2005; Jeon, 2010; Kang, 2013). Nonetheless, institutional inclusion of heritage languages reflects the multifaceted political and institutional power relations and social views on minority languages (Duff, 2008a), and in terms of the inclusion/exclusion of certain languages, the school curriculum accords values to each language (Apple, 2004; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). For example, at the 2017 national meeting for Korean instructors in higher education in Canada, a Korean instructor from a university in Ottawa mentioned that their business school mandated that business students take an international language course from a predetermined list, but unfortunately, Korean was not included on the list. The school curricula as a discourse "represent socio-political and ideological interests and in consequence are vying for status and power" (Chee, 2003, p. 19). The findings of this study suggest how the inclusion of heritage languages in an institutional curriculum is also influenced by neoliberal impacts and can shape minority students' heritage language learning path.

My participants also showed a clear awareness that the policy of multiculturalism played a positive role in their motivations to learn their heritage language and their positive views of their heritage language. For example, Ariel reported, "multiculturalism influences language learning. If there wasn't any multiculturalism, you wouldn't want to learn, you'd want to stick to Canadian language and culture" (Interview 3). As Cho (2017) describes, multiculturalist discourse supports ethnic minorities to achieve their desire or their perceived "duty" of learning heritage language, and many participants perceived this positive effect and the expected duty in their heritage language learning as well as cultural maintenance. Jung-Ah expressed, "I think it's [heritage language learning] a huge part of multiculturalism, it's not just mannerism and culture, I think you have to be able to speak the language too to fit in with

multiculturalism" (Interview 3). Most participants showed a strong belief in multiculturalism[12] as an ideology and a policy, by which they can legally claim their heritage language, cultural practices and social equity. All the community leaders also appreciated and supported the policy of multiculturalism in relation to heritage language education; for example, James stated that thanks to the policy of multiculturalism, the community heritage language schools had continuously received funding from the government.

Transnational trips to Korea. A body of literature supports that visiting the parents' home country can have a positive effect on immigrant children's heritage language maintenance and ethnic identity (J. Kim, 2015; M. Kim, 2015; Song, 2012). Guardado and Becker (2014) explore factors that influence attachment to immigrant children's heritage language and find that frequent visits to Peru (the parents' home country) and the immigrant students' lived experiences in Peru during their childhood are closely related to heritage language development.

My participants across the three groups reported that their transnational trips functioned very positively for them in enhancing their interest in learning Korean and reinforcing their existing knowledge of the language and culture. All the participants, except for Steve, visited Korea with their family members about once or twice in total, mainly to see their grandparents and relatives. The trips validated the use of Korean and reinforced Korean cultural values and practices that their parents had tried to instill in them while living in Canada. For example, David visited Korea once in Gr. 7 and recalled that he tried his best to speak in Korean:

I was like wow, very useful to learn Korean. I realized that because I don't know Korean and if I was alone, I wouldn't be able to survive, not in Gr. 7. I would be very lost, scary.

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[12] Interestingly, most participants expressed that they did not learn about multiculturalism when they were younger since they were not taught about it in elementary or middle school, but some participants experienced learning about multiculturalism in high school to varying degrees.

I learned a lot of the mannerisms in Korea, because that's something we didn't practice in

Winnipeg. (Interview 3, May 17, 2018)

In addition to exploring Korean language and culture, the participants had meaningful

opportunities to better understand their parents, Korean mannerisms and pre-conceived

stereotypes about Korea by observing the Korean society and visiting their parents' birthplaces.

David expressed, "[t]his is the place that my parents came from…it helped me realize to what

degree I should be Korean and what degree I should be Canadian" (Interview 3). My participants

interacted with their relatives, toured multiple places, and explored the food, while observing

how Korean people live. Most were impressed by the Korean people's work ethic and busy life,

the development of technology, and the educational environment where students study very hard.

Most participants also reported that despite their limited Korean, their knowledge of Korean was

appreciated by their relatives in Korea, since they assumed that the participants would not be

able to speak Korean.

For the 1.5 generation participants, the trips appeared to contribute more to their heritage

language maintenance, reinforcing their feeling of connection to Korea due to their lived

experience in Korea. Steve visited Korea most frequently among the six participants, about six or

seven times. Considering his status as the most proficient user of Korean, heritage language

proficiency may be related to his more frequent visits to his parents' home country, congruent

with Guardado and Becker's (2014) finding. However, this aspect should be further investigated

since his proficiency may depend on other various factors. J. Kim's (2015) study meanwhile

suggests a close relation between the trips to Korea and young Korean Americans' ethnic

identity. Nonetheless, visiting the parents' home country is made possible by financial stability,

time availability, and existence of extended family in the home country. Also, as Kharchenko

(2018) finds, although transnational trips provide opportunities for language immersion, they do not necessarily offer opportunities for peer interaction. Overall, my participants showed a strong desire to visit Korea more often if given the opportunity.

Personal factors. The findings demonstrate that personal factors such as strong motivation or willingness were also critical in encouraging heritage language learning. Personal factors may represent personality, penchants, needs, or desires, which are internal to the participants. These factors are about "aspects of the self," which influence one's reaction to the surrounding factors and environments in language learning (Chee, 2003, p. 90), and these personal factors critically shape one's identity. Three participants, Jung-Ah, Ariel, and Jen, one from each group, explicitly reported internal motivation and desire as key for their heritage language learning. For example, Ariel chose to assimilate with Korean friends and learn Korean in high school, highlighting her personal motivation and her own "choice" to learn Korean. Jen also believed that her strong desire drove her to initiate her heritage language learning.

Motha and Lin (2014) describe that there is a tendency to perceive "motivation as more conscious and desire as less so" (p. 340) in the literature. While conceptualizing the notion of desire in language learning, Motha and Lin make a claim for "a greater recognition of desire as situated and co-constructed," since "our desires are…intersubjectively constituted and shaped by our social, historical, political, institutional, and economic contexts" (p. 331). In fact, my participants' internal desires or motivations could not be separated from their situated contexts and the interrelations between themselves and others. Although there were surrounding factors such as Korean friends or popularity of Korean pop culture, how to respond to the surrounding factors still stemmed from the participants' decision to either "accept" or "resist" the contextual factors (Norton, 2013, Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Jung-Ah also clarified that her own intrinsic

willingness not to lose her Korean was the most important encouraging and sustaining factor for her heritage language learning. Aligning with poststructural perspectives, personal components that are internal to an individual can be an important factor or drive for heritage language learning since one can exert agency to "accept" or "resist" the contextual factors.

Discouraging Factors

Ample research has identified common factors that lead to heritage language loss or attrition for immigrant children (e.g., Babaee, 2014; Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky, 2013; Kharchenko, 2018; Park, 2013). M. Kim (2015) explores three generations of Korean immigrants in Manitoba and presents the following influencing factors on their heritage language loss: parents' attitude to heritage language and priority on learning English (internal factors), and peer pressure and resources in Korean language education (external factors). This study finds similar discouraging factors experienced by my participants.

Priority on English and adjustment stress. The overall pressure to learn and become proficient in English as well as the adjustment stress in school environments appeared as a prominent force which hindered my participants from investing in heritage language learning. This factor is typically steered by parents' desire for their children to succeed educationally as well as socially, which is perceived as requiring mastery of the dominant language; thus, immigrant families may favor a dominant language when they are faced with choosing either the dominant or heritage language, and accordingly, heritage language loss takes place (Choi, 2011; Jeon, 2008; Kang, 2015; Kouritzin, 2000; Lee & Shin, 2008; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Most participants reported that their parents wanted them to acquire English and perform well academically while facilitating their adjustment to the new (school) environment. This aspect is understood in the context of the common migratory motivation of Korean immigrants,

which is their children's education, in addition to traditional cultural values regarding education. This factor thus should be understood as a combined effect of parental, cultural, school, and social contexts. This stress appeared greater to the 1.5 generation participants than second generation participants since they immigrated from Korea to Canada. For example, Minny reported that integration into Canadian society and learning English was her highest priority and her parents always encouraged her to practice English, supporting her by hiring tutors for school. Steve also identified English as the only impeding factor for his heritage language development, by describing, "Educational pursuits, mainly intense English-related activities. Writing essays is very hard, interviews can be stressful, and English examinations always make me motivated to pursue English more so than Korean" (Written interview). Jung-Ah further recalled that she did not interact with Korean people at all as "my parents were very against it…so that we could learn English and adjust to life here..." (Interview 1).

For the second generation participants, a similar phenomenon occurred but earlier on than for the 1.5 generation participants. The priority on English and adjustment stress typically occurred when they entered school, which quickly led to replacing their primary language, Korean, with English at both home and school (Lee & Shin, 2008). In fact, Jeon's (2008) study shows that Korean immigrant children in primary school had lower heritage language proficiency compared to before they entered school, due to the dominant English-speaking environment at school. David reported why his parents did not teach him Korean at home:

> Because they were afraid. My sister in kindergarten, she cried every day coming from
>
> school, because she couldn't speak in English in kindergarten. When I came out, they
>
> didn't want the same thing for me. They wanted me, instead of learning Korean, to
>
> continue to feel accepted into the school system. (Interview 1, May 2, 2018)

Many Korean immigrant parents prioritize developing English for their children's educational and social success, even though most parents prefer their children's bilingual development (Shin, 2005). Hence, Brown (2011) describes, "Immigrant parents' self-imposed hegemony of English over heritage language thus reinforces the implicit societal message for their children" (p. 31), and in this way, parents can function as a suppressor of heritage language maintenance. In the focus group, James observed a similar situation and shared his experience:

> 젊은 엄마들일수록 꼬마들이 영어 잘하는 것을 아주 자랑합니다. 한국어는 아주 등한시하면서. 우리 애들 영어 너무 잘한다…이걸 너무 자랑스러워하고. 시간이 지나면 부모 생각이 바뀔 텐데 미리 인지했으면 좋겠어요. [*Kor.* Younger mothers tend to be very proud of their children's English proficiency, while neglecting Korean [development]. "Our kids are so good at English"... They feel proud of this. They will recognize the importance of Korean in the future, so I wish parents would change their mindsets earlier.] (Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017)

A community leader, John also added, "애들이 집에서 말만 하면 자연스럽게 익히게 될 거라 생각하고 책을 안 읽혀요. 안 쓰게 하고. [*Kor.* [The parents] think that if they just speak in Korean at home, their children will learn naturally, so they do not teach reading and writing.]" (Focus group). Many parents presume that acquiring listening and speaking skills is sufficient for heritage language development, however, this attitude often leads to children's heritage language loss (Kang, 2015).

This study, however, finds that the participants' "deferred" heritage language learning tended to reverse when they were in late high school or they entered university, since they were assumed to have attained English mastery. For example, Jung-Ah's parents' strict control became looser when she was in high school since she had achieved her proficiency in English.

David also began to feel a need to learn Korean when he entered university. Providing similar findings, Jeon (2008) thus states, "Paradoxically, 1.5- and second-generation Korean Americans' high proficiency in English facilitates their decision to pursue Korean when they reach college age, when Korean is perceived as a desirable addition to English" (p. 218).

Others' perspectives and lack of social opportunities to use/learn Korean. Others' perspectives which were manifested by peer pressure at school, the lack of a social need to use Korean, and the lack of social opportunities to learn Korean, appeared as hindrances for many participants for their heritage language learning. Others' perspectives include both others' views of, understandings of, and responses to Korean language and culture in school in general, and the ways in which my participants responded to the others' perspectives and the opportunities to access to heritage language learning.

Despite individual differences, most participants were strongly concerned with and invested in fitting in with the mainstream school environment or the dominant group, following the common practices, values, and the dominant language. Erikson (1994) describes that adolescents are "sometimes morbidly, often curiously, preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others…with the ideal prototypes of the day" (p. 128). Heritage language represents a marker of difference, which validates a heterogeneity, which can hinder the participants' adjustment or integration into the mainstream environments. As Minny and Jen experienced, speaking Korean in front of others at school was "embarrassing", since it interfered with them fitting in with the dominant culture. Jen reported how she felt peer pressure when she was younger, "other parents talk with their kids, they speak in English, but my mom speaks in Korean…I don't want her to speak Korean in front of my friends" (Interview 1). Minny also invested in English to avoid the stereotype of FOB, which eventually led to her language shift to

English. M. Kim's (2015) study also proves that "[b]eing mocked from the peer group at school, due to having a different culture and language" (p. 84) influenced negatively Korean Canadians' heritage language development.

In addition, most participants reported that lack of social need to use Korean and lack of social opportunities to learn Korean impeded their heritage language development. For example, David expressed that there was no need to speak Korean outside the home, "because I only speak in English to my friends, I only spoke to English speaking people, I was discouraged from learning the language [Korean]" (Interview 2). Some participants pointed out that the geographical context of Winnipeg, where there is a small Korean population, was an impediment to using Korean. In bigger cities such as Toronto, there are large Korean communities and institutional opportunities to learn Korean, which can easily expose people to using and learning Korean.

This aspect is related to my participants' experience of the lack of social opportunities to learn Korean in Manitoba, compared to for example, some cities in Ontario or British Columbia where Korean is offered as a credit course at public schools. Minny recalled, "junior high only offered Spanish and French, and high school too" (Interview 2), and none of my participants had any opportunity to access Korean classes in K-12 schools. Revealing similar findings, Becker's (2013) study on Korean immigrants in a small city in the U.S. argues that immigrant families, educators, and curriculum developers should recognize that heritage language maintenance is, as Lee and Oxelson (2006) state, "a societal process that is influenced by multiple factors at the personal, educational, and societal levels" (as cited in Becker, p.99).

The main discouraging factors I have described so far suggest that my participants' heritage language learning pathways largely intersected with their integration and their

experiences in the mainstream, suggesting the importance of sociocultural contexts where their heritage language could be accessed, or not.

Ethnic adults as gatekeepers, elders, and dialect complex. Korean adults or elders could function as gatekeepers, thus discouraging my participants' investment in developing their heritage language. This factor was commonly found across the three groups in their interactions in ethnic communities such as Korean churches, and most participants experienced that elders, first generation adults, and those who are fluent in Korean impeded their motivation to learn their heritage language. Ariel shared her experience at a Korean church:

> Some groups of people, they criticize other people over little things//…for example, if you can't speak Korean and have some accents they would look down upon you. I, myself, experienced some of them. For second generations, they understand but, some first generations they have very high arrogance. (Interview 1, Nov. 20, 2017)

Due to the "scary" Korean adults and their gatekeeping, she lost the motivation and confidence to speak Korean and refused to go to church for a period of time. David also reported that "age" had always scared him, impeding his heritage language practice, since "there are times I would say something that's not respectful. So, I was quite fearful of talking to the elderly. And then I matured a little bit, and I got to university, and now age no longer bothers me" (Interview 2).

Indeed, this hindering factor may signify not only one's language competency but also multiple aspects embedded in Korean language and culture. Influenced by Confucian cultural values, respect for elders is a critical aspect of Korean culture, prescribing typical manners such as postures and attitudes for younger people towards older people. The Korean language also has honorific forms which should be appropriately employed by users depending on relative age and the interpersonal relationship between the addresser and the addressed. This situation also

implies power relations between older and younger Koreans, in particular, first generation

Korean adults who are competent in language and culture, and 1.5 or second generation youths

who are inferior to first generations. Park's (2011) study shows similar findings and describes,

"The strong unspoken expectations within the church were gate keeping factors which inevitably

prevented Sora [1.5 generation Korean American] from becoming a legitimate member of the

church" (p. 183). In this disjuncture, my participants often gave up the opportunity to speak

Korean and their participation in the ethnic communities. The community leaders' contribution

to the study did not reflect awareness of this issue generally, but Doug reflected:

> 우리가 할 수 있는 것은 1.5 세나 2 세들에게 배움이 얼마나 중요한지 이해시켜 주면
>
> 좋지요. 우리가 푸시한다고 아이들이 배우는 것도 아니고…한인사회가 더 많은
>
> 것을 2 세에게 보여주면 참여도를 높일 수 있고 거기에 대한 지원도 해 주면 좋을
>
> 듯합니다. [*Kor.* What we can do is to let our 1.5 and second generations understand how
>
> important learning [Korean] is. They will not learn [Korean] by simply us pushing them
>
> to learn… thus if we make more effort for the second generation in our community, we
>
> can increase their participation with support.] (Focus Group, Nov. 11, 2017).

By the same token, the presence of competent Korean speakers such as international or

newly immigrated Korean students at school can be a hindering factor (Kang, 2013). Jung-Ah

showed a perception of Korean international students as being "ashamed of second or 1.5

generation kids not being able to speak Korean or things like that. At least what I experienced is

that they don't like because you conform or assimilate too much to Canada, they found that as

shameful" (Interview 2). In fact, Kim's (2008) study reveals that heritage language competence

often justified Korean identity, thus, Korean immigrant adolescents considered those who were

not proficient in Korean as not Korean enough. Given the perceived difference in Koreanness,

Jung-Ah was not motivated to interact with them, hindering her opportunity to learn Korean.

Speaking non-standard Korean can be a discouraging factor. One participant, Jung-Ah reported that her complex over her Korean dialect, that is, not the standard language, also discouraged her from pursuing opportunities to learn and practice Korean:

I've had the experience of all my friends speaking like standard Korean. And then they kind of make fun of a bunch of people speaking dialects and stuff. I think right now the way I speak, even though I still speak the dialect, I try to change it a lot more to standard [Korean]. (Interview 1, Oct. 18, 2017)

Researchers present evidence that children who speak in Korean dialects, which they are exposed to by their parents, feel inferior to standard Korean language users and thus withdraw from heritage language learning (Kang, 2013; Jo, 2001). A dialect is regarded as an unauthentic form of Korean and thus users of a dialect are positioned inferior to standard language users (Kang, 2013). Thus, the heritage learners often feel frustrations and struggles with producing the forms constrained by the authority of standard language (Hornberger &Wang, 2008). This situation creates marginalization of the heritage language learners' diasporic life trajectories and repertoires and their own use of the Korean language (Jo, 2001). Linguistic discrimination occurs within the heritage language speaking community and discourages heritage language learners, like Jung-Ah. Language learning often creates struggles in learners' identities, since the dynamic of multiple factors exert conflicting forces, thereby sometimes constraining and other times encouraging my participants' investment in heritage language learning.

Self-perceived low competency and personal factors. The above section discussed familial and other external factors involving communities, schools, and the social and geographical conditions impeding heritage language learning. Some participants reported on

their personal impeding factors, such as self-perceived low competency, self-consciousness over

making mistakes, and perfectionism. This aspect does not necessarily relate to whether one is a

1.5 generation or a second generation, or one's actual proficiency. Heritage language learners'

self-evaluation of their own language performance is "more complicated, relational, and

subjective" (Jo, 2001, p. 39). Thus, even though some participants seemed proficient to me, their

self-evaluations of their performance left them believing that their language proficiency was

unsatisfactory and incompetent in relation to their more proficient native-like counterparts, and

their confidence level also varied over contexts.

Jung-Ah perceived her shy personality as a discouraging factor since she was not

proactive in making Korean friends or initiating communication in Korean. Her perfectionism

also limited opportunities to speak Korean and she reported, "I feel like I'm so afraid of making

mistakes... I'm very a perfectionist which isn't very good because it limits my opportunity to

speak Korean because I always wanted to just escape to speaking English or something..."

(Interview 1). Her self-perceived low competency or confidence also discouraged opportunities

to learn Korean. Jung-Ah added, "I'm pronouncing these little things differently now. Yeah. It's

discouraging because I feel that I'm not like good anymore" (Interview 1), and this aspect also

appeared related to her status as a user of a dialect.

Jen, a second generation participant who rarely speaks Korean, reported that she had self-

consciousness or anxiety from speaking Korean, so she felt discouraged. She felt afraid to make

a mistake and did not want to pronounce or say something incorrectly. Also, her low proficiency

in Korean and her reticent personality hindered her from interacting with Korean communities.

Cho's (2017) study shows that none of the Korean heritage language learners were proud of their

low Korean proficiency and they overwhelmingly felt that their current level of proficiency was

not adequate. However, my study shows individual differences: for example, David, a second

generation, reported that he overcame all these affective factors which had hindered his practice

of Korean, and Steve did not describe any discouraging factors in his heritage language learning

in regard to personal or affective factors, possibly due to his high proficiency.

Conclusion

The analysis of influencing factors showed multiple sociocultural domains in which my

participants were situated, ranging from home, ethnic communities and schools to local, national

and transnational and global realms, and demonstrated how the factors were often intertwined

with other factors in a complex way, pushing and pulling their heritage language learning

pathways. For example, parents' and the participants' priority on English was not a simple

parental or individual factor that hindered heritage language learning, but a concerted effect

encompassing parental, cultural, school and social influences.

The findings also demonstrated clear differences in parents' commitment to children's

heritage language development between 1.5 generations and second generations, which largely

foreshadowed the participants' heritage language maintenance and language choices at home.

Parents' attitudes and commitments to early childhood bilingualism (Kang, 2015), in particular,

parents' choice of the home language (Park, 2013), are often regarded as the most imperative

factor that leads to heritage language loss in immigrant children. In addition, mothers are

regarded as the chief disseminator of a heritage language who takes responsibility in developing

children's heritage language at home (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2008). However, as seen in David's

case, his father encouraged him to speak more in Korean by his continuous use of Korean

compared to his mother, who used more English. Thus, the general assumption of the mother's

role in children's heritage language development should be challenged as each family's

dynamics and context do not guarantee a fixed role of mothers in children's heritage language development.

Importantly, there were conflicting functions of the same contextual factors, where impeding factors can simultaneously function as encouraging factors or discouraging factors. For example, parents were an important encouraging factor, but they could be a discouraging factor depending on the context (e.g., prohibition of interaction with Korean friends). Fluent Korean speakers at Korean ethnic churches sometimes functioned as gatekeepers, discouraging my participants' motivation to learn Korean, but this situation could simultaneously be encouraging (e.g., David's case). The analysis of the contextual factors helped me discuss both internal/external, personal/societal or micro/macro factors, but also revealed that the multiple factors often exerted diverging forces and the domains where the participants were situated were never fixed or static.

Chapter 7: Heritage Language Learning and Identity Construction, and Identity

Negotiation as a Korean Canadian

This chapter, which consists of two sections, aims to answer the second and third

research questions by delving into the 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' identity

negotiation and construction. In the first section, I present how the participants' heritage

language learning experiences and the surrounding contexts have influenced their identities. My

participants' heritage language learning continuously interrogated their sense of self, their past,

current, and future identities, and their positions in both Korean communities and the

mainstream. I thus focus on how they responded to their surrounding factors, and the meanings

of heritage language learning that they assigned to their identity. The main themes that have

emerged are framed within the spheres of home/parents, school/friends, ethnic communities, and

the transnational realm of Korean media, signifying the participants' core social spaces. This

section excludes the participants' heritage language learning experiences at the university, since I

will shed light on their first institutional heritage language learning experiences separately in

Chapter 8.

In the second section, I present the link between their heritage language and ethnic

identity, and their ethnic identification and their ethnic identity development through their lives.

The data gleaned demonstrated a critical role of heritage language in their Korean and Korean

Canadian identity construction, and the fluid and contesting nature of their identities mainly

between being Korean and being Canadian. Lastly, I present the participants' perceived hybrid

identity and how they negotiated their identities in the landscape of being Korean and being

Canadian.

Section 1. Heritage Language Learning and Identity Construction in Multiple

Communities

Home as the Nexus for Korean Language, Culture, and Identity

As Guardado and Becker (2014) describe, "with the family as the nucleus of the community interactions that are vital to language socialization" (p. 1), scholars assert a link between the family and heritage language development and emphasize the importance of parents, family, and home for heritage language education (Fishman, 2004; Guardado, 2002, 2008; Park, 2013; Wong Fillmore, 1991). My participants all agreed that the home was the central place for them to acquire, maintain, and practice Korean as their first or home language, with varying levels of support and practice. Thus, they perceived that they were nurtured and constructed in their homes as a member of a Korean family, a Korean immigrant child, a user of Korean (linguistic identity), a Korean (ethnic and cultural identity), and a Korean Canadian who engaged in both cultural worlds.

All participants unanimously showed a very strong attachment to their "home," and the notion of home included their Korean parents, daily use of heritage language, Korean cultural values and practices and lifestyles. Jung-Ah felt, "when I'm at home, when I eat Korean food and I talk in Korean…I feel that I'm Korean." Steve also expressed, "having a firm Korean holding [language] in my home helps me feel Korean," thus "I feel the most Korean at home." Minny also expressed that speaking Korean at home boosted her attachment to her family and being Korean. Moreover, Jen, a second generation participant, confessed that "the only comfortable place is home." Although Jen spoke mostly English, home simply signified being "Korean," representing Korean parents, heritage language and culture. Home functioned as a nexus of heritage language, culture and identity.

There are two main meanings my participants assigned to their heritage language learning at home in relation to their identity. First, their heritage language learning at home was intertwined with generational transmission of traditional Korean and parental cultural values, customs, and lifestyles, illustrating their heritage language socialization. Minny expressed, "We had family friends that were Korean that I always spoke Korean to when they came over…So I guess one etiquette rule that we always knew was that when we had family friends over, we would talk in Korean" (Interview 1). Minny also followed other Korean cultural practices, such as bowing, and using the honorific style of the language. Similarly, Jen said, "If I say hi and just wave, it feels a little bit rude, the culture is different. You should say 안녕하세요 (Hello), bow a little bit and then go" (Interview 2). Jen also reported that "at home, even though we speak English, we say 엄마, 아빠 (Mom, Dad)….we still have the Korean names for 작은 엄마, 아빠 (father's married younger brother and his wife)…We still say like 김치찌개, 김치 볶음밥 (Kimchi soup, Kimchi fried rice)" (Interview 2). David also never called his older sister by her name, instead calling her by the Korean term, "누나" /Noo-na/, meaning "older sister," which is a Korean cultural practice. Most participants' heritage language learning at home elucidated their socialization into the appropriate ways of behaving and speaking in familial and social interactions, although the levels of language socialization varied across the participants due to their familial upbringing and other contexts.

Language socialization is a process of attaining not only communicative competence but also legitimate membership in the group (Duff, 2007). Heritage language learning thus involves not only commanding the linguistic forms but also understanding "a set of continually evolving norms, preferences and expectations" (He, 2010, p. 73), relating linguistic structures to multifaceted contexts and the particular culture of the community. Through socialization,

immigrant children acquire the rules of behavior and the familial and cultural values, and primary socialization appears also related to future ethnolinguistic identity development (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Guardado's study (2010) thus argues that heritage language learning can be a catalyst for socializing younger immigrant children into a broader outlook while negotiating their ethnic, transnational and Canadian identities. Similar to the studies, Korean culture and heritage language were disseminated through language socialization, and my participants constructed their particular identities not only as a member of the family but the community, as Koreans and Korean Canadians.

Second, my participants emphasized that their heritage language was a critical tool for family communication and cohesion, by which they expressed their feelings, exerted their identity, and felt connected with their family. Nevertheless, the use of heritage language largely differed between 1.5 and second generation participants due to their proficiency levels, engagement, and language choices at home. For most 1.5 generation participants, Korean was the best language to communicate in with their parents, as it served to better deliver their ideas and emotions, although their expressions were limited and repetitive. Ariel expressed, "I feel like there is more to express myself and like my messages get through clear to my parents… because in Korean there are different tones that are higher or low, but English is… just straight" (Interview 1). Minny also reported how she could express herself better in Korean through certain expressions or contexts:

> There are some words where, for example, the word 'frustration,' and 답답해 /dap-dap-hae/, the connotations behind those words and the experiences I formed with that word is different. So…even when I'm talking to my English friends…I want to say 답답해, I say frustration, but that's not what I really mean. And different words in Korean and English

are associated with different things, even though they are translated the same. I think that

is due to having certain Korean words and learning from those experiences when I was

young. (Interview 1, Nov. 17, 2017)

Baker (2008) states that "our identity is conveyed in our language, in our expressions and

engagements, predictions and preferences" (p. 407). Language delivers the linguistic means by

which identities are expressed, and the linguistic resources index the interlocutors' identities

(Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). The 1.5 generation participants often felt that they could better

express their identities through their heritage language within their repertoire. However, most 1.5

generation participants also admitted that they used English when discussing political, economic,

medical, legal or other professional discourses, although these cases were very limited; this

aspect suggests a limitation of heritage language development at home, which is often limited to

repetitive, casual conversations. Hence, Kang's (2013) study of university-aged Korean

Americans states that English serves as their primary communication tool on a daily basis, while

Korean is associated with their childhood memories, family, kinship relations, and home food.

In contrast, the second generation participants' use of Korean was more limited due to

their lower proficiency. For example, David learned to speak Korean from his parents as a young

child until he entered elementary school and his language shifted to English. He began investing

in learning heritage language after university and tried to speak Korean with his parents, his

grandmother and Korean friends. Although his main goal was to improve his communication, he

also admitted that there were multiple identities embedded in his use of heritage language:

When [babies] first start to talk, they're grammatically incorrect, and sometimes they're

purposefully incorrect, because they want to learn how to use the word correctly, they

want someone to correct them, and it's very cute. That is where my Korean is. When I

want to be cute, that's when I speak Korean. (Interview 3, May 17, 2018)

His excerpt may be understood in terms of his strong awareness of his low proficiency of Korean

and as a negotiation strategy to alleviate his embarrassment of his low proficiency, which may be

similar to the proficiency of a child. On the other hand, his identity could be exerted by his

purposeful choice of an intimate style, representing his identity as the youngest child[13] in the

Korean household, enhancing his emotional attachment to his childhood memories, parents, and

home. In this regard, heritage language entailed his childhood primary language socialization and

his past identity. Regardless, David's use of Korean cannot be limited to the above identities,

since he sincerely hoped to be a more fluent bilingual Korean Canadian. Meanwhile, Jen

highlighted the critical role of heritage language in her family; if she was not able to speak

Korean like her siblings, she would not be able to communicate with her parents.

Guardado and Becker (2014) underscore that familism bonds family members, and

positively impacts immigrant children's heritage language and identity. Familism is defined as

"the fundamental values that foster feelings of identification with and attachment to the nuclear

and extended family as a unit, strongly emphasizing loyalty and mutual support among its

members" (Guardado & Becker, 2014, p. 1). Similarly, I present 'the notion of home' as an

overarching concept that encapsulates my participants' past and current identities, incorporating

their lived and living experiences, to explain their heritage language socialization, family

interactions and bond, and identity. The strong attachment to home was common to all

participants despite their varying levels of heritage language socialization and proficiencies, and

the findings also identified two main reinforcing factors in my participant's construction of the

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[13] Although every family is different, birth order can affect children and their personality in Korea, and the youngest child called "막내"/mak-nae/ may have different treats from the parents with less strict parenting. This may influence David's identity and his incorporation of his identity into heritage language.

notion of home.

First, each participant's home maintained Korean traditional cultural values and practices and lifestyles, exhibiting little assimilation into the mainstream culture, which is also supported by a line of studies of Korean immigrants in North America (e.g., Choi & Kim, 2010). All families ate Korean food daily, many families celebrated Korean holidays, and some families maintained the cultural practice of the ancestral ceremonies called "제사" /Je-sa/, which is entrenched by Confucian traditions (e.g., Jung-Ah and Jen). David also reported, "[Canadians] dry their laundry in the dryer, [Canadians] don't hang it everywhere, the bed sheets match the blankets" (Interview 2), but his parents did not behave according to the Canadian lifestyle. As Jen described, they simply lived in "a Korean household" in Canada.

Second, the participants' attachment to home appeared to be reinforced by the fact that they continued to live with their parents. None of the participants lived separately from their parents, including Jung-Ah and Jen, who held professional jobs. My participants followed their parents' belief or cultural value that children should live with their parents until they complete their education, or they get married, although this practice is often challenged by Western culture which emphasizes independence. Jung-Ah expressed this aspect:

> When I talk, my coworkers would ask me, oh, do you still live with your parents or are you by yourself? I still live with them but it's kind of embarrassing to saying that because in Canada, kids want to move out right after, the first year after they graduate from university. (Interview 1, Oct. 18, 2017)

In this regard, each participant's home environment and living arrangements, where heritage language learning and cultural practices took place, positively contributed to constructing the notion of home, which represents heritage language socialization, heritage language

maintenance, and identity construction as Korean and Korean Canadian. However, simply living with parents cannot guarantee one's heritage language proficiency since the participants' proficiency levels were affected by other factors such as their personality, ways of family interactions, other contextual factors, and previous history of living in Korea. For example, Jen acquired a native level of Korean listening skills, but she did not develop speaking skills, which could be related to her introverted personality and limited family interactions.

Home as a site of struggles. Regardless, the home, parents, and heritage language use at home created identity conflicts for some participants. For some 1.5 generation participants, their parents' strict parenting, heavy focus on academic achievement, and different cultural values between the home and school generated tensions. Jung-Ah admitted the unequal power relation between parents and children, and described, "we're on the submissive side" as dependent children, and Jung-Ah and her siblings were unable to negotiate the tensions with their parents when they were younger. Also, recall that when Ariel's father refused to sign her test with a bad mark, she was unable to negotiate with her parents and could only report the situation to her teacher. Minny further stated, "when we were kids, *my parents' words were the law* and even if we were frustrated, you can't talk back to your parents" (Interview 1, italics added).

Confucian values are entrenched in the interactions between parents and children in many Korean families, and filial piety, called "Hyo"/효/, often prescribes obedient behaviors and manners, despite their mutual benevolence. As O'Dwyer (2017) argues, the relation between parents and children may not be reduced to the Confucian thesis, since strict parenting, authoritarian relations, and collectivism in Korea were also encouraged and reinforced by its socioeconomic and political purposes. Jung-Ah reported:

When we got into arguments [my father] often said, "you have become too Canadian. We

cannot communicate when our perspectives are so different." He emphasized the

importance of retaining our Korean mannerisms and mindset and spoke of adapting to

Canadian culture as a negative action. (Writing, 2015)

At this juncture, Jung-Ah felt that her Korean identity was denied by her parents, despite her use

of Korean.

Heritage language loss and lack of shared time between immigrant parents and children

can also create intergenerational conflicts (Kang, Okazaki, Abelmann, Kim-Prieto, & Lan,

2010). For Minny, the tension between her and her parents worsened from high school onwards,

mainly because she lost her proficiency in speaking Korean and the language barrier interfered

with her communication with her parents. In this regard, Oh and Fuligni (2010) find that a basic

level of heritage language proficiency is not sufficient to maintain close family ties, thus,

heritage language proficiency rather than language use influences parent-child relationships and

social adjustment. According to Minny, when her father was upset, "he still says my Korean

name instead of my English name." By calling her Korean name, her father tried to reinforce her

Korean identity, but Minny often felt frustrated with this identity, since the language barrier

created misunderstandings and tension. In fact, during the interview sessions, Minny often

mentioned the increasing conflicts with her parents as she did not simply follow the principle of

filial piety "Hyo," or the assumed behavior as a Korean child by her parents, once she became an

adult.

Meanwhile, Jen wondered why her parents never initiated teaching her Korean when

she was younger, even though knowing her heritage language would have benefited her family'

communication. She also felt conflict with her mother due to the language barrier and different

personalities, and she often withdrew from speaking with her mother. Minimizing

communication with parents was employed by some participants to negotiate the conflicts at home.

Despite individual differences, however, this study finds that the 1.5 generation participants, especially Group 1, tended to conform to their parents' expectations and values more compared to the second generation participants, due to their lived experience in Korea, proficiency of heritage language, and their greater understanding of parents' values. The community leaders also acknowledged the generational gaps and the differences between 1.5 generations and second generations. Doug expressed that since second generations never lived in Korea, it was hard for the children to understand their parents' Korean parenting styles, expectations and values, while "1.5 세는 한국에서 생활도 하다가 교육도 받고 그 틀이 어려서 배운 게 평생을 가거든요" [*Kor.* As for 1.5 generations, they lived and were educated in Korea, and what they learned when they were younger [usually] last a lifetime.] (Focus Group).

Shin's (2016) study analyzes this disparity, adopting Pyke's (2010) insight, in which, "the dominant group controls the construction of reality through the production of ideologies that circulate throughout society where they inform social norms or organizational practices," and this ideological hegemony is more evident "when the subjugated inculcate stereotypes and ideologies disseminated as taken-for granted knowledge" (Shin, 2016, p. 38). According to Shin, second generation Korean Canadians tended to succumb to norms and values taken for granted in a white dominant society, while 1.5 generation Korean Canadians constructed their identities more subjectively "without evaluating them from the perspective of the dominant group" (p. 32). The findings imply that the home does not exist in a vacuum separate from society, and that the participants' heritage language learning and identity was largely influenced by the assimilationist

forces in the mainstream.

Given this, community leaders all highlighted the critical role of heritage language in family communication and ties. For example, James shared his experience:

자녀들 어머니들이 교회에서 말합니다. 가정에서 애들하고 속 시원하게 얘기할 수 없다. 한국말을 못 알아듣고 이해하지 못해서 고통이 심하다고 합니다. 한국말을 통해 부모 자식이 끈끈하게 하나로 묶여야 되는데 못 그러니까… 언어적 단절 때문에…가정 해체 수준으로 결국에는 가겠다고 생각합니다. [*Kor.* Some mothers said in church that they could not communicate with their children fully at home, so it felt painful as the children could not understand Korean. Parents and children should be connected through Korean, but they cannot… due to the language barrier…I think the family may eventually reach the level when they break up.] (Focus Group, Nov. 11, 2017)

School as a Field of Integration Forces and Construction of Minority Identity

Besides the home, schools and interactions with school friends functioned as prominent spaces and factors for my participants' identity construction as well as their heritage language learning path, since schools are "socializing spaces and ideological environments" (Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007, p. 50). Studies claim the negative force of schooling with regards to heritage language maintenance (Brown, 2009; Kubota, 2005; Lee & Shin, 2008). School is thus often regarded as the domain of "rapid loss of heritage language fluency" (Cummins, 2005, p. 586), as young children are rarely given opportunities to develop literacy in their heritage language.

My participants recalled that they unfortunately did not have any opportunity to develop their heritage language (e.g., Korean courses as a high school credit) and include their heritage

culture (e.g., as a part of the social studies curriculum or project) formally at school, although

this finding cannot capture all schools or curricula. Through schooling and English socialization,

my participants developed a linguistic identity that commands English in addition to their

Korean user identity; they also developed a Canadian identity as one who knows about the

mainstream culture in addition to their Korean identity. Between these forces, most participants

chose to "fit in" with the mainstream school culture and invested in acquiring membership at

school. Minny, thus, described, "a gradual progress of acknowledgement and consciousness I

suppose… because when you live in Canada as long as I have, schools teach you this nationality

and proudness [for Canada], whereas I don't get that for Korea" (Interview 2).

The phenomenon of fitting in, which was often facilitated by distancing themselves from

their heritage culture, appeared more robust in second generations than 1.5 generations. For

example, recall Jung-Ah's experience of the English name-only policy in her ESL class.

Although she followed the policy at the time, she internally refused it, while reinforcing her

attachment to her Korean name and Korean identity; she said, "this is the only name I go with,

that's the only name I've been called all my life, I don't want to be called something else"

(Interview 1). Her strong identity was also exerted when she chose a Korean pseudonym for this

research study, since names are often "part of the struggle for identity that immigrants face, as

they attempt to imagine the identities that they most want to claim" (Thompson, 2006, p. 203).

Individuals are subjected to the influences of discourses and practices that define who

they are, but they also have human agency by which they can make choices and reshape their

surroundings (Weedon, 1997). Jung-Ah's internal resistance was by all means an "action

upon the actions of others" (Foucault, 1983, p. 221), and her position demonstrated that power

does not control subjects but rather configures the possible field of action. Jung-Ah's reaction

also challenged the mistakenly constructed images of "Asian students" as passive or a model

minority (Lee, 2005; Pyke, 2010), since she kept using Korean actively with her twin sister in

informal settings at school, while encouraging her Asian friends to use their heritage languages

for private conversation.

Wong Filmore (1991) underscores the greater impacts of assimilative forces on heritage

language in younger children. Abandoning heritage language is construed as a child's coping

mechanism to a school environment that does not value difference (Wong Fillmore, 2000). This

informs my second generation participants' experiences. David spoke in Korean at home, albeit

limited, but experienced a language shift to English when he began attending school. According

to Carreira and Kagan's (2011) study of heritage language learners at U.S. universities, over 70%

reported that they used their heritage language exclusively until age 5, when they started formal

schooling. Jen also internalized the idea that Korean had no value among the white majority

population of her school. Jen recalled that as a quiet and shy student, she strived to fit in in the

school environment, and yet, the school environments rendered her an identity that placed her

"on the outside" due to her physical and cultural differences. Jen shared an episode, in which she

had to choose China as her country of topic for a social studies assignment in Gr. 8 although in

reality she wanted to do her assignment on Korea, since Korea was not included on the list of

countries her teacher provided, and she longed to fit in as her main negotiation strategy.

Meanwhile, the case of Minny from Group 2 demonstrates how her reaction to

stereotypes shaped her heritage language development and identity. While growing up, Minny

was aware of the stereotypes for racialized immigrants. Thus, she tried to escape from being

"stereotyped as a FOB," through investing in English, since English is "the very key, it's

something that *I can improve other than my looks*. It's not like I hang around with a crowd of

Korean or Asian people that people...look at me and be like, oh you're a FOB" (Interview 3, italics added). In this sense, avoidance of heritage language was a negotiation strategy for Minny to resist the FOB stereotype as well as to reduce her ontological weight. Ontological weight, as Pina-Cabral (2010) describes, "is a process by means of which some aspects of personhood are less easily silenced than others; they are made to be more certain" (p. 307). The ethnic language contributes strongly to establishing the realness of an entity, and in this regard, Korean was "an embarrassment" to Minny, and this in result contributed to her language shift to English. For Minny, language assimilation was the most effective option to portray her identity in the mainstream, resisting the negative stereotype, and she believed that speaking English helped her adjust to the Canadian life and "be less cast as a stereotype."

Interestingly, some participants utilized some Asian stereotypes such as the model minority stereotype in constructing their identities in school environments. The second generation participants were likely to accept positive stereotypes rather than confronting them due to their stronger desire to be accepted in the mainstream. For example, Jen perceived that certain stereotypes such as the model minority Asian were "better" because they served to motivate her in terms of academics. While taking advantage of this stereotype, Jen could also focus on studying as a navigation strategy when she experienced bullying by her classmates in high school. David also reported that the stereotypes at school were more beneficial to him, and he accepted them as long as they were not negative. However, the Asian model minority stereotype is deconstructed by many scholars (e.g., Lee, 2005; Zhou, 2012), and most 1.5 generation participants in my study also resisted any imposed, fixed identity including Asian stereotypes.

Navigating Asian stereotypes was a critical task for my participants in their identity

negotiation in the mainstream environment, since positive stereotypes can be a resource at

certain life stages. Minny stated the conflicting situation:

> They're both positive and negative. Stereotypes are available because they are common
>
> features that people can see or be identifiable. It can be used both as a negative as a
>
> positive, but mostly negative. What do I think about them? They can be turned into
>
> weapons or as a shield. (Interview 3, Nov. 28, 2017)

Overall, the assimilative forces at school, which did not value their heritage language

influenced my participants differently. Group 1 was relatively less influenced by the school

environments in terms of their heritage language maintenance and Korea identity. Meanwhile, in

Group 3, the second generations were positioned to be the most vulnerable in terms of their

Korean ethnic and linguistic identity development. Group 2 showed heterogeneity; Minny

showed greater desire to assimilate to the mainstream language, while Ariel developed her

heritage language through socializing with Korean friends at school. These findings align with

other studies (Danico, 2004; Lee, 2002; Shin, 2015). Lee (2002) describes that non-American

born (1.5 generation) Korean Americans showed both stronger ethnic identity and

bilingual/culturalism. Danico (2004) also argues that unlike second generations, 1.5 generation

Korean Americans retain many elements of the Korean culture and show flexibility in switching

their identities depending on the context, and thus, fit in relatively easily with various groups.

Korean Friends: The Sameness of Korean Immigrants' Children

The presence of coethnic friends at school, especially high school, positively impacted

most participants' heritage language learning and Korean identity. Friends could be the most

critical factor in school experiences, and interactions with coethnic friends at school could

largely shape my participants' sense of themselves and their views of others and their heritage.

For example, Jen suggested that if she had close friends at school, her school life and her personality would have been different. Jen recalled her past identity at school as lonely, on the outside, always seeking a friend and trying to fit in, thus, "[schooling] wasn't great…I don't really remember any special moments except for Gr. 3 with my Korean friend" (Interview 1). As she admitted, the presence of a coethnic friend gave her positive memories, security, and friendship, as they shared the sameness of having a Korean mother, "Korean language", and culture.

Many participants reported that the sameness of being Korean made them feel connected, and interactions with Korean friends motivated them to use Korean and embrace their Korean identity and thus see themselves and the world differently. Ariel reported:

Positive factors are the similarities that I experienced between myself and other Koreans and I liked their culture. I like the way how they thought, I thought more, I belong to that culture, that influenced me... // when I am speaking with my Korean friends, I feel [like it's] more natural to speak Korean. I like it better, and I feel proud to know it. (Interview 1, Nov. 20, 2017)

Ariel assimilated into the Korean friend group at school and began embracing the Korean culture, while learning the common language, the way of speaking and behaving, and feeling a sense of belonging. Learning took place as "an encompassing process of being active participants in the practices of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities' membership" (Wenger, 1998, p. 158), and Ariel was becoming linguistically and culturally competent in her peer community.

Minny also appreciated the positive experience with Korean friends in high school and expressed, "I always assumed it was the same thing as mine. The immigrant dream is always

your kid's prosperity and a strong education to succeed. And whenever I do talk to fellow 1.5

students, we always have the same education values" (Interview 2). Interaction with Korean

friends helped Minny begin to embrace her Korean background and language without any

embarrassment. Similarly, the presence of Korean students in high school helped Jen recognize

the value of her heritage language and embrace her Korean identity, challenging her sense of

white normalcy.

Notably, the high school period appeared important to the development of the

participants' identity due to their increasing maturity. This stage additionally represented a

sufficient level of acquisition of English for the participants, which resulted in loosening of their

parents' restrictions over them, such as discouraging interactions with Korean friends.

Nonetheless, some participants chose resistance strategies toward Korean students in school. For

example, Jung-Ah found differences more than similarities from Korean students:

> In grade eight a Korean girl transferred to my class, a new immigrant…I started to
>
> socialize with her and her Korean friends…I made efforts to fit in with them but the more
>
> I tried to gravitate towards these new friends, the more I felt different... I realized how
>
> much of my Korean language skill has declined and felt embarrassed when I could not
>
> remember certain vocabularies or explain myself properly. I came to Canada only two
>
> years earlier than them, but I already was not 'completely' Korean in their eyes…I was
>
> denied of what I considered my full Korean identity. (Writing, 2015)
>
> Similarly, David chose to distance himself from Korean friends in high school; when they

invited him to perform Taekwondo on school culture day, he resisted associating himself with

the Korean marker since it conflicted with the social identity that he had already established at

school, and he described, "I needed to look cool, I didn't want to embarrass myself like that."

My participants responded to the opportunities and constraints of heritage language learning differently in the school environments, taking up their positions differently. As Chee (2003) asserts, individuals craft their identity by responding to the contexts, reflecting on what is more important to themselves and what resources are available to perform their identities.

Ethnic Community as "Another Community" in Addition to the Mainstream

제 아들이 거의 2 세처럼 지내는데 이 애한테 가장 영향을 미치는 것은 두 가지죠. 우선 부모가 집에서 어떻게 양육을 하는가…. 또 하나는…친구 동료 그룹이에요. 제 아들은 친구들이 캐나디안 백인들입니다…내 아들이 여기서 모방을 굉장히 많이 합니다… 얘는 교회도 다니고 있으니까 교회에서 한국 친구들도 만나겠지만, 교회를 안 다니는 친구들 같은 경우에는 가정 아니면 친구그룹인데, 친구들 중에도 누구를 만나느냐? 개네들이 갖고 있는 한국이나 한국 사회에 대한 인식 혹은 부모에 대한 인식이 만들어져 가는 거지요. [*Kor.* My son is almost a second generation, and two things affect him the most. First, how do parents nurture at home? Another one…is his friend group. My son has Canadian white friends mostly...he greatly imitated them... [However] he is also attending a [Korean] church, so he will meet Korean friends in church, but as for those who don't go to church, there are either family or friend groups. Depending on what friends they meet, their perceptions of Korean society and their parents are constructed. (Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017)

In the focus group, John emphasized the crucial influences on his children apart from parents, namely school peers. Conversely, the point John made was the vast potential for ethnic communities such as Korean churches to play a role in 1.5 and second generations' identity formation and heritage language learning. Multiple studies have found the positive roles of ethnic communities in immigrant children's heritage language and identity development (e.g., J.

Kim, 2015; Park, 2009). This study found that through involvement in ethnic communities, my participants were exposed to heritage language learning opportunities, interacted with various Korean community members, and thus developed both their Korean and Korean Canadian identities. Three participants were involved in either Korean churches (Ariel & David) or community heritage language schools (Steve & David).

According to David, he realized that there was "another community" in addition to the mainstream in Canada, and his desire to gain acceptance as a member of the Korean community strongly drove him to invest in heritage language when he entered university. David further reported, "It's the place where I practice and it's the place where I'm corrected, and it is the place where I'm motivated. Those three reasons are why community betters my Korean proficiency" (Interview 2). David began fashioning his identity as a bilingual, following the community practices and learning the shared language. To explain a learner's investment in language, Norton (2001) employs the notion of imagined community, which represents a community that a language learner desires to participate in as a full member. David's heritage language learning reflected his very desire to contribute to the Korean community as a full member, in other words, his imagined community and future identity. Language is a factor for community access (Weedon, 1997), and serves as a tool for social interaction and it is regimented among the community members. Through participating in practices, learning takes place and newcomers become experienced members, which Lave and Wenger (1991) call legitimate peripheral participation.

The ethnic communities also functioned as a site of struggles, which required my participants' constant negotiation of their positions. As an illustration, Ariel withdrew her participation from her church when she encountered gatekeeping Korean adults. My participants'

heritage language learning path reflected their continuous participation and nonparticipation in ethnic communities as well as other communities, which provided opportunities or constraints for their heritage language learning, and as Norton (2013) argues, their non/participation reflected their desires and identities.

This study also identified the reasons why some participants chose nonparticipation in ethnic communities despite their acknowledgement of the benefits of ethnic communities. First, parents' negative views of Korean communities appeared to impact the young Korean Canadians' nonparticipation. A few participants reported, for example, the prevalence of gossip and rumors in the Korean community and the perception that Korean people have many arguments. The participants had developed certain stereotypes of the Korean community, which were often disseminated by their parents, while many participants were critical of ethnoracial stereotypes in Canada. Ariel, who was engaged in the ethnic community, opined: "Koreans like to share everything amongst friends. But Caucasians have a certain point they can't. Koreans joke with each other quite seriously but Caucasians don't say that," and "[among Koreans] once the relationships get bad, rumors are going to spread quite quickly so that's the only thing we always keep in mind, be careful what you say because rumors can get out of our hands" (Interview 1). In the focus group, Jane was aware of this aspect:

> [한인 1 세들이] 1.5 나 2 세들에게 좋은 영향을 못 준 것은 아닐까 여깁니다.
> 한인들의 각 가정 뿐만 아니라... 우리 한인 사회 내에서 기관끼리 다투고 … 그것을
> 우리 2 세들이 항상 보고 있다는 거지요...그러니까 우리 모국어를 익히고 사용하게
> 함으로서 한국인의 긍지나 자부심을 갖게 해서...아이들이 더 성장하지 않겠나
> 생각해요. [*Kor.* I think [the first generation Koreans] did not have a good influence on
> 1.5 or 2nd generations. Not only within families, but also … in Korean communities, we

argue within communities in our Korean society... The thing is that our children are

always seeing it ... So, we encourage them to learn and use our mother tongue so that

they develop Korean pride and self-confidence ... I think children will grow this way.]

(Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017)

Second, most participants reported that their limited Korean proficiency played a role in

their nonparticipation in Korean communities, similar to the findings of Cho's (2000) study

which explores the link between heritage language proficiency and engagement in ethnic

communities among Korean Americans. Most participants perceived their speaking skills to be

limited and felt it to be burdensome to speak Korean for an extended time, and further, did not

want to challenge themselves beyond their comfort level. Jung-Ah explained the complex

situation:

I'm not very proficient, I don't want to get involved for that reason. It, kind of deters me,

I feel like I don't want to make mistakes. Korean people are sometimes very dramatic,

and there's a lot of talk and rumors and whatnot, and that's one of the reasons that I don't

want to get involved. I don't want to say something wrong. (Interview 2, Nov. 1, 2017)

This study also found that the participants' attendance at community heritage language

schools during their childhood was overall positive, since for example, Steve and David could

develop their heritage language skills, understanding skills of other Koreans and Korean identity

through peer interactions. However, as reported, David struggled with his constructed identity at

the school as an incompetent second generation student despite his significant efforts, among

many 1.5 generation students who were fluent in Korean. As a child, David could not negotiate

this conflict between the imposed identity and his desired identity, and finally, he resisted the

inferior identity by leaving the school. According to Lee's (2002) study, which explored 40

second generation Korean American university students, community heritage language schools were not effective for many second generations mainly due to its status as a supplementary activity, while learning Korean at public schools as an official course was positive. Although David did not mention this aspect, this social status might have also contributed to his withdrawal from the heritage language school.

When I heard about David's experience of the heritage language school, my initial reaction was surprise, since I had not recognized his struggle; I remembered David as a happy and bright student. I realized that there can be dissonance among perceptions (self and others') in terms of language proficiency, and ethnic communities, heritage language educators, and the first generation Koreans should be more careful since young 1.5 and second generations can become frustrated with their inability to fluently speak their mother tongue despite their Korean background. Importantly, his narrative gave me valuable lessons as a heritage language educator and a first generation Korean immigrant in terms of heritage language learners' affective needs, identity and the environment.

Nonetheless, David admitted that his experiences at the heritage language school contributed to his recognition of "another community" although this interpretation was a long and winding journey. J. Kim's (2015) study of adolescent Korean Canadian heritage language learners in Montreal describes the positive functions of a heritage school; the heritage school functioned as a site for socializing, meaning-making, and sharing Korean culture and values, by which the Korean Canadian adolescents could acquire a habitus that allowed them to reflect on their heritage language learning in their multiple environments. As Maguire and Curdt-Christiansen (2007) conclude, a heritage language school can be "a socializing location," which offers broader interactions with various peers, "a symbolic ideological environment" which

offers an attachment to Korean community and culture, and "a stressful contact zone" as a third

space (p. 67), which offers continuous negotiations of identities and positions within the school.

David vividly remembered the heritage language school's motto, "Don't forget your Korean

roots," and expressed, "thinking about that motto, I realize how important it is for me to continue

learning about my heritage and roots, and put it more into practice" (Interview 2). These insights

show how meanings of a reality continue to be differently (re)constructed over time with one's

personal maturity and life environments.

Korean Media as a Vicarious Transnational Space

Technology allows migrant learners to sustain multiple connections with their countries

of origin and settlement, and they "engage with the world with transnational identities that

negotiate a complex network of values, ideologies, and cultures" (Darvin & Norton, 2014, p.55).

Significantly, this study adds the participants' transnational consumption of Korean media to the

conventional domains of heritage language learning and identity construction (home, schools,

and communities). My participants unanimously reported that Korean media strongly motivated

them to explore heritage language, Korean culture and society, thus enhancing their connection

to Korea. Their regular consumption of Korean media further connected them to transnational

users of the same products, such as non-Korean school friends to various ethnic, local, and global

individuals across the world, so that my participants developed transnational identities.

The common products that my participants regularly consumed were K-dramas, K-pop

and Korean TV programs, and some were also interested in online comics and social media such

as KakaoTalk. My participants perceived that Korean media delivers a variety of forms,

expressions, and aspects of the Korean language and culture, which they could freely choose to

learn from. Minny thus reported that Korean media provided both "educational" and

"entertaining" opportunities to explore heritage language and culture:

> because I get to have a different source to listen to Korean. I don't have honestly any
>
> Korean friends at the moment so it's nice to have that. It's nice to hear different Korean
>
> accents compared to my parents. (Interview 1, Nov. 17, 2017)

Through media, Jung-Ah also emphasized, "I can sense the change of language… I'm aware of

how language is changing" (Interview 2). Jung-Ah once told me that she felt like "냉동인간"

[frozen human or cryonics] if she did not update herself on the changes in language and culture

in Korea since she lived in Canada. She set out to acquire the new terms or culture through

Korean media, thus, she felt that there was "nothing new because I kept in contact with Korea

through media, language wise" (Interview 3).

Appadurai (1997) underlines how individual practices of everyday life are mediated by

mass media alongside globalization, emphasizing the critical role of transnational media in

shaping transnationals, who are deterritorialized ethnic subjectivities. The Korean media also

provided the participants with a window through which they looked into Korean culture,

lifestyles, and society. The media functioned as a unique space where my participants were able

to vicariously live in Korean society, and thus, reflect on their lives in Canada and in Korea and

globally. Steve illustrated this point, "Continuously absorbing Korean influences maintains the

idea that I am a Korean living in a Canadian land, that I am a Korean-Canadian. I can vicariously

experience Korea through media, while occupying a part of Canada" (Written Interview). As

seen in Jung-Ah's case, moreover, her Asian friends shared the same interests in K-pop and

Korean dramas and shows, and they felt connected as transnational users of the same

commodities.

Alongside the global popularity of Korean pop culture, Korean media facilitated the

construction of my participants' transnational identities, through interactions with global consumers of Korean culture and media. The participants practiced transnationalism, which crosses all forms of cultural, linguistic, ideological, and geopolitical borders beyond the local and ethnic boundaries (Vertovec, 2009), and thus engages openness towards diverse cultural experiences and broadens views of the world. As Duff (2015) analyzes, engagement with popular culture and media, which involves language learning and interactions with global consumers, instills transnational sensitivities and identities.

Although my participants reported that they strongly benefited from Korean media and the global popularity of Korean pop culture, this finding should also be understood in terms of how neoliberal economic globalization shaped my participants' heritage language learning motivations, daily life and identity. K-pop music mixes familiar and foreign elements and Korean and English languages, thus, K-pop is a "creative form of hybridization that sustains a seemingly Korean identity within a global context" (Cho, 2017, p. 69). The hybridization is reified as agents "interact and negotiate with global forms, using them as resources through which local peoples construct their own cultural spaces" (Ryoo, 2009, p.144). However, critical scholars point out the problematic influence of neoliberalism in K-pop industry. Kim (2017) argues, "within the context of the asymmetrical relationship…the recent global popularity of K-pop should be understood within Korea's position in the U.S.'s model of neoliberal capitalism" (p. 2380), and K-pop has become a commodity to sell abroad.

A few participants reported the differences between Korean pop culture and North American pop culture that motivated them to explore Korean media. For example, David mentioned the lack of representation of Koreans in North American pop culture, which he found in Korean pop culture. Jung-Ah also perceived, "Korean shows are very personal and down-to-

earth whereas…celebrities here are so far way up there or out there, whereas Korean celebrities are easily approachable. I think, you can easily connect to them, you can feel that they're people too" (Interview 2). Representations of people similar to them in the Korea media appeared to increase the connection between my participants and Korean media.

The Korean media also appeared more influential to the 1.5 generation participants compared to the second generation participants, possibly due to their experience of living in Korea. For example, Ariel actively incorporated the language and culture from the media into her life in Canada: "Yes, in dramas like styles and fashion, I get interested in…then the way of doing, for example, when they go to a date, dating is more romantic with lots more anniversaries. The Canadian dating style is not like that" (Interview 3). She practiced particular ways of speaking and behaving with her Korean friends, and in this way, she felt she was being truer to herself. This process therefore led to "ideological becoming," in terms of Bakhtin's notion, which refers to "developing ways of viewing the world… positionings and values, and their interacting and aligning with others" (Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen, 2007, p. 52). The media also gave the 1.5 generations an opportunity to revisit their past identity and memories in Korea by providing scenery or culture that was familiar to them. Jung-Ah recalled, "when watching, I am happy and miss being in Korea because it shows the sceneries and the mountains, the certain view of Korea you can't get from here. And food you can't get here…" (Interview 3).

Though, Jen, a second generation, reported that she did not incorporate lifestyles and culture from Korean media into her life since the environments were too different, she affirmed the close relation between heritage language, Korean media, and Korean identity: "since I have more interest in Korean entertainment, it kind of shaped my identity too…because I'm more interested in Korean things rather than Canadian things, so in that aspect I feel more Korean"

(Interview 2). David also found "the desirable traits or the values of Korean people…the characteristics, how you should act" (Interview 2) from Korean media, but he was not fully involved in Korean pop culture since he was aware of the negative impacts of any media. In this respect, David criticized that Korean pop culture tends to impose a standard on people, which may drive self-consciousness and have negative impacts.

Several studies evidence the significant roles of Korean media and Korean pop culture in heritage language development and Korean identity. Lee (2006) asserts a positive relation between Korean heritage language learners who participate in Korean social media and their connection to Korea as well as their Koreanness. Choi and Yi (2012) explore the role of Korean media products and K-pop in heritage language learners' literacy and identity construction in a U.S. university classroom and conclude, "Pop culture served as a contact point for their literacy practice, helped reexamine or strengthen their ethnic identity from a global perspective, and provided a window to discuss social issues and explore them" (p. 110). In the Korean courses that I taught, I recalled that many participants extensively drew upon Korean media products such as K-dramas, K-pop, or TV shows for their oral presentation assignments in my class. I felt how strongly Korean media and pop culture penetrated into the Korean Canadians' identity formation since I viewed their oral presentation as an index of their identity or as Cummins terms, identity text (Cummins, Hu, Markus, & Kristiina, 2015).

Korean media functioned as an important transnational space for my participants' heritage language learning and identity. They also lived vicariously in Korea through media, extending their identities to transnational sociocultural spaces. Individual consumption of media signifies multiple layered micro and macro influences ranging from personal, familial to global, shaping their everyday practices, heritage language learning, and identity.

Conclusion

This chapter examined how the participants' heritage language learning and contextual factors influenced their identities within their core social spaces of home, school, ethnic community, and transnational Korean media. The participants' heritage language learning and the background contexts critically influenced the participants' identity construction as Korean immigrant children, Korean family members, Koreans, and Korean Canadians. Heritage language learning experiences continuously interrogated the participants' roots and sense of who they are, childhood memories, their notion of home, their connection to Korean communities, and their minority position as well as their Korean Canadian identities, their future identities, and their identity in the transnational realm.

The various sociocultural spaces, however, often created struggles for my participants, and how they responded to the opportunities or constraints of their heritage language learning and identities varied. The participants continuously responded to the social forces, by negotiating their positions to reshape their surroundings based on what was important to them and the resources available to them.

In what follows, I shift my discussion to the participants' perceptions of the relation between their heritage language and their ethnic identity, and their identity negotiation as Korean Canadians. As demonstrated, the participants' heritage language learning pathways often intersected with their experiences in mainstream environments with their integration processes, and heritage language learning experiences were closely related to their identity construction as Korean Canadian as well as Korean.

Section 2: Heritage Language and Ethnic Identity, and Identity Negotiation as a Korean

Canadian

In this section, I address my participants' perceptions on the link between heritage language and ethnic identity, which reflect the participants' attitudes to heritage language (learning) in regard to their ethnic identity. Next, I present how the participants identified themselves in terms of their ethnicity, their ethnic identity development processes throughout their life, and how they perceived the fluid and hybrid aspects of their identities. Lastly, I present the participants' construction of a Korean Canadian identity, which implies their ongoing effort to integrate into Canadian society while continuously connecting themselves to their heritage language, culture and Korean communities. This section illustrates how 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians negotiate their identities between being Korean and being Canadian, and beyond.

"The More I Practice Heritage Language, the More I Feel Korean"

Abundant studies suggest the importance of maintaining ethnic identity while integrating into mainstream society and thus becoming, for example, Canadian, suggesting the desirability of bicultural and bilingual identities (Danico, 2004; Berry et al., 2006; Phinney, 1990, 2003, Schimmele & Wu, 2015). Heritage language is often a symbol of ethnic identity since language is a critical means to disseminate and learn behaviors, values, and lifestyles. Multiple studies affirm the positive relation between heritage language and ethnic identity (Choi, 2015; Cummins, 1989; Jeon, 2010; Kang & Kim, 2012; Lee, 2002; Phinney et al., 2001; Shin, 2015; Tse, 1998, 2000), and in many cases, a positive relation between higher heritage language proficiency and higher level of ethnic attachment.

Nevertheless, heritage language proficiency cannot guarantee strong ethnic identity, and

recent literature is moving away from the fixed relation between heritage language proficiency and ethnic identity (e.g., Brown, 2009; Kang, 2013). In this study, I did not attempt to measure the participants' heritage language proficiency and their ethnic identity; rather, I explored the participants' overall perceptions of the connection of heritage language to their ethnic identity, since their perceptions can provide a better understanding of their attitudes to heritage language and motivation for heritage language learning in relation to their ethnic identity.[14]

First, my participants unanimously reported that the more they were engaged in heritage language learning and practices, the more they felt Korean and developed an attachment to their heritage language and culture, in keeping with many studies listed above. As an illustration, Shin's (2015) study of Korean American university heritage language learners, affirms the positive relation between heritage language learning and ethnic identity, and concludes that heritage language learning "served as a kind of tunnel, which enabled the participants to visit and shape how they viewed themselves and their relationship with Korean community" (p. 202).

My participants also perceived a positive relation between heritage language and Korean identity in terms of both their use and proficiency of heritage language; they overwhelmingly expressed that when they spoke Korean, they felt Korean. For example, Ariel viewed her heritage language as "a huge part [of Korean identity]", and if she could not speak Korean, she would feel like "a foreigner." Steve also reported, "without Korean [language], a big part of me wouldn't feel Korean." Minny also perceived her heritage language as "essential" to family communication and "critical" to her Korean identity, since she viewed the language as a key to unlocking the gates to the Korean community. Many participants also agreed that higher heritage

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[14] Ethnic identity is also regarded fluid and evolves over time, and for this study, I employed a broad concept of ethnic identity based on one's self-identification as a member of an ethnic group and a sense of belonging to an ethnic group (Phinney, 1990).

language proficiency created greater understanding of the Korean culture and society, which

accordingly, augmented the feeling of connection to the community. Ariel reported:

>When I practice Korean, as a Korean I feel more Korean than I am. Rather…even when I
>
>am speaking in English, I feel more Korean than Canadian because I am more
>
>accustomed to Korean values than Canadian culture. (Interview 1, Oct. 2017)

Most participants also highlighted that their heritage language represents their Korean

Canadian identity as well as their Korean identity, as they negotiated their bicultural and

bilingual identity across contexts. David stated, "The role of the Korean language helps me

identify myself as a Korean person, which in turn helps me figure out how I want to interact with

my Korean community and Canadian community" (Interview 3). Steve also added that his

heritage language maintained his identity as both Korean and Korean Canadian, as he lived in

Canada as a bilingual and bicultural person. In this regard, Lee's (2002) study similarly finds,

"the higher the heritage language proficiency, the stronger one identified with both the Korean

culture and the American culture" (p.132), suggesting the role of heritage language in the

participants' dual identity.

However, my participants' perceived degree of connection between heritage language

and ethnic identity varied across the groups, in terms of whether their heritage language is "a

necessity" to their Korean identity or not. Group 1, those who had a higher proficiency of

heritage language and robust Korean identity tended to view their heritage language as intrinsic

to their Korean identity, by phrasing their heritage language as a "necessity" for their ethnic

identity. Steve reported, "Korean is a necessity in terms of my identity as Korean," and Jung-Ah

expressed, "for me, I have to be able to speak Korean to be Korean" and "I feel like you should

speak a little bit. I think it's really sad if you look the part but if you don't speak any of it"

(Interview 2).

Jung-Ah's perception succinctly entails an essential relation between heritage language and ethnicity, supporting what Cho (2017) frames as a nationalist language ideology, which "persists as a dominant framework for categorizing people based on "clear" identity markers" (p. 17). Cho explains, "the belief that there is a natural relationship between ethnic/national identity and language can be reflected in an individual's decisions to learn (or not learn) a language, based on how they choose to identify" (p. 17). Jung-Ah's essentialist language ideology was further confirmed, "I had to keep it, you have to be able to, you have to want to think that, you have to be able to want to keep it yourself, intrinsically, that sense" (Interview 3).

As Leeman (2015) notes, in addition to speaker agency, "identity claims and performances are also constrained by the identities ascribed by others" (p. 108). Such constraints exist because minorities' ethnic identification often requires validation and acknowledgement from others (Choi, 2015). The often-attributed aspects of ethnicity influence the kinds of identities learners desire to have, and these are often emphasized in Koreans, due to the same language and similar cultural values shared by Koreans (Min, 2006). Group 1's essentialist view could stem from their high proficiency of Korean, strong Korean identity, lived experiences in Korea, and their desire to remain loyal to their country of birth, as Lee's (2002) study suggests.

On the other hand, the other participants in Group 2 and 3 mostly showed flexibility; for example, Ariel voiced a more inclusive perception by which one's ability to speak the heritage language should not be a prerequisite for one to claim one's ethnic identity. Minny also limited her heritage language mainly to the home and ethnic community and highlighted a broad understanding by which an ethnic minority can choose his/her language use rather than imposing the essentialist link. Several scholars observe how heritage language proficiencies can function

as the criteria by which 1.5 or second generation Koreans are othered or ranked within the same ethnic community (Cho, 2000; Kim, 2008; Shin, 2015). Although ethnic identity plays a critical role in understanding many heritage language learners' motivations, an essentialist view cannot embrace the heterogeneous group of heritage language learners and their multiple motivations.

This study also affirmed that the participants' self-perceived heritage language proficiencies were constructed and shifted relatively and subjectively over contexts and time, and thus, as Jeon's (2010) study finds, one's low heritage language proficiency does not necessarily mean a low attachment to one's ethnic identity. This finding emerged mainly from the second generation participants (Group 3), whose proficiency levels and use of Korean were most limited. Although Jen rarely spoke Korean, her unique position as the only child who could speak Korean at home enhanced her view of heritage language as critical to her Korean identity: "To my connection, the fact that I know it, it's a huge role. Because if I didn't know Korean…I would just feel Canadian" (Interview 3). Jen further stated, "Really great extent, I think it [Korean] is the most important for me [to be Korean]" and "Even if you don't like Korean food or something, I feel like that if you can still speak it and be very proficient in it, you will be viewed as very Korean still" (Interview 2). Jen saw her heritage language, more so than culture, as a symbolic marker for her Korean identity, and this view was reinforced by her relative position which was constructed in her household. Jen actively positioned herself as a bilingual and claimed her Korean identity, since this position encapsulated her human agency and effort to initiate learning Korean by herself.

Similarly, David's increasing engagement in heritage language learning and practices during university, helped to confirm the close relation between Korean proficiency and his Korean identity. He reported, "…because my Korean practices have increased to 35% in my

conversations with Korean people, my Korean identity has also increased as well" (Interview 2). Despite his limited proficiency, he focused on his recent improvement, and he expressed that heritage language plays a symbolic role in ethnic identity as social acceptance is equally important in one's self identification. For him, heritage language was "a background or culture that you can lean on, that you can see as a prideful backbone" in addition to being a Canadian (Interview 3). Eventually, his investment in Korean embodied his effort to enhance his bilingual and bicultural identities in Canada.

Although Group 3's heritage language proficiency and frequency of heritage language use were lower than those of other 1.5 generation groups, the findings showed that the importance of knowledge and proficiencies of heritage language appeared relative, subjective and arbitrary, depending on the context, on external acceptance and recognition, and over time. This flexibility implies a broader spectrum of diverse heritage language learners and their motivation, in which they continuously construct the meanings of their heritage language in relation to their ethnic identity. He (2010) thus suitably states, language learners actively (re)construct themselves as members of a particular community "at various proficiency levels" (p. 72). In this way, heritage language learners' bilingualism can also be understood as being on a continuum, where they can have varying levels of proficiency in two languages.

In summary, the findings affirmed the clear role of proficiency, knowledge, and use of heritage language in enhancing ethnic identity. The participants mainly differed on their view of whether heritage language was a necessity to be Korean; understanding their different views can provide insights into their different learning motivations and their views of ethnic identity. The participants' perceived proficiency of heritage language was also constructed relatively, where it was compared to their past proficiency or based on the context, showing the complex, unfixed,

and shifting relationship between heritage language proficiency and ethnic identity.

Ethnic Identity as Constructed, Contested, and Evolving

Understanding the participants' ethnic identity is important, since the cultural values, behaviors, and customs often impact how they relate themselves to multiple social worlds (Carter, Yeh, & Mazzula, 2008). Several studies have examined ethnic identity development (e.g., Jo, 2001; Kang & Lo, 2004; Kibria, 2002; Tse, 1998), and ethnic identity is regarded as a core aspect in the immigrant integration process. Ethnic identity changes depending on life environments, and similar to one's heritage language learning trajectories, one's ethnic identity development intersects with experiences in multiple communities such as school, home, friends, and ethnic communities (Berry, 1997; Lee, 2002; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006; Schimmele & Wu, 2015; Shin, 2016; Yoon & Haag, 2010). The following discussion demonstrates my participants' ethnic identity formation and how they shifted and negotiated their identities between being Korean and being Canadian.

Throughout the interview sessions, my participants overwhelmingly identified themselves as Koreans (see Ch. 5). All the participants reported that they as young adults felt Korean, felt connected to Korean communities and Korea, felt proud of being Korean, and that their Korean identity was a significant part of who they are. Although some participants had not accepted their ethnicity (e.g., Group 2 & 3) when they were younger, they eventually developed pride in and embraced their Korean ethnicity as an integral part of their identity starting from high school or university. In most cases, their ethnic identity was realized or practiced in relation to their home environment and parents, their heritage language, cultural practices such as food, celebration of Korean holidays, and Korean cultural values and belief systems that were transmitted from their parents, and the similarities shared by the group, ranging from physical

appearances to similar interests in Korean media.

Many participants, however, simultaneously reported that ethnic identity fluctuated throughout their life and still fluctuated over contexts, and their Korean identity mainly competed and contested with being Canadian, which often required them to choose their positions in a specific context. Although most participants understood that being Korean and being Canadian was not a dichotomous choice, the relationship between their ethnic and Canadian identity was often inversely proportional.

Unlike my participants' unanimous self-identification as Korean, they showed varying levels with regards to their identifications as Canadian; with the exception of Minny who reported that she felt more Canadian, many participants did not identify themselves as a (full) Canadian mainly due to the multiethnic nature of Canada, their race (the Asian phenotypes), and lack of experience of the mainstream cultures, as many studies find similar findings (J. Kim, 2011; Shin, 2009; Shin, 2015). David explained this aspect:

> I'm very proud to be a Canadian nation, but the Canadian nation is made up of hundreds of nations, that's why it's harder to identify myself as a Canadian, it's much harder to have the scale, where Korea is very strong and specific, that's the thing, it's specific. You can't identify yourself as a Canadian, because that spectrum is too general.
> //from a Canadian ethnicity, I think there's always going to be an 80% identification. I think it's impossible for me to fully feel Canadian, due to biological reasons. Physically my appearance is a marker, and I'm not involved in full Canadian activities. (Interview 1, May 2, 2018)

In this regard, many participants showed their comfort in identifying themselves as Korean Canadian rather than Canadian. According to the participants, they felt Canadian when

they spoke in English, when they were at school or workplaces in general, when they used their

Canadian passport, when they traveled outside Canada, and when they found differences

between themselves and their Korean communities or other Koreans. The participants also

admitted that being educated in Canada rendered them a Canadian identity to a certain degree

since education formed social norms, values, belief systems, and ways of thinking and behaving.

Scholars suggest stage models to explain immigrant children's ethnic identity

development throughout their adolescent and young adulthood (e.g., Marcia, 1980; Phinney,

1990; Tse, 1998; Wilkinson, 1985). However, minorities create much more complex methods of

self-identification (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1993; Kim, 1981; Tse, 2000), and ethnic identity

formation is also a life-long process (Wilkinson, 1985). As briefly depicted in Ch. 5 and 6, this

study found differences in ethnic identity development processes across groups and individuals,

which often reflected my participants' attitudes towards heritage language.

Group 1 showed strong ethnic identity retention, describing that their Korean identity

took precedence over their Canadian identity and they never felt ashamed of, denied, or forgot

their Korean identity. Jung-Ah expressed, "Korean identity lets me be who I am," and "I'm

proud to be Korean" (Interview 2), although her Korean identity was sometimes challenged, for

example, by newly immigrated Koreans at school. This group invested in their Korean identity

by using Korean daily, maintaining a Korean lifestyle and culture, and celebrating traditional

holidays. Based on their Korean identity, this group also tried to construct their Korean Canadian

identity. Steve mentioned that he should learn more about Korea in order to represent Koreans

since he is Korean Canadian. Jung-Ah also incorporated her Koreanness in her identity in

Canada, "I'm happy that I have something very specific…when you think of Korean food you

think of spicy stuff. I like having that identity… something to add to the culture here" (Interview

2).

Group 2 showed heterogeneity. Ariel referred to herself as "Korean, but I was influenced by the Canadian culture," because, "which culture I was influenced was the one that would fluctuate, but my identity as a Korean was always consistent" (Interview 2). Although she felt Canadian until junior high school, she actively decided to be "Korean" as a result of socializing with her Korean friends since high school. In contrast, Minny felt more Canadian due to her everyday practices of communities which involved English and Caucasian peers. Her Canadian identification may also have been related to the fact that she had lived in Canada the longest, 18 years, among the 1.5 generation participants. However, when she was younger, Minny perceived her limited English and Asian phenotype to separate her from being Canadian, and recalled, "As a kid I always wanted to be more Canadian to fit in better, and have white people food and watch white TV shows" (Interview 3). Her conflict compelled her to put more effort into language assimilation, and in fact, most participants commonly perceived mastery of English as a passport for 'being Canadian,' further suggesting the intertwined relation between language (English) and identity (Canadian). Minny, however, began incorporating her ethnic background as an important part of her identity from high school, and she claimed her identities flexibly as Korean, Canadian and Korean Canadian depending on her contexts.

Group 3, the second generation participants, demonstrated differences in self-identifications along with similarities with each other in their ethnic identity development processes. David showed confidence in identifying himself as Korean, Canadian, and Korean Canadian, but indicated that he felt more Korean since late high school:

My friends would be Korean, my food, the communities that I participate in, everything right now, revolves around being Korean people, my Korean identity, so I think that it is

a crucial part of my self-identification, and I'm 100% [Korean] right now, and *I made*

that decision in [late] high school. (Interview 3, May 17, 2018, italics added)

Similar to Ariel's case, David's excerpt portrays a strong message of how an ethnic minority's

human agency can be exerted in defining who he is, rather than relying on others' views on him

as he decided to be Korean and felt 100% Korean.

Jen also identified herself as "Korean," but she always added "but I was born in Canada."

Regardless, Jen admitted that she sometimes felt detached from other Koreans since she spoke

only English, and never lived in Korea, and she also felt that she would almost be lying if she

identified herself as Canadian due to her lack of experience of the mainstream culture. Out of all

the participants, Jen seemed to show the most complex feelings about her identity being Korean,

Canadian, and Korean Canadian.

Multiple factors may underlie Jen's low confidence in self-identification. When she was

younger, Jen recalled, "I didn't really like to be Korean. It felt very much like a minority"

(Interview 2), "because I live in such a white dominant [school] environment too. I wanted to be

more like everybody else. I didn't want to be different - just the same" (Interview 2). In addition,

her family's low socioeconomic status (SES) could have hindered her from assimilating into

both the mainstream culture and Korean communities. Studies suggest that the outlook on race

relations and SES influence ethnic identity formation (e.g., Kibria, 2002; Pyke & Dang, 2003),

although the results are sometimes conflicting, and the results may not be accurate as studies rely

on self-reported SES. For example, J. Kim's (2011) study finds that the majority of the

participants who described themselves as either Korean or Korean American belonged to the

middle class in the U.S., suggesting the link between high SES and high ethnic identification.

Shin (2015) also finds that her participant from low SES showed the most critical view on ethnic

identity and received less literacy support in both Korean and English due to a lack of access to resources.

To elaborate, Jen reported that she never heard about the Korean heritage language school in Winnipeg. When I said the tuition was about $180 yearly, she was surprised because she had expected it to be higher, but I realized that the tuition could still have posed a financial challenge to her family. Jen's interview reminded me of my experience at the heritage language school when I was a teacher, where the school had initiated a flexible tuition fee policy for families with financial difficulties so they could pay fees based on their financial situation, and which some families participated in. Jen's case portrays Bourdieu's (1986) insight of the entwined relation between social capital and economic capital. Low socioeconomic status often intersects with lack of social capital, and Jen's background influenced her life opportunities, identity, and heritage language learning path. According to Jen, she was never involved in any extracurricular activities, by which people often establish social networks, thus establishing social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Jen recalled, "I could really feel that we were not as well off. We grew up next to our cousins, and we saw them go out a lot. Eat out for dinner, buy food," but when her cousins went to McDonald's, "we had to eat at home because it was too expensive" (Interview 1). Her cultural and social experiences or assimilation opportunities in both cultures were restrained, and her most accessible resource may have been Korean media, which largely shaped her heritage language learning path and identity.

Nonetheless, Jen began to view her Korean identity positively from high school, "because I'm Korean. I think I just finally accepted it." While going through university, she further realized that having a Korean background was valuable, and thus, she reported that she no longer desired to assimilate into the white culture.

David's ethnic identity development was similar to Jen's. David began realizing his cultural differences from middle school, but his Korean background was a burden to him:

But in middle school I realized it [Kimchi] smelled, it was very strong and very potent. It was embarrassing that I was bringing that smell into the classroom or wherever. Often times I would throw it out, sometimes I wouldn't eat it... And then there was one time my friends came over to my house and my mom had this big pot, and my friend opened it. Chicken feet! And he freaked out. And then he was what are you eating? I don't eat it. My mom loves it…It scared him…I think they were just teasing me because they were just friends. (Interview 3, May 17, 2018)

Although he attended multicultural schools, he expressed, "in our homes we stayed cultural, but when we went to school, we became neutral. So, we all had the same culture at school" (Interview 2). When I asked about the definition of "the same culture," David admitted that it was the white European background culture, the mainstream culture, and Canadian culture, which he viewed as synonymous. In this aspect, David's expression, "neutral" was not neutral since the standardized "same" culture represented white Canadian mainstream culture, demonstrating his assimilation into the mainstream culture. However, as David reported, entering university played a critical role in his Korean identity due to his personal maturity as well as a shift of his friends (none of his high school friends pursued higher education).

Most participants from Group 2 and 3 tended to show similarity in their ethnic identity development processes in a broad way, despite individual differences. They felt Canadian when they were young and began recognizing their differences during middle school (or elementary school), they finally began accepting their Korean identity in high school and developing Korean identity with pride, and consequently they viewed their heritage differently and invested in

heritage language and culture (e.g., university Korean course). These findings can be supported by Tse's (1998) model.

Focusing on attitudes towards heritage languages, Tse (1998) posits four stages of developing ethnic identity for Asian immigrant children in America; in the first stage, *ethnic unawareness*, young immigrant children are not conscious of their minority status; in the second stage, *ethnic ambivalence / evasion*, they have ambivalent or negative feelings toward the ethnic culture, while preferring identification with the dominant societal group; in the third stage, *ethnic emergence*, the ethnic minorities recognize themselves as part of the ethnic group and explore their ethnic heritage; in the fourth stage, *ethnic identity incorporation*, they accept themselves as an ethnic minority and improve self-image. For example, David seemed to follow the four stages and his engagement in the ethnic community and heritage language starting from university supported the *ethnic emergence* and *ethnic identity incorporation* stages.

Tse (1998, 2000), however, acknowledges that the configuration of the stages is fluid depending one's life environment, experiences, and personality. Tse's stages offer a framework for the broad landscape of how young immigrant children integrate in the context of immigration in the host country (Liao, Larke, & Hill-Jackson, 2017).

Notably, my participants overwhelmingly agreed that their ethnic identity still fluctuated over time and space, suggesting the ongoing aspect of ethnic identity construction. For example, David expressed that he felt 30-40% Korean in terms of his everyday practices, but he later in the interview described that he felt 100% Korean due to his engagement in the ethnic community and heritage language learning. Their contesting narratives indicate the fluid and ever-changing aspects of ethnic identity, which also reflects their shifting identities between being Korean and being Canadian.

Multiple Identities and Construction of a Korean Canadian Identity

My participants perceived their identities as multiple and most participants perceived an awareness of being or becoming Korean Canadian and demonstrated a goal of constructing a dual Korean Canadian identity, by which they can traverse the two worlds.

All participants agreed that their identities were multiple, shifting, and contested and thus not permanently fixed, as poststructuralists posit. For example, Steve described, "I identify myself as Korean, Korean-Canadian, Canadian… there are multiple identities within myself to fit each category…I don't feel there is one label that is wrong or that perfectly fits" (Written interview). David further expressed that there were "varying identities to a different degree" over contexts, and thus "Identity shifts. Identity is a fluctuating idea."

Despite my participants' strong self-identification as Korean, their ethnic identity still fluctuated depending on context, supporting the notion that ethnic identity is not only a psychological but social phenomenon (Isajiw, 1990). Most participants reported that they did not feel Korean when they spoke in English, when they could not perform Korean appropriately and they did not know about Korean society, and when negative stereotypes were imposed upon them. My participants also did not feel Korean when they noticed differences between themselves and other Koreans. Jung-Ah reported:

> The Korean friends I had back then, they go, oh you're so Canadian. That's when I felt
> not Korean. Even these days, sometimes I see some Korean stuff and I don't agree with
> that, that's when I feel Canadian, or sometimes I feel that Korean people are too
> homogenous…they don't have much idea of what the outside is like…cases like that, I
> feel very not Korean. (Interview 2, Nov. 1, 2017)

Minny also understood how her Korean identity fluctuated, "it's really 'pick and choose,'

when the situation is more Korean related, I am happy to be Korean and identify, but really, strongly, passionately, the situation comes up in FIFA or Olympics, but in everyday life its very minor" (Interview 2). Jen also added, "I feel more Korean in the workplace. Just the majority is Canadian, so I feel more Korean. But when I was in Korea, the majority was Korean, so I feel more Canadian" (Interview 3). Ethnic identity appeared as a relative, complex, and contested construct which can be strengthened or diminished depending on the participants' emotions, interests, and social contexts.

As reported, the participants' identities mainly shifted on a continuum between being Korean and being Canadian, although they operated in multiple communities as transnational individuals. In this process, my participants frequently felt a sense of not belonging anywhere and confusion regarding their hybrid sphere, therefore sometimes feeling disadvantaged. Bhabha (1994) theorizes hybrid identity as ambiguous and conflicting as it simultaneously subsists in, and traverses the boundary of the two cultural spaces, thus creating a feeling of 'neither here nor there.' Jen expressed, "I try not to think about it, if I think about it, it's not a happy thing. Because I feel like… I don't belong anywhere" (Interview 2), and thus, she often wished she had cultural "purity." Ariel also admitted that at some point "it's a conflict of identity, where you think you're neither Canadian nor Korean, so that was a disadvantage" (Interview 3). Minny summarized, "It's a very unique experience and we're sort of caught in this *hybrid position between both worlds*, and it's both authentic and unique, but at the same time it can be hard and conflicting" (Interview 3, italics added).

A Third space and life lessons. At this disjuncture, my participants recognized a "Third space" (Bhabha, 1990b, 1994), where they felt 'neither here nor there' but also that they had built their own understanding of the two worlds and their own sense of who they are. For

example, Jen described, "it's kind of in between, not hundred percent Korean, but not one

hundred percent Canadian. I'm lingering in between, but I don't even know which side I am on"

(Interview 2). This ambiguous space can be construed as a Third space, where she continuously

refigured the worlds and her positions. Bhabha (1994) thus suggests that a Third space endows

bicultural or bilingual hybrid individuals with the ability to construct a new and different view of

the world and themselves by intersecting two different worlds.

Despite sometimes feeling disadvantaged, most participants agreed that their particular

position as 1.5 or second generations eventually provided them with unique life lessons and

meanings which ultimately broadened their identities and views of the worlds. Steve expressed

that being 1.5 and second generations "grants us unexplainable opportunities just residing in the

foreign land, all the while maintaining our unique heritage and growing from that as its roots,"

and added:

> I wouldn't have a confident idea of who I would be, if I had stayed in Korea. The various
>
> exposure I had from many different environments, and the future prospects I have for
>
> myself and my family, enables the character I am now. I have more pride, confidence and
>
> maturity of who I am now because of immigrating. (Written interview, Dec. 22, 2017)

The benefits or lessons that my participants attained include their bicultural/lingual ability,

sensitivity to differences, and better understanding of others and empathy, especially for

racialized linguistic minority immigrants. Particularly, Jen highlighted the critical role of her

heritage language learning experiences in building her empathy and tolerance to racialized

linguistic minority immigrants. Since she understood the frustrations and challenges that the

linguistic minorities faced, for example, she recalled that her mother, who could not speak

English at all, was sometimes treated disrespectfully at stores due to her language barrier, she

was more empathetic to linguistic minority immigrants. Individuals obtain new understanding

and different ways of being in the world through struggles (Bakhtin, 1981). Park's (2011) study

which highlights Korean Americans' struggles in constructing identity as bilingual/cultural, thus

advances the hybrid individuals' struggles to "an effective path to new ways of learning,

understanding, and living" (p. 178).

In this regard, their hybrid identity, worldly perspectives and understanding of "others"

instilled cosmopolitan characteristics, which encompass both openness towards different cultural

experiences and duties felt to unknown others across cultural and geopolitical borders (Van den

Anker, 2010). Guardado (2018) thus argues that heritage language learning and multilingualism

can promote transnationalism, which denotes "the individual experiences" of crossing borders,

cosmopolitanism, which represents "the attitudes and identities," and global citizenship (p. 207).

Although my participants did not directly mention cosmopolitanism, their unique experiences,

fluid identities, and life lessons rendered them a broader view of the worlds and others.

This study also found that "picking and choosing" was a required social practice for

many participants, to negotiate themselves over contexts and become who they desired to be.

Minny, for example, picked and chose her language, friend groups, and her identities as Korean

or Canadian depending on contexts or interests. Ariel also tried to adjust her identity "according

to time and place and location, or context" or "what benefits me more, or what applies to me

more" (Interview 3). There is no ranking of cultures, as Ariel expressed: "I wouldn't give them a

rank because they both have their advantages and disadvantages. They have to be viewed

separately, so they can't be ranked" (Interview 3). In this way, individuals' choice of the

dominant language over their heritage language does not necessarily denote the abandonment of

their heritage and the loss of ethnic identity (Jo, 2001). My participants' "pick and choose"

practice should be construed as the very process of negotiating their identities and becoming who they desire to be; picking and choosing further denotes my participants' human agency by which they accept or resist social forces and open new ways of learning and living.

Regardless, most participants agreed that the language spoken by the community that they were engaged in was the fundamental criteria applied to pick and choose their positions. For example, Ariel shifted her identities depending on separate social spaces, such as the school and workplace for her Canadian identity, and home, friends, and ethnic church for her Korean identity, mainly due to the different languages spoken in these spaces. Jo (2001) and Kang's (2013) study support this aspect: Korean American heritage language learners situated themselves in relation to American-ness and Korean-ness based on their daily language practices. The Korean language learners in Kang's (2013) study identified themselves as different from both mainstream Americans and Korean natives, and struggled to embrace the two traditions, rather than denying either or both of the two spaces within themselves.

Construction of a dual Korean Canadian identity. Although my participants demonstrated different degrees of feeling attached to being Korean and being Canadian, most participants desired to construct a dual Korean Canadian identity as a negotiated form of their shifting identities. Dual identity can be defined as identification with both one's ethnocultural minority in-group and society of residence (Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013). Literature in the field of heritage language education also highlights the emergence of a dual identity in many heritage language learners (e.g., Kang, 2013; Liao et al., 2017; Park, 2011). David explained this aspect succinctly:

> I could attain the pros of being Canadian and the pros of being Korean, that is my
> ultimate goal. And maybe that creates its own culture on its own. I'm sure there are

people who have already done that. I think that's the best of being part of two different

cultures, two different identities. (Interview 3, May 17, 2018)

David's excerpt brings to mind the comments of Yonah Martin, a Conservative Senator from

British Columbia. Yonah Martin migrated from Korea at the age of 7 and became the first

Canadian of Korean descent to serve in the Senate of Canada and the first Korean Canadian

Parliamentarian in Canadian history. In an interview, she reports that as a 1.5 generation Korean

Canadian, she had a few identity crises in her life, and suggests that once 1.5 generations find

their identity, they will find their position in Canadian society. She strongly argues that "1.5

generation Korean Canadians are 200%. They are 100% Canadians as well as 100% Koreans"

(Yoon, 2015).

Most participants were also well aware that construction of Korean Canadian identity

required observing, understanding, knowing about, and negotiating the two cultures. Minny

expressed, "I belong and can rely on both my Canadian and Korean communities," and she knew

that the negotiation process entailed reflecting on herself to "see myself for both sides." The

participants felt that they needed to constantly incorporate new information for both cultures so

that they could support their choices and positions, despite varying degrees and engagements. In

this aspect, Minny showed concern that there was a clear lack of social opportunities to learn

about and access resources on Korea and Korean language and culture.

However, not all the participants showed confidence in their Korean Canadian

identification. For example, Jen showed hesitance in identifying herself as "Korean Canadian,"

and this suggests that each participant's Korean Canadian identity construction was going

through different stages, interplaying with their experiences of the past, present and (imagined)

future, contexts, and personality.

Meanwhile, the community leaders expressed a slightly different view on the participants' multiple shifting identities and their "pick and choose" practices. All community leaders understood that balancing identities between Korean and Canadian is hard but believed it can be attained through life learning and experiences, and yet, many community leaders stressed that Korean identity should be constructed as the foundation and then the Canadian identity should be incorporated afterwards. In the focus group, John explained:

성공한다고 할 때 하나의 포스트를 갖고 거기를 바탕으로 세컨드로 잡는 게 중요할 거 같아요… 1.5 세대든 2 세대든 균형을 맞춘다는 개념은 우리가 한국 사람이다, 라는 정체성을 갖고 거기에… 내가 코리안 캐나디안이다, 라는 거죠…한국사람인 게 유리할 때는 한국사람이라고 하고 캐나다인인 게 유리할 때는 캐나다 사람이라고 하는 친구들이 너무 많아요. 결국 이게 정체성의 혼란이거든요…우선 나는 한국사람이고 다음에 나는 캐나다에 살고 이 사회를 위해 봉사하는 사람이라는 정체성의 우선순위를 잘 잡는 게 중요하겠다 봅니다. [*Kor.* When it comes to success, it's important to have one foundational column first and add a second one based on that ... The idea that 1.5 or 2nd generations balance their identities means that they first build their identity as Koreans, and then they are Korean Canadians. There are so many young Koreans who identify themselves either Koreans or Canadians thoroughly depending on their own advantages. After all, this is identity confusion. I think it is important to have prioritize identity like this, "I'm Korean first and then, I am a person who is living and serving in the Canadian society.] (Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017)

Although the community leaders' insights were valuable and were reflected in many participants (e.g., Group 1), there may be limitations to embrace the varying ways and stages of identity construction of 1.5 and second generations. As demonstrated, all the participants felt proud of

their Korean background, and they incorporated their ethnic identity as a significant part of their sense of who they are. In addition, picking and choosing was a social practice by which many participants negotiated their identities to immerse themselves both in the ethnic communities and the mainstream society. A strict imposition of one priority or ranking of the cultures may render limiting to young Korean Canadians, which may contribute to their nonparticipation in ethnic communities, which can thus deprive them of their heritage language learning opportunities.

According to Park's (2011) study, the Korean American participants demonstrated their complex hybrid identity by drawing on different identification strategies to make distinctions between ingroups and outgroups, and "they build on their heritage language skills and bicultural competence in searching for a comfortable sense of self and learning to become active agents in designing their world" (p. 172). In doing so, struggles inflate and deflate "depending on the degree of coherence between what the ideological environment encouraged or permitted and what the individual participant wished to become" (p. 200). The community leaders in this study, who were all parents of 1.5 or second generations, may consider being more inclusive of a variety of young Korean Canadians' identity construction processes.

The emergence of a dual identity may be one of the common ways of immigrant children's identity construction in their host country as a result of shifting the two worlds. According to Choi's (2015) study, first, 1.5, and second generation Korean Americans' efforts to construct a dual identity is a negotiation strategy, responding to the dominant power to marginalize minority groups. Choi concludes, "their self-categorization of Korean-American dual or hyphenated identity is a 'conforming' remedy between an imposed or non-negotiable identity assigned by the majority group and their way of 'negotiating' their own identity" (p. 254). Choi's conclusion can be applied to my participants, but my study highlights the

participants' continuous endeavors or exertion of their human agency to (re)shape their

surroundings and achieve their goals, and the life lessons attained in their dual identity

construction processes. In this way, I argue that it is a more active configuration of their

broadened possibility, rather than a 'conforming' remedy.

Challenges and Prospects to Becoming a Korean Canadian

Throughout the interview sessions, I realized that my participants all strived to succeed in

Canadian society as legitimate members. Their identities as 1.5 and second generation Korean

Canadians were constructed by both their efforts to integrate into the dominant society as well as

their efforts to make sense of who they are and their positions in the ethnic community. Their

dual identity, nonetheless, does not seem to have been automatically achieved by simply having

a Korean background and living in Canada, and as many studies attest, one common challenge is

experiences of racial exclusion (e.g., Choi, 2015; Kibria, 2002, B. Kim, 2013; Shin, 2009).

Most participants perceived racial exclusion and stereotypes as challenges that hinder

many 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' integration and their sense of belonging to

Canada, thereby impeding their dual identity construction. Steve outlined this issue:

> I think discrimination and racism would be the most salient issue surrounding 1.5/second
>
> generation Korean Canadians. Even though I haven't experienced it myself, I know
>
> people around me and other 1.5/second generations who have experienced discrimination
>
> and racism to an extent. It's a worldwide issue and it affects our perspective, actions and
>
> psychology. Just because the statement may be true to a certain extent does not mean it
>
> applies to us as a certain population, especially for 1.5/2 generations who grew up partly
>
> or entirely in the same environment. (Written interview, Jan. 2, 2018)

Interestingly, however, all my participants unanimously reported that they did not experience any

clear racial discrimination or marginalization in the school and university setting, and instead

mainly outside the school such as in the workplace, stores, or on the streets. In this aspect, as Jen

articulated, the participants might not have recognized any subtle forms of racism or

marginalization when they were younger, as some participants' lived experiences seemed to

suggest isolation and marginalization at school due to their minority position.

Race, language and perpetual foreigner stereotypes. Some of the participants who

experienced racial exclusion or stereotypes attested to its negative impacts on their identity and

their sense of belonging to Canada. The experiences of racial exclusion often manifest

themselves in subtle ways through everyday interactions in the form of microaggressions (Baker,

2017; Cheryan & Monin, 2005). In such a way, language often intersects with racism. Use of

foreign or heritage languages is discriminated against, and lack of English proficiency is

regarded as a significant marker of "foreigner" status, especially when a non-standard English

accent is performed (Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011). Jung-Ah's case shows how

language played a role in racial exclusion and how the exclusion threatened her identity:

> I used to work with my brother at Walmart… he recently got the job and he was asking
>
> me how to punch in this card, but he was asking me in Korean. There were some white
>
> old ladies, customers, in front of me, so I told him this is how you do it in Korean and so
>
> the ladies said, "why don't they speak in English," they were saying some mean stuff
>
> very derogatory stuff, right in front of me.
>
> //I was really offended. They're white old people…I should have said something, but I
>
> was so upset that I didn't say anything, things like that. That's why it's language. I don't
>
> think they heard me speak English. (Interview 2, Nov. 1, 2017)

Jung-Ah's use of a foreign language granted the customers a right to insult Jung-Ah, since she

violated their English-only presumption in the workplace. Jung-Ah felt that racialized immigrants who are not fluent in English tend to be easily victimized, thus, she criticized English hegemony, and people's lack of appreciation of linguistic minorities' proficiency in their heritage language.

Jung-Ah's struggle further came from the "forever foreigner" stereotype where others recognized her as a Korean, a non-native English speaker, and a foreigner, rather than a Canadian and a Korean Canadian, which were identities that she desired to construct. She encountered almost daily the question "where are you from?" both in and outside the workplace, even from racialized children of immigrants, who were native English speakers:

> People here will always see me as a foreigner as long as…I look Korean…I'm Asian. Because my appearance and my English, the way I speak, because native speakers can tell... I apparently have a Korean accent, so my friends say that too. Even between my friends they'll always consider me as a foreigner. I don't think they'll think of me as Canadian ever. (Interview 1, Oct. 18, 2017)

The recurring question of "where are you from?" often functions as a palpable discourse to deny the legitimate identity of many Asian immigrants, as they "do not fit the picture" of the host country (Cheryan & Monin, 2005, p. 717), implementing a "perpetual foreigner stereotype" (Kim et al., 2011). Huynh, Devos, and Smalarz (2011) find that awareness of the perpetual foreigner stereotype in the ethnic minority university students in the U.S. was a significant predictor of identity conflict, relating to lower hope and lower sense of belonging to American culture. Huynh et al. define these behaviors as "racial microaggression, whereby racism is disguised in supposedly benign behaviors and comments (e.g., Where are you from?) that convey strong messages of exclusion and inferiority" (p. 135).

Interestingly, the participants who were not perceived to speak with a foreign accent in English tended to respond to the question of "where are you from?" less sensitively. For example, David understood this question as commonplace since there are so many cultures and ethnicities in Canada. However, Huynh et al. (2011) argue, "Even when the intent of perpetrators…is not malicious or racially motivated," the seemingly harmless occurrences position ethnic minorities "less American than European Americans" (p.135). Similarly, Zhou (2012) points out the conflicting position where Asian immigrants are caught within "the model minority" stereotype for their extraordinary socioeconomic achievements and "the perpetual foreigner" stereotype for their physical characteristics and ancestral roots in Asia. Zhou contends how the constructed images of an ethnic group become stereotypes that affect the group's integration into American society, while calling for a constant rejection against any stereotypes. In this respect, Jung-Ah strongly suggested that there should be a need to introduce a new discourse to ask people about their ethnicity. My participants overwhelmingly suggested education can and should play the most critical role in alleviating racism and constructing inclusiveness.

Markedly, despite the participants' awareness of racism as a challenge to their Korean Canadian identity, most participants expressed an optimistic future for themselves as professionals in the workplace, and overwhelmingly reported that their race and minority position would not prevent the development of their social identity as professionals. Importantly, this finding signifies that professional integration can play a very critical role in my participants' construction of Korean Canadian identity as well as their sense of belonging to Canada.

Professional identity as integral to Korean Canadian identity. All my participants either entered a professional field or professional program, and ultimately aimed to integrate

professionally in Canadian society as a strategy to immerse themselves into the mainstream. For example, as a nurse, Jung-Ah felt she belonged to the hospital as a full member and that her practice confirmed her social identity and her Canadian identity. She reported, "Like work and stuff…I'm Canadian because I have that citizenship and I don't have to go through lots of paperwork to prove myself" (Interview 3). Jen's case further depicts how significantly her professional integration empowered her life, self-esteem, and identity:

> My parents didn't have a business, they didn't work in Korea and then they immigrated here, they started from the bottom working here. I was worried, no one has a professional job in my family, so I don't have any support. I wondered, can I find a professional job, no connections, I don't know anybody, my resume looks really bad, maybe my references don't look good - but it ended up not being a problem. (Interview 3, Mar. 24, 2018)

Her success granted her enormous pride as the first working professional in her family and upgraded her identity from being a quiet Asian student to a capable professional with a career. Her professional integration encapsulated her long journey to portray her social identity in the mainstream, beyond her past identity as an outsider at school.

Similarly, Minny reported that she overcame her minority position and she felt full membership in her academic community and mainstream society, and stated, "I always feel I'm a visible minority. But I never feel like I'm a minority" (Interview 2). This seemingly contradictory expression embraces both her Korean identity as a visible minority and her full Canadian identity as equal memberships. Minny envisioned an optimistic future image of herself, because "I never felt like you had to be white to be Canadian, I used to when I was a kid but definitely not anymore. I truly believe in the sense of multiculturalism" (Interview 3).

A line of studies on immigrant children similarly attest that being accepted as Canadian

or American is understood to be part of a process of social mobility (Kibria, 2002; Lee, 2005; Shin, 2009). For example, Shin (2009) finds that professional integration as a tool for social mobility is a negotiation strategy for many Korean Canadians. According to Shin, the second generation Korean Canadian heritage language learners remained Korean in many respects, and perceived that adopting Canadian behaviors did not help them integrate into mainstream society and "rather, they recognize that integration into mainstream society can be achieved by social mobility or socioeconomic status that they achieve through education" (p.177).

The participants' social identity construction as professionals appeared critical and parallel to their Korean Canadian identity construction along with their legitimate full membership in Canada and their sense of belonging to Canada. Perhaps, the 1.5 and second generations' professional integration can be the end product of many Korean immigrant parents' common motivations for migration, which are children's education and better life opportunities. All the parents of the participants (except Jung-Ah) did not integrate into professional fields, however, their 1.5 or second generation children, all exhibited social mobility by integrating professionally in the workplace or engaging in professional schools.

Conclusion

This section discussed the close relationship between heritage language and ethnic identity, the participants' shifting identities between being Korean and being Canadian, and their ongoing identity negotiation as a Korean Canadian. The participants' narratives confirmed the close relationship between heritage language and ethnic identity, but the findings also showed that drawing an essential link between heritage language and ethnic identity cannot embrace a heterogeneous group of heritage language learners and their motivation for heritage language learning. The findings also supported a constructive vision of the ethnic individuals as subjects

who have agency and are engaged in a constant process of negotiating their ethnic identities. Heterogeneity implies each participant's unique identity development, lived experiences, their human agency to choose to be Korean or Canadian or Korean Canadian. Ethnic identity also appeared as a complex and contested construct depending on the participants' emotions, interests, and social contexts.

The participants' identity construction as Korean Canadians can be understood as a form of identity negotiation, and as a result of their shifting identities between Korean and Canadian, by which they negotiate their positions more competently and thus, become who they desire to be. In this way, their social practice of picking and choosing was a largely shared negotiation strategy. However, the process of becoming a Korean Canadian varied individually and was constantly ongoing, involving both challenges (racial exclusion) and successes (social identity construction as professionals).

Chapter 8: Heritage Language Learning Experiences at a University

One of the goals of this study is to shed light on how the participants experienced their heritage language learning at the university. My participants had no institutional heritage language learning opportunities such as public-school Korean classes before the university Korean class. This chapter presents the experiences and meanings the participants created through their heritage language learning in higher education, in answer to the last research question of this study.

The First Access to Institutional Heritage Language Learning

For all participants, the university Korean program served as a significant space and time in which the different heritage language learning trajectories of my participants converged, as the university Korean course was their first opportunity to access heritage language learning at a publicly funded educational institution in Canada. My participants reported that their heritage language learning at the university was meaningful and successful in terms of improving their linguistic skills, their Korean identity and self-confidence, and the social validation of the Korean language as an official curriculum. At this point, it should be acknowledged that this feedback could be slightly influenced by my position as a Korean instructor, who taught most of the participants. Notably, my participants' heritage language learning at the university suggested the significance of an official curriculum for the ethnic minority identity and the important role of higher education in heritage language education. I first discuss the motivations, successes and challenges reported by my participants.

Motivations and investments. Power is not only repressive, but productive (Foucault, 1978). Repression of social access to heritage language learning opportunities at school might have generated stronger motivation for my participants to invest in their heritage language at

university. Jung-Ah highlighted, "I've never really had any academic Korean experience other than what I had in Korea," thus, "I was glad", "a lot of people are into learning Japanese and some Chinese too and not much Korean. I thought it [university Korean course] was a very positive thing" (Interview 2). Minny and Ariel also reported that they would have definitely taken a Korean class if it had been offered in high school. Due to their experience of K-12 schooling that excluded their heritage language, the participants were pleasantly "shocked" and "surprised" when they heard about the Korean courses at the university, and felt "excited," "happy" and "curious," and motivated to take a Korean course.

Motivation entails language learners' desires, past histories, current surroundings, and future images of themselves, and thus, it should be understood as learners' investment in their identities (Norton, 2013). Heritage language learners in higher education are mostly motivated to explore their heritage to connect themselves to their roots and the heritage community in addition to some practical goals such as professional opportunities (Duff & Li, 2014; Li & Duff, 2008). Carreira and Kagan's (2011) report on 1,732 students enrolled in university-level heritage language courses in 22 different languages reveals that the most common motivations for enrolling in heritage language courses were "to learn about their cultural and linguistic roots" (p. 48). Similarly, Shin (2015) reports that Korean American university heritage language learners were mainly motivated to know more about their heritage and to (re)connect to Korean communities. Lee and Kim (2008) also explain the main motivation of Korean heritage language learners in terms of increasing personal and cultural capital (e.g., forms of connecting with parents or understanding their culture).

Cho (2017) analyzes the core motivations of Korean Canadian heritage language learners according to the following underlying language ideologies: 1) to fulfill the assumed cultural and

linguistic duties of an ethnic Korean person (nationalist ideology); 2) to attain the linguistic

resource for communication with families or economic gains/career (functionalist ideology). Cho

further argues that the two nationalist and functionalist motivations reinforce each other, and are

compatible with a cosmopolitanism ideology, which explains most non-heritage language

learners' view of Korean. According to Cho, a cosmopolitan language ideology "recognizes that

language choice and use are highly personal" and "acknowledges the diversity of experiences

and motivations of language learners" (p. 58). Cosmopolitanism as discussed earlier refers to the

notion that there is coolness (Maher, 2005) in knowing a minority language, and this can

enhance "the demands of a nationalist language ideology because it draws attention to the

valuable knowledge and skills" (Cho, 2017, p. 81). Thus, Cho explains, Korean heritage

language learners try to "construct an expected bi/multilingual identity by regaining symbolic

capital" (p. 82).

Similar to the literature mentioned above, my participants reported that they were

motivated to improve Korean skills, explore and maintain Korean identity, experience an official

heritage language learning opportunity, and make friends who share similar interests in Korean

language and culture. First, all participants showed a strong desire to improve their Korean skills,

which was driven by the combination of their assumed duty as a Korean and their practical need

to communicate better with family, friends, and community members.

Most 1.5 generation participants intended to reinforce their Korean by improving their

writing skills, grammar, and vocabulary, and expand the space to practice their heritage language

beyond their home. Meanwhile, the second generation participants desired to explore the basic

foundation and theory underlying the Korean language as well as overall language skills, since

they had never experienced any formal heritage language learning. As a 1.5 generation, Jung-Ah,

expressed, "I feel like my Korean's going downhill so fast," without formal opportunities to develop Korean while living in Canada. Likewise, Ariel felt that her Korean was declining after moving to Winnipeg: "I was speaking more English then, because I was feeling burdensome with [speaking Korean at] the new church and everything but when meeting new Korean friends, it was important for me to keep up" (Interview 2). As a second generation, Jen wished to explore grammar and theory since she had learned Korean on her own and felt weak in these areas, and reported, "I know how to talk and write words, I didn't know the grammar…Even though I know how to say it, I didn't know why you say it…" (Interview 2). For Jen, learning Korean formally seemed very meaningful since she could confirm and reshape what she had self-studied.

In fact, many participants reported that they desired to experience the official formal learning in an academic setting since they had no prior access to institutional heritage language learning in Canada. For example, Jen reported, "I saw they offered Korean, so I was really interested, I never formally took a Korean course before." (Interview 2); David added, "I always wondered how they taught it. I wanted to see the validity of the course [as a formal course]." (Interview 3). Also, all participants were aware of the symbolic power demonstrated by the inclusion of their heritage language in an institutional curriculum. Language is not a mere method of communication, but also a mechanism of power, implying various subject positions and subjectivities of the language users, entrenched in the situated society, and thus, language learning and uses engage in political forces (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Norton, 2013; Pennycook, 2000). My participants perceived the social inclusion of Korean as validation and legitimization of their heritage language as knowledge and felt that the social recognition empowered their identity. David described this aspect:

It's beneficial and in a way, it validates the pride that I have in my country...the fact that

University of Manitoba gives an opportunity to learn Korean, shows that Korea is an

international contributor, so it's - I feel like Korea is a bigger country, from that.

(Interview 3, May 17, 2018)

Consistent with other scholarly works, many participants were motivated to explore their

Korean roots and enhance their Korean identity as a significant component of their sense of who

they are, their connection to the Korean community, and their bilingual Korean Canadian

identity. For example, Jung-Ah wanted to invest in her Korean identity, since heritage language

is "part of my identity, who I am." David also highlighted, "Personally for me, that was my

biggest motivator, or the reasons why I wanted to take the Korean course. I wanted to explore

my identity" (Interview 3); learning heritage language would help him better identify himself as

Korean, communicate with family and community members, and feel attached to the ethnic

community. His imagined identity as a core contributor to the Korean community was also

connected to his investment in heritage language; he hoped to build a Korean community centre

and service system in Winnipeg to improve Korean immigrants' sociocultural space and quality

of life. As studies affirm, language learning is investment in learners' identity, reflecting their

imagined community (Norton, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Song, 2010).

For Steve, making new friends of various backgrounds in Korean class motivated him.

Steve desired to make friends with similar interests in Korean language and culture:

It's very nice to have an opportunity to meet friends who are interested in Korea and

wanting to learn the language. I was happy I was able to help them throughout the years

and share common ideas and culture. I also took Mandarin class because how much I

love being involved with people who have the same interest (learning Asian

culture/language). (Written Interview, Dec. 22, 2017)

Steve's motivation to explore Korean can be extended to his investment in his identity not only as Korean but also Asian in a broader frame. Considering the common pattern of socialization with Asian friends and some participants' previous interest in Japanese, my participants' heritage language motivation may uphold their commonality as Asians and their investment in their pan-ethnic identity. Minny also elaborated that the Korean class was "a small community" that she felt connected to due to their similar goals, interests, and the long duration (two semesters) the class spent together despite the different ethnolinguistic backgrounds.

One of the other motivations for taking a Korean course was as a GPA booster. Although Minny was the only participant to state this motivation directly, many participants seemed to perceive that their Korean course would benefit them academically due to their heritage background. Minny described her multiple motivations:

I was very pleasantly surprised with the level of interest and the different variety of people wanting to take Korean for different reasons. I took it more as a GPA booster… But at the same time, I do really mean this, my Korean isn't great, and it really was an opportunity to improve. (Interview 2, Nov. 22, 2017)

According to Minny, her Japanese course at the university was a GPA booster as well, although it turned out to be much more challenging than her initial expectations. "[W]hether they are seeking an "easy credit" or an "easy A" versus a real opportunity to develop" has been controversial for heritage language learners' motivation in university institutions (Li & Duff, 2008, p. 19). Most participants in my study, however, expressed that a GPA booster was not their direct motivation but rather a result of their investment or an ensuing benefit as a heritage language learner. Jen expressed, "I think it was a benefit, but I was really excited to take a Korean class, because I never did before. I was really curious, how do they teach Korean, not

just through watching dramas and Korean things" (Interview 3). Jung-Ah also rejected the motivation of a GPA booster, "definitely not, no, I don't think so. Because you're committing your entire school year for that" (Interview 3).

In this regard, Li and Duff (2008) inform that rather than obtaining easy credits, "they are aiming at a "better investment" (Norton, 2000) in legitimate transformational education and opportunities for their future… in which their desires, hopes, and diverse past experiences and identities can be harmonized somewhat" (p. 20). Moreover, Jen firmly believed that not all heritage background students grow up learning their heritage language, and stated, "Even if you grew up in a Korean family, you might not have had an opportunity to learn Korean. Because my parents did not take any initiative to teach me Korean" (Interview 3). As Polinsky (2014) argues, one's heritage language proficiency cannot necessarily be assumed by one's ethnic background.

Interestingly, none of my participants mentioned their heritage language learning in terms of economic gains or future careers, since they had never capitalized on their heritage language in a material form. Although they included their bilingual capability on their resumes, it was more or less "decoration" on the resumes, since they never capitalized on their bilingual ability, mainly due to the geographical situatedness where opportunities to use their heritage language were limited. Some community leader participants, however, highlighted bilingual capability as a way to stand out in their careers. In the focus group, James pointed out this aspect:

아이들이 프로페셔널한 잡 전문직으로 갈수록 자기 모국어가 확실한 게 좋다고

봐요. 앞으로 세계화 국제화 개방사회이기 때문에 아이가 자기 모국어를 잘 할 수

있다는 것은 그 아이에게 엄청난 기회가 주어져요. 꼭 캐나다에서 영어만 쓰는 게

아니지요…. 저는 특히 전문직으로 갈수록 자기 모국어를 잘해야 자기가

경제적으로나 사회적 지위로나 좋은 인센티브를 가질 수 있다, 모국어는 필요로

하다고 봅니다. [*Kor*. I think it's better to have high proficiency of the native language especially for those [young Korean Canadians] who target professional jobs. Their ability to be skillful in the mother tongue will provide them with great opportunities since we are moving to a globalized, internationalized open society. In Canada, not only English is used... I think they should be good at their mother tongue, especially when they go to professional fields, so that they can have good incentives, both economically and socially. I think native language is necessary.] (Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017)

Although my participants did not capitalize on their heritage language in a material way, heritage language proficiency can work as capital for Korean Canadians' job opportunities, especially when their professions involve Korean immigrants or those who speak Korean, as literature demonstrates the material benefits of heritage languages (e.g., Canadian Heritage, 2016).

Overall, the participants were motivated to improve their heritage language skills, explore their Korean identity, and experience the formal heritage language learning opportunity in the mainstream. Their motivations were reified through their actual participation in the institutional program, and their investment in heritage language learning at the university entailed their multiple histories and identities, their desires and goals, and their negotiation of their positions in their communities of practice (Pennycook, 2000; Shin, 2009; Shin, 2015). Heritage language learning at the university is "a highly complex social and cultural process" that heritage language learners have to constantly negotiate as part of their identity construction (Shin, 2016, p. 33). My participants examined not only the language and their ethnic, linguistic identities but also their positions and the social meanings of their heritage language in the university curriculum. As Cho (2017) states, my participants' investments in heritage language signified "a desire for progress and movement, rather than conformity and stagnation" (p. 82).

Successes and challenges. Most participants reported that they experienced success in improving writing skills, spelling, grammar, vocabulary and honorific expressions in varying degrees. Most 1.5 generation participants reinforced their Korean proficiency, attained confidence in using Korean, and engaged in more opportunities to practice Korean outside class. Minny expressed, "Writing was a major success for me because I did improve a lot. I think my parents noticed that too" (Interview 2). Ariel also reported, "In the beginning, it was like I know this. But later, it started to get hard, writing and spelling, because it was an old habit to spell it my way and not the proper way" and later, "My writing improved a lot. That was my huge success" (Interview 2). Ariel felt more comfortable in writing after the course, she texted her Korean friends more in Korean, and was more involved in reading celebrity news or news in Korean in the media. This finding is reminiscent of Polinsky's (2014) description of heritage language learners' literacy development in relation to formal learning:

> Whether a heritage speaker possesses any reading and writing abilities will depend on the amount of formal instruction he or she has received in the heritage language. Generally speaking, a heritage speaker's exposure to the heritage language is unlikely to have included formal instruction. (p.7)

Most participants, except for Group 1, had little or no formal education in heritage language, and their literacy was undeveloped, although they had acquired native-like listening skills and a certain level of speaking skills at home or communities. The definition of literacy[15] moves from focusing on reading and writing to including "how people adopt a complex range of literacy practices in multiple languages and spheres of activity" (Lotherington & Dagenais, 2008,

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[15] Postmodernists further advance literacy to a meaning making tool in a broad way, while being aware of "the ultimate vision and direction of the 'literacy project', which…aims to standardize the Western notion of education" (UNESCO, 2005, Literacy for Life, p. 148).

p.1). Considering my participants' reflections, for this study I view literacy skills as "the ability to read and write in the heritage language" (Kim & Pyun, 2014, p. 295).

Moreover, even the 1.5 generations who had some formal schooling in Korea should not be assumed to have attained adult-level literacy since they did not develop their heritage language through formal education. Literature points out a disparity between oral and written skills in many heritage language learners and argues that simple exposure to authentic input at home might not be sufficient for developing literacy in the heritage language (Kang, 2015). Jung-Ah reported:

> My fluency is only up to what I learned in school, like Grade [5], or I learned it from somewhere else, like watching Korean shows and media…I didn't read that much some stuff but because I don't put those words into practice, they didn't really stick with me and I forgot a lot of vocabulary. It's like if somebody says the word, I know it but then if I have to use it, I can't remember the word... If you tell me to write a paper in Korean, I can't do it… (Interview 1, Oct. 18, 2017)

For the second generation participants, David reported that his Korean course at the university was the most successful and efficient heritage language learning experience of his life. For David, the expansion of his vocabulary was the biggest success:

> [T]he amounts of words that I learned… was a dramatic increase from the three years before when I was learning Korean on my own. Because I wouldn't force myself to learn vocabulary about travelling, shopping, about eating at restaurants, these are just regular things, but vocab was the best thing. (Interview 3, May 17, 2018)

David began practicing what he learned from the course at home, church, and with friends, and attained appreciation from lots of people, which empowered him. For Jen, she explored the

foundation and theory underlying the language forms and structures, and attained confidence in her existing knowledge of Korean, while exploring honorifics and different speech styles.

The challenges my participants reported entailed both linguistic aspects such as writing, spelling, or honorifics, as well as social aspects by virtue of their status as a heritage language learner, where they were assumed to be perfect at Korean or better compared to the non-heritage language learners in the mixed class. Most 1.5 generation participants perceived writing to be the most challenging linguistically, since writing involves incorporating vocabulary, grammar, spelling, spacing, and syntax. Minny described making spelling errors "because I write as I hear or like I talk. The phonetics, the 애 /ae/, 얘 /yae/, 에 /e / … those are more common, but stuff like that," and she added, "very subtle minor things that are so critical to the sentence, those are hard" (Interview 2).

As a practitioner, I have often observed some heritage language learners repeat the same mistakes in spelling, spacing, and word choice in their writing despite my continuous feedback and corrections, suggesting language fossilization. Language fossilization is the process in which incorrect language becomes a habit so that without special attention and practice, it cannot be corrected easily in second language learning (Coelho, 2004; Selinker, 1972). This aspect also suggests my participants' lack of formal learning in heritage language, through which they could have been corrected before language fossilization.

Writing was also challenging to David, and yet, Jen reported that her biggest challenge was speaking. She still struggled with how to combine words into sentence structures and often dug into her memory, asking herself "how would my mom say this" and "[if] I say it in my head, does it sound awkward or does it sound natural, because I don't necessarily know all of the grammar" (Interview 3). In fact, Jen ranked her strengths in heritage language in the order of

listening, reading, writing, and speaking, which supports the general pattern of comprehension or receptive skills over production skills for heritage language learners (Polinsky, 2014).

Honorific expressions are regarded as a common challenge for Korean heritage language learners (Shin, 2009; Shin, 2015). In particular, the participants who did not have formal heritage language education reported that they often felt confused about how to incorporate honorific expressions in sentences. Ariel expressed the difficulty of combining honorifics with appropriate speech styles:

Like 요 /yo/ is not always the correct honorific expression, sometimes it's a bit different.

Although I would think 요/yo/ at the end would be polite, and that was the wrong way of

saying it. You have to add honorific markers, like 시/shi/. (Interview 2, Nov. 24, 2017)

Honorifics are a feature of Korean grammar that should be appropriately employed based on the interrelations between the speakers and the addressees, taking into consideration age and social status. Due to this complexity, it is significantly challenging for heritage language learners. Further, unsuitably used honorifics create awkwardness and confusion, even if there are no grammatical or semantic errors. Shin's (2009) study analyzes that most parents did not focus on correcting wrong honorifics at home, and rather "they just appreciate the fact that their children are able to speak Korean" (p. 167), and therefore, many heritage language learners have difficulty with honorific expressions.

Besides the linguistic challenges, the participants' positions as heritage language learners in the classroom created social challenges, and this challenge was felt more keenly by 1.5 generations. For example, Jung-Ah was pressured to perform perfect Korean among her close Asian friends in class. When she made a mistake, Jung-Ah explained:

My friends kept putting me down, though, because even if I got one thing wrong, they

kept saying you're not Korean, as a joke. It was one thing or 0.5 mark...but my friends

[would say] you're not Korean, shame on you. (Interview 2, Nov. 1, 2017)

Also, when her friends asked her to explain what was taught in class, she struggled since "I can't

say anything other than that's what it's supposed to be" (Interview 2) due to her lack of grammar

or theory underlying the language structure. Jung-Ah's Korean identity was threatened due to her

imperfect Korean, and Jung-Ah also felt, "I have to be completely fluent, especially...since I

lived in Korea compared to people who were born here" (Interview 2); this attitude was closely

related to her perfectionism and her essentialist view of heritage language to her Korean identity.

In contrast, David, a second generation, felt differently since he admitted his low proficiency of

Korean and was willing to learn vocabulary from his non-heritage language classmates in class

without any shame, showing his flexible attitudes to heritage language.

Polinsky (2014) contends that heritage language learners are frequently criticized for any

small mistakes since they are often judged according to the maxim "to whom much is given,

much will be required" (p. 3). However, Polinsky questions, "But do we actually know how

much is given to these speakers?" (p. 3). Simply, any essential relation between one's ethnicity

and heritage language proficiency should not be imposed on ethnic minorities, as their

opportunities to learn their heritage language and their investment largely depend on their

situated factors and personalities and their ethnic identity and their perceived proficiencies of

heritage language were also fluid and continuously (re)constructed. For example, Jen perceived

that she did not receive support from her family in learning Korean, and claimed, "I learned it on

my own… My brother and sister don't know Korean… I never went to Korean school before, no

formal learning. Growing up in a Korean household, it's not like I knew all the answers

[regarding Korean] because they were given to me" (Interview 2).

In summary, most participants perceived success in improving writing, vocabulary, and grammar, and were challenged most by writing, honorifics, different speech styles, and speaking. Many participants acquired confidence in their heritage language knowledge and usage, and they were also more engaged in the practice of heritage language through their home (e.g., Minny texted with parents more in Korean), communities (e.g., David practiced what he learned from class with Korean friends), and Korean media (e.g., Ariel read more stuff from Korean media). Their identities were also explored and (re)shaped. For example, Ariel, who had previously been intimidated by ethnic gatekeepers, attained confidence and practiced Korean more actively with her friends and the Korean community. David could also confirm his Korean and bilingual identity, while connecting his heritage language learning to his dream to contribute to the Korean community as a full member. In what follows, I address the personal and social meanings of their heritage language learning at the university.

Formal Adult Learning Is Different from Childhood Learning

The findings demonstrate that university heritage language learning encompassed both adult learning and institutional formal education, distinguished from informal childhood learning. The university heritage language learning experience provided the participants with different learning experiences and meanings than those of their home, communities, and their childhood heritage language learning.

First, university courses require academic rigor and discipline, and as adult learners who voluntarily chose to invest in heritage language in higher education, most participants felt greater commitment and responsibility for their learning, which led to an effective and efficient learning experience. David regarded the university Korean course to be "a blessing," since it was the most efficient heritage language learning he had in comparison to his other Korean learning

experiences. As a child learner, he did not fully recognize the importance of Korean, and having

fun was more important than learning Korean. As a university student, however, David realized

the importance of Korean for his identity and he felt more responsibility as an independent,

disciplined learner; he expressed, "because in university, I realized that my learning pattern was

very different. Oh, let's see, if I put in 110%, 200%, how much can I learn. And I realized I

learned a lot" (Interview 3). David thus argued that heritage language learning in higher

education was optimal since middle or high school can be a sensitive period in ethnic minorities'

personal development:

> The best part about university, it's a lot less judgmental, people can do whatever they
>
> want. But in high school, the population is a lot smaller and everybody knows each other.
>
> And if I were, me as a Korean person taking a Korean course in high school, I would be
>
> judged a lot more. And I probably wouldn't take the course, just because I feel [it would
>
> be] unfair and other people would judge me for it. (Interview 2, May 9, 2018)

Keh and Stoessel's (2017) study on German and Polish families' heritage language

learning trajectories shows a strong link between older age and effort to maintain or reconnect to

their heritage language. After experiencing difficult life periods or environments, heritage

language users can seek out their heritage language as a part of their identity that they might

have repressed or deferred (Keh & Stoessel, 2017; Kouritzin,1999). Keh and Stoessel argue that

at an older age, heritage language users do not need to consider peer judgment for their heritage

language use and have the resources to take heritage language courses in a college or university

settings. However, it should be noted that university settings may not guarantee complete

freedom from peer pressure as Jung-Ah's case suggests, although her experience of peer pressure

was from her close friends in a joking manner and was reinforced by her perfectionism.

Several studies describe heritage language learners' struggle to refigure their existing knowledge of their heritage language, which they had learned and in which they had been socialized in informal settings such as the home or with friends, and the struggle to learn the standard formal forms of speaking and writing presented in native speech communities (Brown, 2011; Cho, 2017; Jo, 2001). Although the university Korean courses do not aim to achieve the native speaker standard, formal education at the university taught my students formality, speech styles, and honorifics, which did not previously exist within the intimate styles and everyday communication repertoire the participants attained at home. Thus, my participants appreciated the opportunity to learn different language styles, such as formality and honorifics that reflect relations in terms of age, social status and positions, and kinship terms. In fact, the expansion of their language repertoire denotes expansion of their unexplored identities, since one's identity manifests through language and expressions (Baker, 2008). Minny reflected on this aspect:

> University education made it very structured and organized, whereas learning through my parents, that was being built on what I learned in Korea, so that was here and there… [for example] I'll just ask them random questions about culture or language. With my parents it's very consistent, it's always the same topics, like did you have food, how was school today, while with friends it challenges you to talk differently. (Interview 2, Nov. 22, 2017)

Expanding their language repertoire was meaningful to my participants since this process engaged them to better understand the social relations and manners embedded in their heritage language. The participants also learned the background and history of the language, theory, grammar, and rules that operate in the language structures. Minny thus stated, "For someone like me and my level of Koreanness I highly recommend them [Korean courses] and they should

[learn Korean]. As an adult, I feel like I am relearning Korean like a second language because it's more of an outsider looking in" (Interview 2).

An Institutional Curriculum Empowers Identity

Scholars argue for the educational inclusion of heritage languages for ethnic minorities' identity formation as well as the development of linguistic resources (Brown, 2009; Choi, 2011; Cummins, 2014a; Lee, 2002; Shin, 2005). My participants reported that their access to heritage language as an institutional curriculum empowered them, reinforcing their pride in their Korean background and their confidence in their Korean and Korean Canadian identity. They also understood that their access to Korean at a post-secondary institution symbolized the increasing importance of Korea in the globalized world, and the local and national recognition of Korean communities in Canada. The finding thus confirmed the positive link between educational inclusion of heritage languages and ethnic minorities' identity, signifying the role of education.

Manitoba Education and Training (2019b) declares, "Education must assist students from different cultural backgrounds to develop self-esteem and a strong sense of personal identity as Canadians and as members of their ethnocultural group through awareness of their own cultural, linguistic, and historical heritage" (Multicultural Education). Although this statement was intended for the K-12 context, my participants' heritage language learning at the university was by all means an investment in their identity not only as Koreans but also Korean Canadians, and the findings showed how the educational curriculum supported minorities' self-confidence in their cultural and linguistic heritage and their identity. To recapitulate Jen's point, "in high school there was more interest, so the value goes up a little bit. And then you meet some Korean people, so the value goes up a little more. Then [in] Korean class in university, the value goes up more" (Interview 2). The ethnic marker that initially had "zero value" and served as an

embarrassment and burden in her childhood evolved into a source of pride, which might have been due to several reasons, such as her matured views of herself and the world, different contexts, as well as her recognition of the symbolic power of the Korean course as an official curriculum at the university.

In the focus group, community leaders agreed that a lack of heritage language institutions in Winnipeg played a negative role in Korean Canadians' heritage language education and their identity development. Jane highlighted that university Korean programs can play a significant role in young Korean Canadians' identity development:

아이들이 미처 배우려고 했던 시간을 넘겼을 때, 어렸을 때 못 배웠을 때, 대학교에 가서 한국어 수업이 있으면 그 수업을 통해서 한국어를 배움으로 인해서 뭔가 어디엔가 기여할 수 있는 그런 프라이드를 가지면 좋겠다고 봅니다. 그래서 저는 한국어가 여기에 많이 보급되고 연구되어야 한다고 보고, 이곳 사회에도 지금 한국 노래며 연속극이며 많이 유명해지니까 많은 사람들이 한국어에 엄청나게 관심 갖고 배우려고… [합니다]. [*Kor.* I think that it would be great for [Korean Canadians] to have pride that they can contribute something or somewhere by learning Korean through taking Korean classes when they go to university, which offers Korean, especially for those who were not able to learn Korean when they were younger. I think Korean should be more spread out and researched here, and many people even in this society are really interested in and trying to learn Korean as Korean songs and dramas have gotten popular...] (Focus group, Nov. 11, 2017)

All the community leaders reported that they recognized a strong mainstream interest in Korea and Korean language and culture. Doug indicated that more people seemed to attend the Korean pavilion at the local multicultural event, Folklorama, in recent years, and this phenomenon was

also felt at the Korean Heritage Language School. The school expanded its adult Korean classes to three classes, which mostly consisted of Canadians interested in Korean culture and Korea, and the school's special culture classes such as K-pop dance and K-drama, which are open to the public, have been very popular among non-Korean Canadians.

Institutional inclusion of minority languages is an official way of recognizing ethnic minorities, supporting their bilingual/cultural identities (Cummins, 2014b). Through research on Korean heritage language in relation to K-16 education (including higher education), communities, and individuals, Choi (2011) claims that "the "sanctioning" of the Korean language through the incorporation of more Korean courses into the regular school curriculum [K-16 education] means heightened perceived language vitality and social status of the language" (p. 48). Lee (2002) also highlights that "the absence of societal recognition of the importance in maintaining their heritage language was the most significant factor in their lack of motivation to maintain their heritage language" (p. 117).

Although the community leaders were grateful for the Korean program at the university, they felt that it seemed insufficient without a long-term agenda for the development of the Korean program. John expressed that the superficial inclusion of one or two courses was insufficient for learning about the language and culture, and considering the students' needs and interests, a more comprehensive agenda for the Korean program should be developed. Another community leader, James, also highlighted heritage languages as a national resource:

우리한테만의 이득이 아니라 여기 한국에 관심을 갖는 대학생들도 다 캐나다 사람들이지요. 이 사람들이… 한국어를 잘하면 캐나다 국가 입장에서도 큰 이득이 되거든요. 캐나다와 한국간에 교역이라든가 무역거래를 하면. 언어를 많이 육성해 주면 이건 캐나다 국가 차원에서도 아주 이득이 되는 거예요. [*Kor*. [Korean courses]

eventually benefit other Canadians who are interested in Korea as well as Korean

Canadians. If the Canadians are good at Korean, and conduct economic trade between

Canada and Korea, it will be a big advantage for the nation. If a lot of language learning

is cultivated, it will be very profitable to the Canadian nation.] (Focus group, Nov. 11,

2017)

James underscored the role of higher education, which helps Canadian students equip

themselves with appropriate linguistic capital for the Canadian economy and future prosperity of

the nation. This thinking clearly embeds the ideology of heritage languages as economic

resources (Canadian Heritage, 2016; Ruiz, 1984, 2010) within the global and national economy

discourse. Ennser-Kananen, Escobar and Bigelow (2017) state that in the field of language

education, which languages to teach for what purposes are "driven by profit-oriented principles

of marketing experts" as "neoliberal discourses often surface as ideologies and processes that

promote the commodification of language" (p. 16). James' idea in fact indicates the complex

agenda of heritage language education in higher education where capitalist logic, unequal power

relations, and discourse of knowledge (i.e., what is accepted as knowledge as curriculum) have

been embedded. This primarily involves the different views of heritage languages as a resource

or a linguistic right for linguistic minorities.

Competing Narratives on Heritage Language Education in Higher Education

It is meaningful to explore my participants' perception of minority language education in

higher education. Access to a discourse group involves power (Foucault, 1980; Gee, 1990;

Norton, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995; Weedon, 1997), and not all students can access their target

discourses at an institution, especially when the discourses are their heritage languages. Higher

education in Canada has incorporated various heritage language programs as credit programs in

response to the cultural and linguistic diversity, which is "a clear manifestation of institutional responses to these demographic changes" (Li & Duff, 2008, p. 14). However, which heritage languages are included and excluded in the curriculum is critical for not only minority students but also society since it involves the complex relations among knowledge production, education, and power, and moreover, the issue of educational equity.

My participants' perception of the inclusion of minority languages in higher education appeared grounded on both practical aspects and the policy of multiculturalism. As for the former, for example, many participants reported that Korean is an important topic to explore given the global recognition of Korean society and economy as well as the global popularity of Korean culture. David highlighted this aspect:

> I think the biggest factor is global relevance… where language is heading into, countries need to prepare their younger generations to lead the country in the future and they will choose the languages that they will see fit internationally... And because Korea's business is rising, their media, their products like Samsung, they have been leaving a footprint in the global market…institutions have been preparing their citizens for businesses in the future. (Interview 3, May 17, 2018)

Similar to James, the community leader, David's perception embedded global and national economy aspects. In fact, heritage languages in Canada are regarded as personal, social and national resources (Duff, 2008a), and Canadian Heritage (2016) highlights the benefits of second or foreign language skills in the Canadian economy alongside the global economy. Canadian Heritage argues, "targets should be set for Canada's two official languages but also to increase the proportion of students, from all socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, choosing to study an indigenous, foreign or heritage language, depending on their personal backgrounds" (p. 72)

in both schools and postsecondary institutions.

Other participants also reported that realistic needs and practical aspects should be considered with regards to the inclusion of minority languages. Steve expressed that the size of the institution, its financial situation, and the popularity of the language should be considered. Jen highlighted mainstream interest, since without mainstream demand, a language course is not possible. Minny also added the need for "student involvement and student voice." The core practical criteria for inclusion of minority languages identified by my participants included: the usefulness of the language in Canada's economy and global relevance, the mainstream interest in the language, the interests from students at the institution, availability of resources and qualified teaching staff, and the institution's budget.

On the other hand, many participants also perceived that heritage language education should be encouraged within the frame of Canadian multiculturalism and heritage languages as the linguistic minorities' right. Thus, most participants wished for greater inclusion of minority languages, and believed that higher education can play a role in terms of multiculturalism, as Jen expressed, "because [higher education] is bigger, there are more people, they're more culturally diverse, instead of a smaller school or high school. This is more provincial" (Interview 3). Steve also stated:

> Multiculturalism encourages the idea of heritage language education. Higher education
> are institutions that partake in a greater level of educational advancements, achievements
> and activities. Higher education in relation to minority languages offers larger exposure
> to more populations and grants eligible students the opportunity to explore the diverse
> cultures of Canada. (Written Interview, Dec. 22, 2017)

Steve understood multiculturalism as "the understanding, acceptance, and joining of people with

different ethnicities, heritage, cultures, traditions and backgrounds" (Written interview). In this

way, Steve viewed heritage language as not only a resource but also a right for linguistic

minorities, by describing, "Korean language is a linguistic minority right, resource and capital. It

is a right that we have as Koreans, a resource we have as Korean-Canadians and a capital we

have…for future jobs and other related opportunities" (Written interview). Jung-Ah also

stressed, "it's important that more languages are taught" and "being able to have access to it is

really critical," (Interview 3) since "it's unfortunate if they want to learn their language and it's

not offered… their only option is get a tutor outside or do self-studying, which is limited too"

(Interview 2). Similarly, Minny pointed out, "it would be nice if we include Tagalog or other

dialects of Chinese" (Interview 2), since despite the huge population of Filipinos in Winnipeg

and their contributions to the local community, Tagalog is not offered at the university, and

Mandarin Chinese at the university also cannot fully represent the numerous others who speak

different dialects of Chinese. My participants' view of heritage languages appeared to entail

linguistic democracy within multiculturalism.

Within this regard, some participants felt that higher education did not properly

play a role in promoting multiculturalism, although they appreciated multiculturalism as a

positive policy and ideology in their heritage language maintenance. Ariel perceived this reality:

> [Higher education] doesn't really play a role [in multiculturalism]. Because junior high
> and high school is when you learn about multiculturalism, bilingualism, globalization,
> when you go into higher education… unless you're going into cultural studies… you're
> more focused on your degree, than in influencing multiculturalism. (Interview 3, Dec. 12,
> 2018)

However, Ariel also mentioned that there was no encouragement of multiculturalism at school

except for her high school in Edmonton, whose population was largely multicultural, and that

most school curricula emphasized Europeans and Indigenous peoples, namely excluding Asian

history or study. Jung-Ah also criticized that multiculturalism focused only on French within the

frame of bilingualism without appropriate funding for minority languages. Thus, the lack of

diverse minority language courses can deprive university students of the opportunity to broaden

their perspectives and cultural experiences. Jung-Ah further connected this aspect to her

workplace:

> [L]et's see, at the workplace, I feel like we need a lot of [speakers of heritage languages],
>
> I have a lot of patients who don't speak English. So, you need a lot of translators, and we
>
> don't have a lot of them. It's only like, maybe Italian, Spanish, but I definitely have never
>
> seen Korean, I think. I think as much as Canada is accepting of a lot of foreigners, we
>
> need that many people to be able to speak that language too…I think it's really critical.
>
> (Interview 2, Nov. 1, 2017)

Despite Canada's ethnolinguistic diversity, linguistic diversity and multilingualism are

not promoted in higher education, with little effort to include minority languages (Duff, 2008a;

Kiernan, 2011, 2014). Kiernan's (2011) study finds that in Canadian higher education, English

hegemony and monolingualism are prevalent and this situation challenges the entitlement of

Canadian education as accepting of linguistic diversity. In this regard, my participants' heritage

language learning experiences at the university may suggest a vision where higher education can

play a role in promoting multiculturalism not only as an ideology but also as a practice through

the inclusion of diverse heritage languages.

Multiculturalism ensures that "all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their

ancestry and have a sense of belonging" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). Dewing

and Leman (2006) define multiculturalism as "the process by which racial and ethnic minorities compete with central authorities for achievement of certain goals and aspirations" (p. 1). Heritage languages represent ethnic minorities' individual and group identities and their pride in their heritage, and the provision of institutional opportunities to access heritage languages can be a way to support the goal of multiculturalism. Higher education cannot be separated from K-12 education, and many postsecondary institutions have begun incorporating a range of heritage language programs, responding to the cultural and linguistic diversity (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Duff, 2008a).

What socioculturalists argue is that social-contextual components of language learning are primarily connected to "the provision (or denial) of access to opportunities to learn and use languages" (Duff, 2019, p. 10). Heritage language maintenance and development involves all social domains of schools, home, and communities, and heritage language learning is not restrained to a specific time period such as childhood (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015). A broader inclusion of heritage languages in higher education can generate stronger impact on linguistic minorities' heritage language maintenance and identity construction.

I reflect on the status of Korean courses and Korean heritage language learners, who have obtained a seemingly privileged status[16] compared to those whose heritage languages have never been included in the academic curricula. Social institutions that support the ideologies that underlie the dominant discourses and capitalist logic reproduce forms of social power and existing hierarchy (Apple, 2004; Foucault, 1979, 1980; Giroux, 2010). As Giroux (2010) argues, economists' views have penetrated into and circumscribe the role of higher education, thereby

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[16] The Asian Studies program at the University of Manitoba has been offering three Asian languages: Japanese, Chinese and Korean. There are usually 12 Japanese language classes, 5 Chinese language classes, and 4 Korean language classes offered yearly.

influencing the curriculum. A more rigorous examination of the curriculum can be advanced in

terms of inclusion/exclusion of minority languages, since a curriculum is a discourse by which

knowledge is (re)produced, power is exerted, and social inequality is sustained.

Conclusion

I examined the participants' heritage language learning experiences at the university,

which were their first encounters with institutional heritage language learning, in terms of their

motivations, successes, and challenges and the themes of formal adult learning and heritage

language education in higher education. Their heritage language learning at the university was

significant to their identity, self-confidence, and their heritage language development. In

addition, while the participants' motivation for taking Korean courses may be influenced by the

prospect of a GPA booster, most participants reported that taking an easy course was not their

main goal. The findings also challenged the assumption of the natural link between heritage

language proficiency and ethnic background, since this cannot embrace various heritage

language learners' heterogeneous backgrounds and identities.

Importantly, the participants' university heritage language learning constructed the

valuable meanings of formal adult learning, especially for those who had never experienced

formal education in Korean and had a desire to explore their roots and identity. This study also

highlighted the symbolic power and empowering function of the institutional inclusion of

heritage languages for ethnic minority identity. Many participants understood heritage language

education in terms of multiculturalism and linguistic democracy, and yet my participants were

well aware of the practical aspects such as global relevance, national economy, and students'

needs in heritage language education in higher education. The competing narratives from my

participants showed the complexity and innate power relations of heritage language education.

Chapter 9: Final Discussion and Conclusion

This study has examined the identity construction of six university-aged 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians, focusing on their heritage language learning by exploring their lived experiences and their perspectives. The examination has revealed multiple influencing factors on their heritage language learning trajectories, how their heritage language learning experiences and their surrounding contexts have influenced their identities, how their heritage language is perceived in relation to their ethnic identity, how they negotiated their shifting identities between being Korean and being Canadian and beyond, and finally, their heritage language learning experiences at the university.

Identities denote ongoing processes of becoming who one desires to be, and identities are constructed through social relations, discursive practices, and discourses. The question "who am I?" however, is understood from "what am I allowed to do?" (Norton, 2000, p. 8), due to the inherent power dynamics entrenched in identity construction. Identities are also categorized in multiple ways such as ethnic identity, linguistic identity, or social identity; however, identities are not clearly separated and instead influence each other; they are complex and fluid (Norton, 2013). To delve into the dynamic interplay of identity construction, heritage language learning, and contexts, this study was informed by literature from multiple disciplines, including second/ heritage language education and sociocultural perspectives, ethnic identity and social integration, and the hybrid, bilingual/bicultural identity formation among immigrant students from sociological and anthropological perspectives. Poststructural notions of power, discourses, and structural factors that exert push and pull forces on individuals' positions, and individuals' responses to social restraints and opportunities were also used to analyze the participants' identity construction. Similar to the extant studies that have observed the nature of identities,

language, and power (Foucault, 1978, 1979; Gee, 1990; McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton, 2013; Park, 2011), my participants' heritage language learning trajectories and identity construction depicted continuous struggles and negotiation of their positions within multiple contexts.

In this concluding chapter, I revisit and discuss the key themes that emerged from the findings within the theoretical/conceptual underpinnings and provide recommendations for the stakeholders in relevant fields. I then present the limitations of this study and future research directions, and finally, my reflections as the researcher with concluding comments.

Situatedness of Heritage Language Learning and Identity, and Language Socialization

I took up sociocultural perspectives in exploring the participants' heritage language learning experiences and identity negotiation (Duff, 2007, 2019; Duff & Li, 2014; He, 2010; Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), and examined how the familial, sociocultural, political, and global contexts have influenced their heritage language learning trajectories and identities, proving the situatedness of their language learning and identity.

The participants' heritage language learning experiences were inseparable from their lived experiences, since "their experiences are rooted in and constrained by the complex webs" of their historical, political, and sociocultural surroundings and networks (Kim & Duff, 2012, p. 82). The participants operated in multiple communities from the home, school, to the transnational realm, and interactions and participation in those communities were a critical process of their heritage language learning and identity negotiation. Close examination reveals that it was challenging for many participants to develop their heritage language while living in an English dominant society, especially in a relatively small city with limited opportunities to learn their heritage language. However, the participants pursued opportunities to learn their heritage

language, although their attitudes towards and levels of investment in heritage language fluctuated depending on their life environments. Thus, as Keh and Stoessel (2017) state, "the evolution over time in the subjects' motivations for [heritage language] maintenance...may not progress linearly from one end of the spectrum to the other...but rather... bilinguals' attitudes and efforts may fluctuate through life as they experience new circumstances" (p. 113). Importantly, this study also demonstrates that heritage language learning as a social practice was closely related to their identity construction, as Koreans, Korean immigrant children, Korean Canadians, and bilingual/cultural and transnational individuals, providing them with time and space to interrogate their sense of who they are, their past and future identities, their connection to both Korean and Canadian communities as well as their hybridity.

Based on their own interpretations of their life experiences, my participants reported the following factors as encouraging to their heritage language learning: parents/home environments, Korean friends, ethnic communities, the university Korean course, Canadian multiculturalism, the global popularity of Korean pop culture and the local acknowledgement of Korea, their consumption of Korean media and transnational trips to Korea, and their personal strong motivations or desires. In fact, personal factors such as desires are connected to one's identity (Norton, 2013), and language desires are constructed "within a complicated constellation of relationships among individuals, institutions, and states," encompassing the dialectic relationship between social discourses and individual agency (Motha & Lin, 2014, p. 344).

The participants also identified the following factors as discouraging: priority on English and adjustment stress in the school environments, lack of social opportunities to use and learn their heritage language, others' perspectives of the heritage language, ethnic gatekeepers and the age hierarchy among Koreans, and their self-perceived limited proficiency. Critical discouraging

factors such as priority on English practices, assimilation forces, and a lack of acknowledgement of the heritage language at school were fundamentally experienced and situated in their social integration processes, which consequently influenced their heritage language learning pathways.

Notably, the analysis reveals that a factor can have both positive and negative functions, and the factors are often linked to other factors as they exert power; for example, the home environment could both be an encouraging and discouraging factor where 1.5 generation parents encouraged heritage language learning for the participants in the home, while simultaneously restricting their interaction with other Koreans outside of the home and thus limiting their heritage language learning opportunities. Markedly, the parents were also influenced by sociopolitical factors such as the dominant power of English and lack of social acknowledgement and support for immigrant children' heritage language development, in addition to their particular contexts. Similarly, engagement in ethnic communities encouraged heritage language learning for the participants, but judgmental gatekeepers and age hierarchy played a critical role in interactions and language use among Koreans and discouraged the participants' heritage language learning. Their heritage language learning processes, therefore, were often sites of struggles, involving continuous negotiation of their positions in each situation. In this regard, the common approach of macro and micro levels of analysis, and other conceptual tools or scales in understanding the sociocultural factors in language learning and use are problematized, since seemingly stable macro factors can occur on different scales (Duff, 2019).

The findings of this study are consistent with literature that emphasizes the role of home/parents, suggesting the importance of primary heritage language and family socialization. Home environments and parents' consistent use of heritage language critically contributed to my participants' heritage language learning and maintenance and heritage language socialization.

Heritage language is maintained through family socialization at home, and the most noticeable consequence of language loss is the loss of family socialization, and without familial socialization, it is difficult to transfer cultural values (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Guardado's (2008) study thus states that "the families conceptualized Spanish maintenance as an emotional connection to the parents' selves and as a bridge between the parents' past and the children and future. The families utilized explicitly implicit directives, recasts and lectures to socialize children into Spanish language ideologies" (p. ii).

Many families maintained Korean, and all families maintained the Korean culture at home, which provided my participants with daily exposure to heritage language practices and lifestyles and helped them construct a Korean linguistic, cultural, and ethnic identity. However, clear differences were noted between the parents of 1.5 and second generation participants with regards to their attitudes and commitment to heritage language maintenance and development, and the differences corresponded with the participants' heritage language proficiency levels and their language shift from the heritage language to English; the 1.5 generations' parents' stronger commitment to using Korean at home was positively related to the participants' heritage language maintenance.

Language loss may be taking place in Canada more quickly than the generally accepted three generations (Jedwab, 2014). Sabourin and Bélanger (2015) review that heritage language loss is condensed into the second generation, or "even the first generation in cases where immigrants arrive in Canada in the first years of life" (para. 42). Nesteruk (2010) also reports that for some immigrant families from Eastern European countries in the U.S., language loss took place in second generation children, thus, "children become strangers to their grandparents" (p. 282). Choi's (2015) study of Korean immigrants in the U.S. reveals that transmission of the

Korean heritage language to the next generation has been hindered, and "the language shift is happening within one single generation" (p. 240). The findings of this study partly support this trend as my participants' proficiency and usage of Korean overall declined from Group 1 to Group 3 (see Table 5), although the level of proficiency was based on their self-perceived proficiency and my evaluation and observations as an instructor.

Arguably, this study challenges the assumed role of home/parents in children's heritage language development given that the family context is not monolithic and is affected by family dynamics, the parents' socioeconomic integration pattern, and the parents' well-being. For example, Jen's parents never taught her Korean at home; Jen came from a working-class family, where her father was unemployed for a long period of time, and Jen commonly observed that her mother was "not happy, so sometimes I wish[ed] she would go back to Korea, because she [would] be happier" (Interview 1). Her father rarely talked with Jen at home, and Jen's heritage language experience may also have been influenced by her mother's struggles as a new immigrant, a new mother, and a wife who migrated for marriage and struggled with her husband's relatives in Winnipeg. Mothers are traditionally considered to play the key role in heritage language maintenance through generations. Chumak-Horbatsch's (2008) study evidences that "mothers were more committed, more engaged, and more involved than fathers in their children's L1 learning" (p.18). Turjoman's (2013) study also highlights the critical role of Arab-American immigrant mothers in heritage language maintenance in family, showing a clear gender difference. Thus, Jen's case not only challenges the conventional role of home/parents but also the mother as the main educator of heritage language at home, which is also seen in David's case where he practiced his heritage language more with his father.

Minny's case also supports the dynamic aspects of home and parents; despite Minny's

parents' efforts to maintain her heritage language, they were preoccupied with running their small business and Minny conceded, "In the end, life got in the way, they're busy and so it just didn't work out" (Interview 1).

This study hence confirms that immigrant children's home heritage language learning largely reflects the immigrant families' vulnerable conditions as well as the parents' socioeconomic integration processes in the host country. As Polinsky (2014) suggests, I argue that instead of "what is given" (the static notion of the heritage language descendant status), "how much is given" (the relative notion of the sociocultural contexts) is critical to understanding the linguistic minorities in terms of their heritage language development and identity, as their heritage language learning investment varies across families, depending on their circumstances. This argument is consequently linked to my claim for greater social responsibility in promoting heritage language education not only in the home and ethnic communities but also educational institutions. A single factor cannot fully explain one's heritage language loss or heritage language learning; one factor such as parents' low commitment to heritage language maintenance can be analyzed as a multifaceted result of familial, social, political, and economic factors such as socioeconomic status, employment status, or parents' well-being.

Underpinning sociocultural perspectives, this study highlights the process of language socialization in which heritage language learning converts to a meaningful engagement in sociocultural landscapes, and thus reproduces the shared knowledge, beliefs, and behaviors of particular social groups (Guardado, 2018; He, 2010; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Lee & Bucholtz, 2015; Schieffelin & Ochs; 1986). The cultural practices and values were disseminated through my participants' interactions with parents at home, friends at school (e.g., in Ariel's case), and ethnic community members (e.g., in David's case), and heritage language played a critical role as

a tool for communication, culture, and establishing shared meanings. Similar to Guardado and

Becker's (2014) notion of "familism," which represents heritage language socialization at home,

the findings show that every participant constructed the notion of "home," where they were

socialized and acquired heritage language and culture, felt connected, and expressed themselves,

and thus were nurtured as Koreans, Korean Canadians, and bilingual/cultural individuals.

For example, Minny acquired the culturally appropriate ways of speaking and behaving

with Korean family friends when they visited her home, and David called his older sister "누나"

/Noo-na/, in keeping with the Korean tradition of addressing older siblings. Jen also used Korean

for kinship terminology and Korean food; Jen always called her relatives by their Korean titles

such as "작은 아빠" (father's married younger brother) and "작은 엄마" (the younger brother's

wife). Thus, the participants' heritage language often included childhood memories, food,

kinship relations, and certain expressions that could not be translated to English. In a broad way,

these findings also support existing literature, which suggests that Korean is a private language,

whereas English serves as a public code (Kang, 2013; Jo, 2001; Valdés, 2005).

Besides the home, the participants also perceived that interactions with coethnic friends

critically influenced their heritage language learning and their identity formation, especially

when they were in high school. Ariel's case denotes how she became a "Korean" through

socializing with Korean friends at school; she gradually became a full member of the group by

acquiring the Korean language and practices, which Lave and Wenger (1991) term 'legitimate

peripheral participation.' Similarly, David's heritage language learning through his engagement

in the ethnic church also implied language socialization with Korean peer groups within a

community. This finding affirms the importance of social contexts or school environments, in

terms of whether the heritage language groups or heritage language learning opportunities can be

accessed or not, supporting the socioculturalists' emphasis on social-contextual components of language learning (Duff, 2019).

Not surprisingly, the participants' heritage language learning pathways and identity formation were critically impacted by schooling and the priority on English. Schooling socialized the participants into becoming English speakers and Canadians, while home/ethnic communities socialized them into being heritage language speakers and Koreans; these two separate socialization processes situated the participants in constant conflict, generating continuous negotiation of their positions and identities between the two worlds. The participants' conflicts were often exacerbated by their schools' lack of acknowledgement of the participants' heritage language and culture. Consistent with previous literature (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Kang, 2015; Jeon, 2010), each participant and their parents chose to focus on English and deferred heritage language development for the sake of their academic achievement and successful social integration in mainstream society.

Heritage language is often abandoned as a child's coping mechanism to a school environment that does not value difference (Wong Fillmore, 2000), and thus, school is the domain of "rapid loss of heritage language fluency" (Cummins, 2005, p. 586). As Kim and Pyun (2014) and Carreira and Kagan (2011) find, this phenomenon was clearer in the younger participants (e.g., second generation participants) as they tended to lose their heritage language. However, this study shows that my participants' previously deferred or repressed heritage language learning motivation was newly activated when they reached university and academic opportunities (e.g., university heritage language class) were available, as they were assumed to have mastered English, which other studies have also observed (Jeon, 2008; Kang, 2013). The opportunity to access their heritage language at the university unanimously provided my

participants with a meaningful time and space for their identity and heritage language learning. In this way, English proficiency has appeared as a critical variable for not only the participants' social integration and academic achievement but also their heritage language investment and their identity exploration.

Lastly, Korean media has appeared as another core social realm for my participants' heritage language learning and identity construction, accompanying the increasing global popularity of Korean pop culture and media products. For example, Jung-Ah maintained her heritage language by keeping herself updated with new forms of language and modern Korean culture mainly through the media. Steve described, "the more I consume [Korean media], the more I feel connected to Korea" (Written Interview) and Ariel actively incorporated Korean culture and lifestyles in her own life in Canada while learning Korean. The transnational space allowed my participants to live vicariously in Korea and extended their identities beyond the local and national territories, further connecting themselves to other transnational consumers of the Korean media products and pop culture.

In the transnational space that crosses all forms of borders, the participants' heritage language and culture were practiced and challenged, their identities were confronted and negotiated, and finally they "engage with the world with transnational identities that negotiate a complex network of values, ideologies, and cultures" (Darvin & Norton, 2014, p.55). Simply, my participants' consumption of Korean media directed them "to something critical and new in global cultural processes" (Appadurai, 1997, p.31), leading them to form a global identity (Choi & Yi, 2012), and an imagined community (Anderson, 1991). This finding demonstrates how the transnational practices shaped the motivation and trajectories of my participants' heritage language learning and transformed their identities into greater openness towards broader

worldviews and their transnational ways of life.

In sum, the participants operated in multiple communities from familial to transnational realms, and their heritage language learning and identities were situated within the dynamic interplays of multiple sociocultural, historical, and global contexts and social networks and personal factors.

Poststructural Views of Power and Identity Negotiation

I employed poststructural notions of power, language, and identity to analyze and describe the participants' identity construction and heritage language learning, in particular, the interplay between contextual forces and human agency. Similar to other studies that investigate language learning and identity within this theoretical frame (e.g., Chee, 2003; Park, 2011; Norton, 2013; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Shin, 2015; Weedon, 1997), this study shows that the participants' identities were challenged and negotiated locally, their heritage language and social opportunities to access heritage language were entrenched in sociohistorical power relations and ideologies, and their heritage language learning was not only the acquisition of the forms and meanings of the language, but a sociocultural process of a continuous negotiation of the learners' desires and positions in the given context. Also, the participants exerted human agency by which they could make choices and move toward goals within their limiting environment, which is in line with the poststructuralist view (Foucault, 1978; Weedon, 1997). In this way, identity entails sites of struggles (Weedon, 1997), and identities and subjectivities are constantly being crafted in the positions that individuals take up in local contexts and practices (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

First, this study demonstrates that the ways of reacting to the social opportunities or constraints and positioning themselves varied amongst the participants based on their past experiences, personalities, future desires, and their resources. In crafting identities, individuals

can choose accommodation approaches, conforming to the dominant discourses and social

impositions, but some choose resistance strategies and attempt to construct more powerful

identities than the imposed identities (Chee, 2003; Norton; 2013; McKay & Wong, 1996). For

example, most of their K-12 schooling silenced my participants' heritage language and culture,

where the assimilative forces had a greater influence on the second generation participants than

the other participants (e.g., Group 1), since they had accepted the mainstream discourses and

prioritized fitting in with the dominant culture, which was similar to Shin's (2016) finding. Thus,

Jen perceived that Korean had "zero" value in her white majority school, and David distanced

himself from the Korean students who invited him to join a Taekwondo performance in high

school, despite the opportunity to engage with the heritage language. David described

performing Taekwondo as a "social suicide", since maintaining his "cool" social identity was

prioritized.

In contrast, Jung-Ah, a 1.5 generation, maintained speaking in Korean with her twin

sister in informal settings at school, and by doing so, encouraged other Asian friends to start

using their own heritage languages, and she also enjoyed bringing Korean food to school for

lunch without feeling embarrassed. Despite individual differences, the second generation

participants tended to use accommodation or assimilation strategies, but most 1.5 generation

participants, especially Group 1, tried to maintain their heritage without significantly

internalizing the mainstream discourses with regard to race, ethnicity, or heritage language, due

to their later age of arrival to Canada and lived history in Korea, heritage language proficiency,

and ethnic identity retention.

Next, resistance or nonparticipation was a common way of negotiating their positions and

identity with the social forces. Norton (2001) views participation as interaction with the target

group that reflects an individual's goals and investments, and individuals can choose

nonparticipation when particular social arrangements in the community constrain the individuals'

fuller participation and their goals or identities. For example, Ariel stopped going to the Korean

church due to the first generation Korean adults who were judgmental of her Korean skills, and

David dropped out from the heritage language school because he struggled with the classes and

rejected his undesired identity as a poor student. Similarly, Jung-Ah withdrew from interacting

with other Koreans when she realized the disparities between her and the newly immigrated

"real" Koreans. When my participants found ideological disparities in their communities, or felt

unwanted identities imposed on them, they commonly employed a resistance strategy. On the

other hand, the above incidents may suggest that the participants did not have the resources to

craft their identity in a more powerful way at that moment, and resistance was one way of

negotiating their positions based on what was more important to the self (Chee, 2003).

Third, aligning with the poststructural notion of identity, this study also challenges the

static essentialist notion of identity, and confirms that the participants' identities are multiple,

shifting, and fluid over time and contexts. Underlying the mobility of shifting identities, I noted,

was their human agency, by which they were able to transfer their positions and identities. For

example, Ariel who had felt Canadian until middle school, *decided to become* "Korean" when

she began socializing with Korean friends in high school, and thus invested in her heritage

language to craft her identity as Korean. Although Jung-Ah obeyed the English name-only policy

in her ESL class, she displayed internal resistance by developing a much stronger attachment to

her Korean name and Korean identity while becoming more critical about social pressures and

actively practiced Korean and encouraged her friends to use their heritage languages at school.

Meanwhile, for Jen, despite her strong effort to fit in and her embarrassment of her heritage

language at school, she paradoxically decided to learn heritage language by herself in Gr. 5 due to her interest in Korean dramas.

Identity cannot be understood as a static deterministic notion; rather it is a shifting, contested, and constantly negotiated notion, and this notion can allow ethnic minorities to broaden their capabilities beyond dominant discourses, power relations, and the limiting surroundings. At this point, the notion of power appears principal to human agency, since power is understood as an "action upon an action" (Foucault, 1983, p. 221), and structures the possible field of action, "guiding the course of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome" (p. 220), rather than defining subjects. Their negotiation processes thus showed that the notion of power has room for individuals to resist its effect and render them active agents "with several ways of behaving, [where] several reactions may be realized" (Foucault, 1983, p.221).

Poststructural notions were useful analytic lenses to understand the participants' identity negotiation and construction and their participation or nonparticipation in heritage language learning opportunities as well as their different responses to social forces in their communities. Although I did not include the following in this section, the participants' hybrid, bilingual and bicultural identity, and their shifting identities between being Korean and being Canadian, and social discourses such as stereotypes relating to race, ethnicity and heritage language were largely analyzed by the poststructural underpinnings.

Heritage Language, Ethnic Identity, and Construction of Korean Canadian Identity

As Phinney (2003) states, my participants' heritage language learning processes allowed them to revisit their heritage and construct the meanings of heritage language in their lives. Even though some participants distanced themselves from their heritage language when they were younger, each participant as a young adult valued their heritage language and their Korean

background as a unique, empowering, and critical component for their sense of self and self-confidence and as an essential tool for family communication and cohesion. Their investment in heritage language was also closely connected to their past, current, and future identities, their positions in both the Korean community and the mainstream, and their unique bilingual and bicultural positions in a multicultural society.

Ethnic identity has appeared as a critical issue in immigrant children's integration process (Berry, 1997; Phinney et al., 2006; Jo, 2001; Kang & Lo, 2004). Heritage language literacy is a significant element of maintaining culture and constructing one's ethnic identity (Cummins, 2000; Guardado, 2002; Kang & Kim, 2012; Tse, 2000), thus, heritage language is often a marker of ethnic identity (Choi, 2015). Similar to the existing literature, my participants all clearly perceived the positive link between heritage language learning and its proficiency, use, and knowledge and ethnic identity; heritage language proficiency supported their confidence in self-identifying as Korean, and opened doors for more connections to the Korean community.

Nonetheless, the participants' heritage language proficiency was 'relatively' evaluated and constructed based on their context or compared to their past proficiency or knowledge of the language, rather than being a monolithic, static notion. For example, Jen was the only child in her family who was able to speak Korean, which led her to act as a translator between her parents and her younger siblings, and her relatively higher proficiency contributed to her emphasis on the critical roles of heritage language to Korean identity. David also focused on the recent improvement in Korean he made compared to his past proficiency, and subsequently attained self-confidence in his self-identification as a Korean. This supports a line of studies which argues that one's low heritage language proficiency does not mean abandonment or loss of one's ethnic identity (Jeon, 2010, Jo, 2001), thus, any essential link between heritage language

and ethnic identity should not be imposed for the sake of embracing a heterogeneous group of

heritage language learners and their diverse motivations for heritage learning.

All the participants identified themselves as Korean with pride, and yet, the participants'

ethnic identity, which frequently competed with being Canadian, was often practiced and

imagined relatively and fluidly. Accordingly, the notion of ethnic identity appeared as "a

dynamic, multidimensional construct" (Phinney, 2003, p. 63), which is ever changing and

constantly constructed. Despite individual differences, however, the findings showed similar

patterns of ethnic identity development in each group. Group 1 maintained a solid and stronger

ethnic attachment with high proficiency in heritage language. Group 2 showed heterogeneity;

Ariel strongly identified as Korean, with significant socialization with Korean friends and

heritage language use, whereas Minny felt more Canadian due to her everyday community of

practices in English and with white peers. Group 3 showed a similar pattern, aligning with Tse's

(1998, 2000) ethnic development model: starting from high school and throughout university,

Jen and David finally started embracing their ethnic background as a part of their identity. Their

ethnic identity fluctuated depending on their age, life environments, and their needs.

Ethnic identity formation intersects with experiences in mainstream society as well as the

home and ethnic communities (Berry, 1997; Phinney et al., 2006; Schimmele & Wu, 2015; Shin,

2016; Yoon & Haag, 2010). In result, the participants' identity construction as 1.5 and second

generation Korean Canadians was fundamentally intertwined with their integration efforts into

mainstream society as well as their efforts to make sense of who they are and their position in the

Korean community. Their identity construction as a Korean Canadian can be construed as a

broadened form of identity negotiation, by which they can claim memberships in both Korean

and Canadian communities and establish their bilingual and bicultural identities in their own

terms. In this regard, the participants' "pick and choose" strategy appeared as a required social

practice to negotiate themselves over contexts and become who they desire to be. Most

participants reported that they adjusted their identities depending on the language community,

whom they talk to and what they talk about, and time and contexts, thus, for example, Minny

described, "when the situation is more Korean related, I am happy to be Korean and identify"

and Ariel also considered "what benefits me more, or what applies to me more." Their "pick and

choose" strategy thus entailed the participants' human agency by which they accepted or resisted

social forces and opened new ways of speaking, learning, and living.

However, some participants' experiences of racial exclusion and stereotypes often

hindered their Korean Canadian dual identity construction and their sense of belonging to

Canada. For example, Jung-Ah's experience of the perpetual foreigner stereotypical question of

"where are you from" caused her to struggle with identity conflict and feel excluded. Racism

intersects with language and English accents, and many participants were often caught within

conflicting Asian stereotypes as both 'a perpetual foreigner' and 'a model minority,' which

impede many Asian immigrants' integration in North America (Zhou, 2012). My participants

perceived that most racism comes from "uneducated," "poor" or "old", "white" populations

outside of the school environment, although the school cannot be entirely free from racism and

stereotypes, since they are still reproduced through repetition of discourses and limit immigrant

students' identities (Huynh et al., 2011). The participants unanimously highlighted the critical

role of education in alleviating racism.

Interestingly, nevertheless, the participants demonstrated optimism in their future images

of themselves as professionals as a way of immersing themselves in mainstream society, thereby

claiming their legitimate full membership and achieving a feeling of a sense of belonging to

Canada. They overwhelmingly perceived that their race and minority position would not obstruct

the development of their social identity as professionals, possibly due to their presently

successful integration into professional fields (Jung-Ah and Jen) or programs. This finding

signifies that understanding their social identity construction as a professional can be one key

point of expounding how the university-aged 1.5 and second generations construct their Korean

Canadian identity, since it may also represent a life goal and social mobility. This finding is in

line with my previous study (Song, 2010) of first generation Korean immigrants:

> True, this study has highlighted the apparent ambivalence in transnational migrants'
>
> identities, and the multiplicity of their memberships and imagined communities.
>
> Nonetheless, practicing their skills in an appropriate workplace community renders them
>
> social identities as professionals, who participate in and contribute to the Canadian
>
> economy, and imposes them a sense of belonging to…*Canada*. (p. 215)

Most parents of the 1.5 and second generation participants did not integrate into professional

fields in Canada, and thus, the participants' professional integration signifies social upward

mobility and higher education, which is reminiscent of their parents' motivations for migrating to

Canada, as Finch and Kim (2012) describe. Simply, construction of social identity as a

professional appeared as a driving force to navigate barriers and prove their full membership in

Canada, beyond their racialized linguistic minority position.

Institutional Heritage Language Learning: Heritage Language as Resource, or Right?

The examination of the participants' first institutional heritage language learning

experiences at the university revealed significant findings in terms of the personal and social

meanings of heritage language learning in higher education. The participants' heritage language

learning experiences at the university were positively related to their self-confidence in their

Korean, Korean Canadian, and Asian identities, and their bilingual/cultural identities as well as improvement in their linguistic skills; these findings are similar to those of other scholarly works that call for social support and educational inclusion of immigrant students' heritage languages (Choi, 2011; Cummins, 2014a; Lee, 2002; Leeman et al., 2011; Shin, 2005). My participants' heritage language learning was connected to their investment in their identities, and as David expressed, their heritage language learning as an official curriculum "validate[d] the pride" that they had in being Korean and further broadened their views of 'others' and the social meanings of heritage languages in the local, national, and global realms. Put simply, this study demonstrates that social/educational inclusion of heritage languages can empower ethnic minorities' identity and promote bilingual/cultural and global identities who participate in diverse multicultural spaces ranging from the classroom to transnational media, and are able to appreciate other cultures, thus advancing a call for greater inclusion of minority languages.

Importantly, this study underscores the positive meanings of formal adult heritage language learning at university, in contrast to informal childhood learning at home or with friends. For example, David perceived the university program as a "blessing" as the most optimal period for heritage language learning in comparison to childhood learning due to reduced peer pressure and greater efficiency as a disciplined adult learner who personally chose to invest in heritage language. This finding challenges the common association of immigrant children's heritage language learning with home and communities, which may limit heritage language education to the period of childhood and the social spaces of home and community; heritage language learning should be a continuing trajectory through life, which requires social support (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015).

The formal adult heritage language learning also expanded the participants' language

repertoire as they explored formality, different speech styles, and honorifics beyond the intimate

styles and everyday communication repertoire attained at home; this process enabled them to not

only learn new linguistic forms but also better understand the social relations and manners

embedded in their heritage language. Many Korean heritage language learners feel difficulty in

learning "formal and standard features of Korean, particularly in reading and writing," due to

their heritage language exposure being confined to spoken aspects (Kim & Pyun, 2014, p. 296).

In this regard, the formal heritage language learning also engaged the participants with heritage

language literacy practices of writing and reading. Some participants applied what they learnt to

their practices outside the classroom, and attained acknowledgement from others, which boosted

their confidence in their bilingual identity.

Unsurprisingly, my participants understood the power relations underlying the school

curriculum in heritage language education, where not all minority languages can be offered. An

ethnic group's heritage language maintenance is connected to its socioeconomic value within

society, and if knowledge of a specific heritage language is not in demand, the language will lose

its value (Aravossitas, 2016). As for applying criteria to determine institutional inclusion of

heritage languages, my participants discussed both practical aspects which are linked to the view

of heritage language as a resource, and multiculturalism, which embeds the view of heritage

language as linguistic minorities' identity and their linguistic right. For example, my participants

emphasized global relevance, Canada's economy, mainstream interest, and student interest,

viewing heritage languages as personal, national, and global resources.

Simultaneously, they understood institutional inclusion of diverse minority languages in

the frame of multiculturalism. As Steve described, heritage languages denote linguistic

minorities' identities and their rights, and multiculturalism is "understanding, acceptance, and

joining of people with different ethnicities, heritage, cultures" (Written interview). Jen further believed that multiculturalism could be practiced better in higher education due to a larger and more diverse population. Thus, a lack of diverse minority language courses may deprive the diverse university students of the opportunity to develop their cultural experiences and broaden their views of others and the worlds. Multiculturalism is understood as the very process for racial and ethnic minorities' "achievement of certain goals and aspirations" (Dewing & Leman, 2006, p. 1), and linguistic minority groups' bi/multilingualism and heritage language education can be a critical component for the successful settlement of multiculturalism in Canada (Park, 2013).

Heritage language should be understood as not only a resource, but also a right (Ruiz, 1984) and in this way, educational equity can be practiced. The social view of heritage language as a resource pursues a pluralistic society over assimilation, and this view is increasingly accepted with support from a line of studies and policies (Bale, 2010; Cummins, 2005; May, 2012; Ricento, 2005; Ruiz, 1984, 2010). However, English hegemony is prevalent and there is little room for teaching minority languages. The dominant orientation to heritage languages and language policies are often driven by the state's interests, rather than by cultural, linguistic democracy and social justice (Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Ricento, 2005; Ruiz, 2010). Ricento (2005) thus questions, "Resources for whom? For what purposes or end?" (p. 364) and argues that the view of heritage language as a resource can be another form of exploiting the minority group for the benefit of the majority group. Scholars therefore argue for the view of heritage language as a right for both individuals and groups to speak, access, and learn (Babaee, 2014; May, 2012; Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008). Heritage language education can serve as vehicles for promoting the vitality and stability of minority languages, and ultimately the rights of their speakers to participate in the global community on their own terms (Hornberger, 2005).

As this study suggests, social opportunities to access heritage languages should be promoted, and schools as well as higher education can play an integral role.

1.5 and Second Generation Korean Canadians, Third Space, and Cosmopolitan Global Citizenship

This study was primarily initiated by my curiosity about how 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians construct their identity as a linguistic minority in Canada. Within the multiple and often contesting categories, all participants commonly struggled to construct their sense of themselves in both their ethnic and the mainstream worlds, and thus tried to build a dual Korean Canadian identity. Nonetheless, their language practices and identities were more complex and multilayered beyond the ethnic or national levels through intercultural relations and transnational practices such as consumption of media and trips to Korea.

A line of studies illustrates disparities between 1.5 and second generations in terms of their experiences, integration, level of bilingualism, and perspectives (Danico, 2004; Kibria, 2002; Kim & Duff, 2012; Shin, 2016). According to Shin (2016), in general, "1.5ers who strive to be "good kids" by achieving academic success in the mainstream are perceived as being less than cool by 2nd-generation students due to their foreign mindset, values, and behaviors" (p. 36). Shin further states that racial exclusion in a white majority society was more salient for second generations, while "1.5-generation participants tended to accept their race, ethnicity, or hyphenated identities without evaluating them from the perspective of the dominant group, which, in turn, enabled them to circumvent the sense of marginalization" (p. 41).

I am careful about fixing notions of 1.5 or second generation identities, but this study suggests differences between 1.5 and second generations similar to the existing literature. The 1.5 generations' parents were stricter in their children's education and heritage language

maintenance, incorporating a Korean style of education, while the second generations' parents gave their children more freedom and autonomy without forcing them to learn Korean. The different parenting styles influenced the participants' heritage language maintenance and language choices. There were also disparities in their ethnic identity development processes, and their perceptions of the link between heritage language and ethnic identity were also expressed in various ways. Supporting Shin's (2016) findings, my second generation participants tended to accept the mainstream discourses and tried to fit in with the dominant group culture, while 1.5 generation participants, especially Group 1, tended to be more critical of the dominant discourses, and maintained their heritage. Group 2 showed heterogeneity. For example, Minny's effort to avoid being categorized as FOB can be understood as her acceptance of the mainstream discourse, since the connotation of FOB is stigmatized and associated with deficiencies in English ability and cultural competence (Jeon, 2010; Talmy, 2004).

Regardless, both 1.5 and second generation participants experienced multiple shifting identities across various sociocultural and linguistic realms including transnational spaces. While traversing multiple spheres, my participants have also created "the third space" which grants bicultural/lingual hybrid individuals the ability to create a different view of the world and themselves by intersecting two worlds (Bhabha, 1994). In the third space, they tried to see themselves "for both sides" and as Ariel expressed, they understood, "[t]o co-exist you have to learn, and they have to learn" (Interview 3), and that there was no cultural ranking. Jen, however, expressed her ongoing confusion with shifting identities and felt like she was "lingering in between" and belonged nowhere. Minny also felt the disadvantages of having a hybrid identity and the continuous practice of picking and choosing her position; for example, she had to constantly defend Koreans and the Korean culture to Canadians and vice versa.

Despite conflict, confusion, and feelings of being disadvantaged, they eventually attained bilingual/cultural abilities and valuable life lessons such as empathy toward others, greater understanding of differences, and broader views of their worlds. Both 1.5 and second generation participants also tried to negotiate their identity within the frame of a dual Korean Canadian identity although this identity construction as a Korean Canadian was ongoing and continued to undergo changes. Through a literature review, Schimmele and Wu (2015) also find similar phenomena of identity construction of immigrant children with various ethnic groups albeit with varying degrees.

My participants' unique position as 1.5 and second generations led to cultural clashes, identity confusion, and feeling disadvantaged as linguistic minority immigrant children, but ultimately broadened their life boundaries, multicultural/lingual competence, and their understanding of others. Throughout their heritage language learning trajectories and life experiences, these young adults had also been developing 'critical identities' by which they can observe, analyze, and challenge their own and others' cultures and 'transnational identities' by which they cross cultural, linguistic, ideological, and geopolitical borders, embrace diversity, and design their own cultural maps and lifestyles, while having "[t]he awareness of multi-locality" (Vertovec, 2009, p. 6). Their chaotic, hybrid, and shifting third space, which many other immigrant children of various ethnic backgrounds may also experience (e.g., Guardado, 2018; Maguire, 2005; Talmy, 2005) has immense potential to broaden their views to transnational and cosmopolitan realms.

Ethnolinguistic individuals in diaspora contexts can have multiple connections beyond ethnic and geographic spaces (Duff, 2015). Their cultural associations can be more fluid and dynamic as cosmopolitan individuals and as Guardado (2018) argues, their heritage language

learning can be deeply intertwined with transnationalism, cosmopolitan identities, and global citizenship. For my study, Minny's use of heritage language at school and her friends' reaction to Minny's bilingual capability as something "cool" (Maher, 2005) entrenched a cosmopolitan language ideology, which appreciates diversity, hybridity, and choice (Cho, 2017). My participants' transnational consumption of Korean media and interactions with global users of the media products helped establish global transnational identities. Steve thought of his Korean classroom at the university as a space for his pan-ethnic identity, which embraced intercultural relations, and thus, in a broader sense mirrors Solé's (2013) claims that foreign/heritage language learners are all "cosmopolitan speakers," who have "multiple cultural alliances and the development of a nomadic and borderless lifestyle" (p. 327). My participants' view of inclusion of minority languages in higher education also embedded their recognition of other cultures as equal. Guardado (2018) thus calls for the educational inclusion of heritage languages for the promotion of transnational, cosmopolitan, global citizenship[17] education alongside multiculturalism and Canadian identity construction.

1.5 and second generations' multiple identities, their heritage language learning, and their transnational practices can contribute towards adopting a cosmopolitan outlook, which fosters the recognition of others and the ability to innovatively deal with conflicts between and within cultures (Beck, 2002). Although this study sheds light on 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians, their experiences of the third space and emerging identities such as critical identities, transnational identities, and cosmopolitan views imply transferability to other 1.5 and second

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[17] Transnationalism refers to individual experiences of crossing all forms of borders, while cosmopolitanism highlights the attitudes and identities, although the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably (Guardado, 2018). Global citizenship often denotes an ethical version of cosmopolitanism, which suggests duties and rights as members of local and global communities (Van den Anker, 2010). Van den Anker (2010), however, argues that transnationalism and transnational practices do not necessarily instill cosmopolitanism, which promotes global citizenship.

generation immigrant populations who operate in multiple communities beyond ethnic and national boundaries.

The ramifications of this study may extend beyond the specific Korean ethnolinguistic group situated in the context of Winnipeg to other 1.5 and second generations of various ethnic backgrounds in terms of ethnic identity formation, the importance of heritage language maintenance and social opportunities to access heritage languages, and their bilingual/cultural and emerging syncretic identities, which uphold the ethnic, host nation's, and global identities.

Recommendations

Since this is a small sample of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians, the findings cannot be applied to all ethnic minority groups or all sociocultural settings. However, the findings of this study provide insight and information to those who have interests and concerns relevant to this research project. To better understand and support immigrant students' heritage language learning and their identity construction, I suggest the following recommendations for immigrant parents, ethnic communities, public school teachers and public education, heritage language educators and higher education, policy makers, and future researchers. Immigrant students' identity and their heritage language education ideally require a wide-reaching infrastructure with collaboration of the above stakeholders, since identity and heritage language learning are situated in multiple social domains.

Immigrant parents. Numerous studies assert the importance of family and parents in heritage language development and maintenance (Guardado & Becker, 2014; Lee, 2013; Kang, 2015; Kharchenko, 2018; Shin, 2016). Parents' consistent use of heritage language and home language choices are significant variables for children's heritage language learning and maintenance, which also greatly contributes to building close ties between parents and children

(Oh & Fuligni, 2010). Parents' view of heritage language maintenance should also be broadened to include all language skills rather than limited to receptive skills (e.g., listening). Parents should utilize all the opportunities and resources including engagement in ethnic community programs and Korean media to expose their children to heritage language as much as possible in order to inspire children' heritage language learning.

Parents should also reflect on their priority on English, which is often connected to deprivation of children's opportunities to practice their heritage language. Acquisition of English should be approached as additive (bilingual) rather than subtractive (loss of heritage language) (Roberts, 1995); my participants all currently appreciate the benefits of being bilingual in terms of linguistic skills and their broadened worldviews and self. The parents also need to approach their children with an open mind and continuous communication and try to learn about the Canadian mainstream culture in order to lessen generational or cultural gaps. As evidenced in this study, immigrant parents' vulnerable conditions as new immigrants and their economic integration in Canada largely influence children's heritage language learning routes. Parents need to actively seek information or resources to build a financially and emotionally healthy home in which children maximize their potential and ethnic capital. However, the onus should not fall entirely on parents, since immigrant families' financial and emotional health is a social issue, reflecting a need for a systemic and accessible support for all immigrant families.

Ethnic communities. To reiterate, the recent 2016 Census shows that there are 3,265 people in Winnipeg whose mother tongue is Korean, and 2,535 people use Korean as their home language (Statistics Canada, 2017b). Considering this size, and the phenomenon of language shift from Korean to English as shown in this study, the Korean community should make a concerted effort to develop and maintain heritage language for young Korean Canadians through

expanding Korean language and activity programs in the community. Ethnic communities have significant potential to support 1.5 and second generations' heritage language and identity development (J. Kim, 2015; Park, 2009; Park & Sakar, 2007). In the focus group, the community leaders unanimously recognized the dilemma of immigrant parents who are too busy working to invest time into their children' heritage language education. At this juncture, as John argued, ethnic communities should play a critical role in children' heritage language education and identity formation.

There are several ways the community can contribute to heritage language learning and preservation. First, ethnic communities can generate various programs to create interactions between 1.5 and second generations with role models such as young professionals. In doing so, ethnic members should recognize that 1.5 and second generations are heterogeneous members whose desires, past experiences, current situations, and heritage language development stages are all different. Since 1.5 and second generations tend to choose resistance and nonparticipation when faced with judgement of their limited heritage language proficiency (and accents) or impositions of undesired identities, creating a more embracing environment appears critical. Second, community members should also acknowledge that an essentialist notion of 1.5 and second generations' identity can restrict their potential, and that 'picking and choosing' is a common way of negotiating their identity as a bilingual/cultural Korean Canadian. Community members should collaborate and unite their efforts such as providing services not only in Korean but also English as well as mentorship programs so that not only 1.5 and second generations but also all generations can benefit. Adult community members, especially first generation Korean immigrants, should challenge their assumed position as gatekeepers who are critical of the heritage language proficiency of 1.5 and second generations and their lack of knowledge of

Korean culture.

      Public schools and teachers. As this study suggests, exclusion of their heritage at school can lead ethnic minorities to distance themselves from their heritage and feel insecure and embarrassed. Schools and teachers should appreciate their students' multilingual/cultural diversity *overtly through curricula and practices* and encourage their students to maintain and be proud of their heritage. Curriculum development should avoid monolithic prescription (as seen in Jen's social studies project where Korea was not included on the project list), but respond culturally, reflecting diverse students' identities (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Sleeter, 2011). Educators can incorporate the diverse students' linguistic resources in their curriculum so that the students can use their linguistic repertoire (Li, 2014).

      This study asserts the importance of the school environment and the components of school populations; the schools they attended and the type of peers they were exposed to were critical to my participants' identity, heritage language learning and life path. As Jen argued, multiculturalism can be neither acknowledged nor realized at all, for example, in a white majority school. Actual exposure to diverse peers and dynamic permutations of interactions can be an effective way of teaching multiculturalism, and thus, schools can develop programs or activities (e.g., exchange activities) among schools within and beyond school catchment areas. In fact, this study shows that friends were the most critical component for my participants' schooling experiences. Vietze et al.'s (2019) study of immigrant students in Germany evidences that talking about heritage culture with school friends was positively related to their heritage identity, thus, peers can function as socialization agents to encourage cultural belonging as well as towards the positive adjustment of cultural minorities in school.

      Lastly, English was a critical variable in my participants' integration in the mainstream

society that impacted their heritage language investment. Continuous support for English development, especially writing skills for immigrant students, should be provided in educational institutions and community programs since the participants still felt relatively weak in writing in English, as well as in their heritage language. Mastery of English also appeared closely related to the participants' Canadian identity construction.

Heritage language educators and higher education. Heritage language learners bring their different past histories, desires, and future goals to their classrooms. Heritage language educators in communities or any institutions should consider the multiple conditions and various identities of students. Heritage language educators should also be aware that there are marginalized students in the classroom who require more attention, for example, less competent second generation heritage language students compared to competent 1.5 generation heritage language students, or non-heritage language learners versus heritage language learners in a mixed university classroom. Heritage language educators should allow students to utilize their language repertoire(s) rather than forcing strict rules, for example, such as a Korean only speaking policy.

This study highlights the importance of formal adult heritage language learning in higher education as heritage language learners construct different meanings of heritage language learning depending on their life stage and personal maturity. The positive link between heritage language learning as part of an institutional curriculum and heritage language learners' self-confidence and ethnic identity also suggests the potential and further, responsibility of higher education in heritage language education. As for inclusion/exclusion of certain heritage languages, "what resources" are currently valued and "for whom" the resources serve should be critically deconstructed by curriculum developers, administers, and practitioners. Otherwise,

school curricula are operated by a social hegemony that serves dominant groups' languages, cultures, and ideologies (Apple, 2004), and thus let economists' views define the role of higher education (Giroux, 2010). Social views of heritage language as a resource are often defined by power relations and limited within economic discourses (May, 2012; Ricento, 2005; Ruiz, 1984, 2010), and therefore, the view of heritage language as a right for ethnic minorities should be equally employed, and higher education should make an effort to incorporate representation of diverse ethnic populations. As this study suggests, heritage language education in higher education can be a social practice of multiculturalism (Baker, 2003; Choi, 2011; Park, 2013).

In addition, on a practical level, considering the increasing number of transnational trips and exchange programs, universities can also align their language courses with study abroad experiences in contexts where those languages are used. My participants unanimously reported their trips to Korea helped them acknowledge the importance and usefulness of knowing their language.

Policy makers. The above claims for higher education/social institutions can be applied to policy makers and should be supported by policy makers. As Cummins (2014a) analyzes, the reality of multiculturalism as an initiative for encouragement of heritage language education remains rhetoric at many levels of educational institutions. More political effort should be made to include heritage languages, since multiculturalism and bi/multilingualism has been constructed as a core national identity and a policy. Governments in Canada can provide adequate funding and support for heritage language education in postsecondary institutions as well as communities. As James stated in the focus group, funding for community heritage language programs fluctuated depending on ruling parties, and thus more consistent support should be ensured. Heritage languages are the multiple identities which make up Canada and are

valuable resources which enrich not only heritage language speakers but also any member of this society. Hence, political efforts to develop resources and policies for heritage language education should respond to the linguistic diversity within communities. Where there is no national system to access collective data regarding heritage language education (Aravossitas, 2016), forming heritage language education networks will be helpful for research, collaboration between learning environments, and preservation of heritage languages.

My participants also reported the negative influences of racism on racialized immigrant students' identity formation, and the participants unanimously stated that "education" can and should play a critical role in alleviating racism. In addition to heritage language inclusion, policy makers can establish multicultural and antiracism education in collaboration with educational institutions.

Limitations and Future Research

First, due to the small sample size of this multiple case study, there are limitations in applying the findings from this study to other 1.5 and second generation Korean immigrant students in different geographical sociocultural conditions and diverse ethnic groups. However, a goal of this study was to explore 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians in a relatively small city with a small population of Korean immigrants and limited opportunities to learn and use Korean. The findings of this study still have potential to inform other contexts, in particular, areas other than Greater Toronto or Vancouver, where there is a lack of social opportunities to learn Korean and where there is a small Korean population.

Moreover, observation of the research participants in main social spaces such as university Korean classes, home, ethnic communities, and interactions with friends, may have enhanced the key findings of this study with a provision of actual practices of their heritage

language and identity negotiation. In addition, interviews with the parents of the primary

participants could have provided more detailed information and background underlying the

participants' identity, heritage language learning trajectories, and relevant family factors. Instead,

however, this study used a focus group with community leaders, which enriched this study by

providing multiple perspectives and a more objective examination of the primary participants, as

the community leaders were not only parents of 1.5 or second generation Korean Canadians but

also had been greatly engaged in supporting various generations of Korean immigrants in various

contexts in Manitoba.

This research may appear to have shed light on a privileged group, who experienced

higher education, in particular, those working in professional fields or at least studying in

professional programs. This study does not include stories of young adult 1.5 and second

generations who did not pursue higher education, and thereby the opportunities to access formal

heritage language learning could be more restrained. Future studies can explore 1.5 and second

generations whose life pathways are different from the participants in this study in order to

examine the situatedness of heritage language learning and identity of diverse young Korean

Canadians, reflecting their different social integration pathways and socioeconomic status.

As for future research directions, first, a focal examination of 1.5 and second generation

immigrant high school students can provide a deeper and vivid understanding of the nature of

struggling identities and negotiations in relation to their heritage language and in response to the

larger society. In particular, investigation of interactions with friends at school and communities

can provide clues to understanding immigrant students' heritage language learning and identity.

In addition, participating in research is a social practice which can provide the high school

participants with an opportunity to reflect on their past, present and their surrounding structures

and social discourses, improving the participants' "conscious experiencing of the world" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 114) and empowering them.

Second, comparison of different geographical sites in different provinces in Canada can contribute to depicting the situatedness of heritage language learning and identity due to the variety of heritage language education policies and contexts across provinces. Specifically, comparisons can be made between sites with more and fewer heritage language learning opportunities, bigger and smaller Korean populations, and sites offering Korean courses in K-12 schools compared to those that do not, while considering the different geographical conditions and policies.

Also, for this study, gender has not appeared as a major theme, although this study challenged the presumed role of mother as the main heritage language instruction for immigrant children at home. By utilizing bigger samples, gender differences in relation to heritage language learning, identity construction, and social integration can also be examined.

Lastly, the function of media in heritage language maintenance can be explored, since the increasing phenomenon of globalization has generated various global consumers and transnational identities (Darvin & Norton, 2014), while facilitating new literacies that are demanded by new technologies. Needless to say, exploration of immigrant students' investments in heritage language learning can provide valuable insights which elucidate the global and sociocultural values on heritage languages, their multiple identities and social integration processes, and their family relations and ethnic identity.

Concluding Comments

This research project has provided me with valuable insights as a researcher, a heritage language instructor, and a Korean immigrant. The interview sessions and dialogues with the

participants were precious opportunities for me to explore each person as a human being rather

than just a former student or a research participant. I felt grateful, privileged, and rewarded as

they shared with me their lived experiences, feelings, and thoughts, some of which they had not

even shared with their closest friends or family members. Through this research project, I could

vicariously experience their lives by traversing the six participants' multiple identities and their

unique life experiences, and as I wrote this dissertation, I eventually realized that I weaved

together mutual dialogues between the participants and myself.

Needless to say, this dissertation is an expression of my identity as one who has tried to

better understand and describe 1.5 and second generations and their struggles and desires to

broaden their spectrum of their self and the world. This process has also led to immersing myself

in self-reflecting on my past, present, and future, while deepening my views of others and

self. My participants' suggestions for the Korean language program were also insightful as an

instructor; for example, one participant suggested too many workbook assignments may decrease

students' motivation, and thus I incorporated this feedback for my Korean classes. Since many

participants appreciated their heritage language learning experiences at the university, I also

considered how I could address the various needs of learners including heritage language

learners in the courses.

My research topic on immigrant students' heritage language and identity is primarily

situated in globalization and transnational migration. These phenomena have created new

transnational or global identities for people who are bi/multilingual and bi/multicultural and

claim multiple legitimate or emotional attachments to multiple communities traversing

ethnic, linguistic, and national boundaries. This process has also promoted multilingualism,

second language education, and heritage language education, and it will be interesting to

continue observing how their multiple memberships impact their attachment to their mother

tongue or heritage language and ethnic identity.

Our identities should be approached not in a subtractive way but in an additive way; as

attainment of Canadian identity does not equal loss of Korean identity, and attainment of

transnational identity does not mean a decline in their attachment to their mother tongue or

ethnicity. Jung-Ah, who worked with the elderly at a hospital, expressed, "I've worked with a lot

of people with dementia. They always keep their mother tongue, they revert back to what [their

mother tongue] was before, [even if they spoke English previously]" and wondered with regards

to her language, "What if I have dementia when I'm older?" (Interview 3). She repeated that she

would never lose her Korean for the rest of her life. Besides its social, national, and global

discourse, the importance of heritage language lies in a very intimate and personal avenue, and

thus, it is a thread by which the fabric of a child's and a young adult's development is woven

(Lee & Suarez, 2009). Given this, recall Minny's reflection, "Now retaining my Korean culture

is important and I appreciate it more. I think the bigger problem is how I will pass the Korean

culture onto my children, as a 1.5 generation parent. Especially when my Korean isn't great"

(Interview 3).

Heritage language development and maintenance should be collectively supported in all

social domains for the benefit of all immigrant children, who are the current and future social,

economic, and political subjects in this multicultural country of immigration. As a heritage

language educator, I also believe we should challenge all forms of oppression, discrimination,

and prejudice that inhibit one's identity expression and linguistic diversity.

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Appendix A. Invitation Letter for Primary Participants

University of Manitoba
Faculty of
Education

INFORMATION AND INVITATION LETTER FOR 1.5 AND SECOND GENERATION KOREAN CANADIANS

Dear Potential Participant:

Who I am:
My name is Hyekyung (Kay) Song, and I am a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba, specializing in second language education. My advisor is Dr. Clea Schmidt at the Faculty of Education at the U of M. I am conducting a qualitative research study involving 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians, especially those who have taken Korean language courses at the University of Manitoba. 1.5 generations (1.5 세) represent immigrants who have arrived in Canada before or during the early teens, and second generations (2 세) represent those who are born in Canada from first and 1.5 generation immigrants. Since you are a suitable candidate as a Korean Canadian, who took a Korean credit course at the U of M, I am requesting your voluntary participation in this study.

Purpose of the Study:
        This study will consider how 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians construct their identities as Korean Canadians and linguistic minorities in different contexts, in relation to their heritage language (HL) learning experiences. This study intends to explore the interplay of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' identity, their HL learning experiences, and their situated contexts by providing a close examination of the lived and learning experiences and perspectives of 1.5 and second Korean Canadian university students. This study aims to contribute to the body of research that examines identity issues of diverse groups of 1.5 and second generation immigrants and linguistic minorities in relation to their HL learning.

Participation Procedure:
        You will be asked to participate in this study involving two to three 1.5 to 2-hour audio recorded interviews. I ask for your commitment for a maximum total of 6 hours for the interviews and approximately 2 to 3 hours to review the interview transcripts. The interviews will be conducted between October 2017 to May 2018, and you and I will decide the mutually convenient time and location to carry out the interviews. The first interview will focus on your background and overall your experiences in Canada including your school experiences. The second and third interviews will focus on your HL learning and use experiences in different communities, your perceptions on HL learning in relation to your identity construction as a Korean Canadian, and overall negotiation strategies you have developed as a Korean Canadian and a linguistic minority in Canada.
        I will conduct all the interviews and transcribe the audio recordings. You will be asked to choose the language of the interview, either Korean or English, to ensure that the language is one you are proficient at and comfortable with. I may contact you after the interviews to clarify some information, if necessary.

If you are agreeable, I would also like to collect your past writings (e.g., journals, school projects, assignments) and any physical or cultural artifacts relating to your Korean language learning/use and your identity construction, which you are willing to share with me. The artifacts may include significant items or drawings. I may copy or take picture of the writings and artifacts. You may choose later whether you are agreeable to share the writings and artifacts.

Privacy and Confidentiality:

I am obligated to follow the rules and regulations set forth by the Research Ethics Board. All data collected during this study will remain confidential and to protect your anonymity, you will be asked to choose a pseudonym, and the pseudonym will be used to refer to your case throughout the study. I will ask you not to divulge your pseudonym to others. Your real name will not appear on any of my notes, audio recordings, transcripts or my final reports. You will also be given the opportunity to read, revise, and edit out any information on the transcripts you feel is too sensitive or identifiable. All interview transcripts will be returned to participants for member-checking by the researcher through email as soon as they have been transcribed, within 1 month. You can let me know the information you want to edit either by phone or by email. The time to review the interview transcripts will be approximately 2 to 3 hours. Participants will be asked to complete the review within 2 weeks, however, extensions may be allowed for certain circumstances. If you want the written reports to be translated into Korean, I will provide the translation service, either orally or in written forms, as you prefer.

All data collected from the research will be kept confidential in my personal password protected laptop and backup hard drive or in a locked drawer in my house. Only my advisor, Dr. Clea Schmidt and I will have access to the data, and confidentiality will be maintained. I may present the findings of this study in places beyond my PhD thesis. The places include conference presentations, public presentations, and journal publications. In any publication or presentation, pseudonyms will be substituted for any identifying information. Within seven years of the completion of the study, all data will be destroyed.

Risks and Benefits:

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may refuse to answer any questions and to stop the interview any time. You may withdraw without penalty from the study any time. There are minimal risks and discomforts expected from participating in this study. I do not anticipate any risk greater than normal life. Participation in this study may or may not have direct benefits to you. Your input may contribute to considering 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' needs and implementing program developments for their identity construction and their heritage language learning programs and practice.

Compensation and Debriefing:

There will be a small compensation of a gift card (about $50.00) for participants. The gift card will be given at the first interview session of this research study after you have signed the consent form, directly in person from the researcher. You will be provided with a summary (1-3 pages) of the study findings at the conclusion of this research, through e-mail or in hard copy, as you prefer. I expect the approximate time of completion to be May 2018. I can also provide you with the Korean translation of the summary, if necessary.

The Relations:

Although there will not be any current power relation between a current instructor and a current student, you may feel discomfort to participate in this study due to the relation between a former instructor and a former student. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and

you can decline the recruitment invitation if you feel any discomfort with your involvement in the study due to the relation between a former instructor and a former student. You can also withdraw your participation during the study at any time without penalty. The existing relation will not change if you decline to participate in or withdraw from the research.

If you decide to participate in this study, please read through and sign the attached consent form.

Thank you so much for your consideration. Please contact me at XXXX or umsong29@myumanitoba.ca or Hyekyung.Song@umanitoba.ca if you have any concerns. You can also contact my advisor, Dr. Clea Schmidt via email at Clea.Schmidt@umanitoba.ca or at 204-474-9314 respectively.

This research has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122.

Sincerely,

Hyekyung (Kay) Song
PhD Candidate
University of Manitoba

Appendix B. Consent Form for Primary Participants

University of Manitoba
Facultyof
Education

CONSENT FORM FOR 1.5 AND SECOND GENERATION KOREAN CANADIAN
PARTICIPANTS

<u>**Research Project Title**</u>: Heritage Language Learning and Identity Construction of 1.5 and Second
Generation Korean Canadians
<u>**Researcher**</u>: Hyekyung (Kay) Song, Phone Number: XXXX
      Email: <u>umsong29@myumanitoba</u>.ca or Hyekyung.song@umanitoba.ca
<u>**Research Supervisor and Contact Information**</u>:
      Dr. Clea Schmidt, University of Manitoba, Phone Number: 204-474-9314
      Email: <u>Clea.Schmidt@umanitoba.ca</u>

**This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only
part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is
about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something
mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the
time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.**

I understand the research is being conducted for the completion of the researcher's PhD thesis. This
study aims to explore and report on how 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians construct their
identities as Korean Canadians and as a linguistic minority in relation to their heritage language
learning by examining their lived experiences and their own perspectives and narratives. The focus of
the study is to investigate the interplay of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' identity
formation, their heritage language learning, and the multiple-layered sociocultural and political
contexts in which their identity and learning are situated. I understand that this study aims to
contribute to both the theoretical debates on the complex relations of heritage language, identity, and
the larger society of 1.5 and second generation immigrants and linguistic minorities and practical and
pedagogical insights and suggestions.

I, _____ agree to take part in the research study on "Heritage Language Learning
and Identity Construction of 1.5 and Second Generation Korean Canadians."

I have read and understood the information about the study on the above-mentioned topic. I
understand that I will be asked to participate in two to three audio-recorded interview sessions, with
each session lasting for 1.5 to 2 hours. I understand that I will commit to a total maximum of 6 hours
for the interviews and approximately 2 to 3 hours to review the interview transcripts between
October 2017 to February 2018. The first interview focuses on my background and overall my
experiences in Canada including my school experiences. The second and third interviews focus on
my heritage language (HL) learning and use experiences in different communities including the U of

M, my perceptions on HL learning in relation to my identity construction as a Korean Canadian, and overall negotiation strategies I have developed.

I will be provided with an explanation and invitation for the study and a consent form. I will choose the language of the interview, either Korean or English, which I feel most comfortable with. I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed (and translated) afterwards by the researcher. I know that the researcher will also take some notes during the interview to help her remember the thoughts and feelings concerning the interview. I realize that the researcher might contact me after the interviews if necessary, to clarify some information to avoid any confusion and misunderstanding.

I also understand this study involves my past writings and physical or cultural artifacts relevant to the research from me. The personal writings may include journals, school projects, assignments, items, and drawings. I understand that contributing writings and artifacts is optional, so I can choose whether or not to share some writings or artifacts relating to my experiences later. The personal writings and artifacts I provide can be photocopied or photographed by the researcher.

I understand that participation in this study is voluntary. I can refuse to answer any questions and stop the interview at any time. I may withdraw without penalty from the study at any time. I understand that participation in this study may or may not have direct benefits to me. My input may contribute to considering 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' needs and their heritage language learning programs and practice, and understanding and supporting their identity construction. I understand that there is no direct anticipated benefit for participation.

I understand that there are minimal risks and discomforts expected from participating in this study that are greater than normal life. Although there are minimal risks and discomforts expected from participating in this study, I may potentially experience stress during the interviews. I can seek assistance with this issue from health service agencies such as Canadian Mental Health Association Manitoba Winnipeg and University of Manitoba Student Counselling Centre. I will be provided with the contact information for these agencies from the researcher.

I understand that to help protect my confidentiality and anonymity, I will be asked to choose a pseudonym, and the pseudonym will be used to refer to my case throughout the study. My real name will not appear on any of the researcher's notes, audio recordings, transcripts, the photocopies, or her final reports. I will also be given the opportunity to read, revise, and edit out any information on the transcripts I feel are too sensitive or identifiable.

All interview transcripts will be returned to participants for member-checking by the researcher through email as soon as they have been transcribed, within 1 month. I can let the researcher know the information I want to edit either by phone or by email. The time to review the interview transcripts will be approximately 2 to 3 hours. I will be asked to complete the review within two weeks; however, extensions may be allowed for certain circumstances. If I want the written reports to be translated into Korean, the researcher will provide the translation service, either orally or in written forms, as I prefer.

Any information about me obtained as a result of this research will remain confidential and will be stored in the researcher's personal password protected laptop and backup hard drive or in a locked drawer in the researcher's house. I understand that only the researcher and her advisor, Dr. Schmidt will have access to the data collected during the study. I understand all confidential data from this

study will be destroyed within 7 years of the completion of the research. The approximate time of destruction will be around May 2025.

I understand that there will be a small gift card compensation (about $50.00) for participation in this study, which will be given at the first interview session after I sign the consent letter. A gift card will be received directly from the researcher. Refreshments and beverages will be provided at each interview.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent to participate in this study at any time without penalty. If I want to withdraw from this study after I have given initial consent, I can notify the researcher either by phone or by e- mail. I understand I may be asked to sign a withdrawal letter. I understand that I will choose whether the data from myself will be utilized for the study or destroyed right after the withdrawal. I understand that the relation between the researcher and me will not change due to my withdrawal from the study. I affirm that the researcher is not in any way in a position of power over me.

A brief (1-3 pages) summary of the findings of the study will also be sent to me at the completion of the research, via e-mail or in hard copy, as I prefer. I expect the approximate time of completion of the research to be May 2018, but the time of completion will be informed by the researcher later during the study. I understand that the Korean translation of the summary may be provided if I ask.

I understand that the findings of the research will be disseminated in places beyond a PhD thesis; the places include academic and public conferences and journal publications, and the consumers of the findings will include anybody who is interested in the research topic from academia, communities, and government.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Notice Regarding Collection, Use, and Disclosure of Personal Information by the University
Your personal information is being collected under the authority of *The University of Manitoba Act*. The information you provide will be used by the University for the purpose of this research study. Your personal information will not be used or disclosed for other purposes, unless permitted by *The Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* (FIPPA). If you have any questions

about the collection of your personal information, contact the Access & Privacy Office (tel. 204-474-9462), 233 Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB, R3T 2N2

------------------------------------Provide for Signatures as Required--------------------

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

After the interviews

__I prefer to receive my interview transcript via e-mail: address_____
__I prefer to receive my interview transcript in hard copy: address_____

After the thesis is completed

__I prefer to receive a summary of the findings via e-mail: address_____
__I prefer to receive a summary of the findings in hard copy: address_____

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact the researcher, Hyekyung (Kay) Song at XXXX or via email at umsong29@myumanitoba.ca or Hyekyung.Song@umanitoba.ca. Her thesis advisor, Dr. Clea Schmidt, can be reached at 204-474-9314 or via email at Clea.Schmidt@umanitoba.ca, respectively.

Appendix C. Invitation Letter for Community Leader Participants

INFORMATION AND INVITATION LETTER FOR COMMUNITY LEADER PARTICIPANTS

Dear Community Leaders:

Who I am:

My name is Hyekyung (Kay) Song, and I am a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba, specializing in second language education. My advisor is Dr. Clea Schmidt at the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. I am conducting a qualitative research study focusing on the identity construction of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians in relation to their Korean heritage language (HL) learning. As a community leader who has been involved in supporting Korean communities and Korean immigrant children and their identity formation, I am requesting your voluntary participation in this study.

Purpose of the Study:

This study aims to describe and understand how 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians construct their identities as Korean Canadians and a linguistic minority within different contexts, in relation to their HL learning. The University of Manitoba began offering Korean credit course(s) in 2011, and the inclusion of minority languages in higher education appears to provide linguistic minorities with an opportunity to experience educational equity. Immigrant students' HL learning/practice experience can significantly incorporate and reflect their understanding of the world and their formation of who they are. This study intends to explore the interplay of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' identity, their HL learning experiences, and their situated contexts by providing a close examination of the lived and learning experiences and perspectives of 1.5 and second Korean Canadian university aged students. As Korean community leaders, who have been involved in supporting Korean immigrant children and their identity formation, you can provide your perspectives, experiences, and thoughts on the topic.

Participation Procedure:

You will be asked to participate in one 2-2.5-hour group interview with other community leaders (2 to 5), which will be audio recorded. I ask for your commitment of a maximum total of 2 to 2.5 hours for the group interview, and approximately 2 hours to review the interview transcripts. This group interview will be guided by a semi-structured, open-ended interview protocol. You will be provided with the group interview questions in advance by email to prepare and think about the questions, approximately 1 week before the group interview. It will be conducted at the most convenient time and place based on the agreement with other community leaders between October and December 2017. I will conduct the interview and transcribe the audio recordings. When the interview is transcribed, all names will be replaced with pseudonyms to protect your identity. Due to Korean being the common language in Korean communities, I will conduct the interview in Korean, but you may use both English and Korean during the interviews, as you prefer. I may contact you after the interview to clarify some information if necessary.

Privacy and Confidentiality:

I am obligated to follow the rules and regulations set forth by the Research Ethics Board. All data collected during this study will remain confidential and to protect your anonymity, you will be asked to choose a pseudonym, and the pseudonym will be used to refer to your case throughout the studs. I will ask you to sign a confidentiality pledge to not divulge your pseudonym to others and not to reveal any participants' identity and any information revealed in the group interview with anyone outside the group. Your real name will not appear on any of my notes, audio recordings, transcripts or final reports.

You will also be given the opportunity to read, revise, and edit out any information on the transcripts you feel is too sensitive or identifiable. All interview transcripts will be returned to participants for member-checking by the researcher through email as soon as they have been transcribed, within 1 month. You can let me know the information you want to edit either by phone or by email. Participants will be asked to complete the review within two weeks; however, extensions may be allowed for certain circumstances. If you want the written reports to be translated into Korean, I will provide the translation service, either orally or in written forms, as you prefer.

All data collected from the research will be kept confidential in my personal password protected laptop and backup hard drive or in a locked drawer in my house. Only my advisor, Dr. Clea Schmidt, and I will have access to the data, and confidentiality will be maintained. I may present the findings of this study in places beyond my PhD thesis. The places include academic conference presentations, public presentations, and journal publications. In any publication or presentation, pseudonyms will be substituted for any identifying information. Within seven years of the completion of the study, all data will be destroyed.

Risks and Benefits:

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may refuse to answer any questions and to stop the interview any time. You may withdraw without penalty from the study any time. There are minimal risks and discomforts expected from participating in this study. I do not anticipate any risk greater than normal life. Participation in this study may or may not have direct benefits to you. Your input may contribute to considering 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' needs and implementing program developments for their identity construction and their HL learning programs and practice.

Compensation and Debriefing:

There will be a small compensation of lunch or dinner provided after the group interview (the value of the meal will be approximately $25.00). You will be provided with a summary (1-3 pages) of the study findings at the conclusion of this research, through e-mail or in hard copy, as you prefer. I expect the approximate time of completion to be May 2018. I can also provide you with the Korean translation of the summary, if necessary.

If you decide to participate in this study, please read through and sign the attached consent form.

Thank you for your consideration. Please contact me at XXXX or umsong29@myumanitoba.ca or Hyekyung.Song@umanitoba.ca if you have any concerns. You can also contact my advisor, Dr. Clea Schmidt via email at Clea.Schmidt@umanitoba.ca or at 204-474-9314 respectively.

This research has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122.

Sincerely,

Hyekyung (Kay) Song
PhD Candidate
University of Manitoba

Appendix D. Consent Form for Community Leader Participants

University of Manitoba
Faculty of
Education

CONSENT FORM FOR COMMUNITY LEADER PARTICIPANTS

<u>**Research Project Title**</u>: Heritage Language Learning and Identity Construction of 1.5 and Second Generation Korean Canadians
<u>**Researcher**</u>: Hyekyung (Kay) Song, Phone Number: XXXX
   Email: <u>umsong29@myumanitoba</u>.ca or Hyekyung.song@umanitoba.ca
<u>**Research Supervisor and Contact Information**</u>:
   Dr. Clea Schmidt, University of Manitoba, Phone Number: 204-474-9314
   Email: Clea.Schmidt@umanitoba.ca

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

I understand the research is being conducted for the completion of the researcher's PhD thesis. This study aims to explore and report on how 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians construct their identities as Korean Canadians and as a linguistic minority in relation to their heritage language learning by examining their lived experiences and their own perspectives and narratives. The focus of the study is to investigate the interplay of 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' identity formation, their heritage language learning, and the multiple-layered sociocultural and political contexts in which their identity and learning are situated. I understand that this study aims to contribute to both the theoretical debates on the complex relations of heritage language, identity, and the larger society of 1.5 and second generation immigrants and linguistic minorities and practical and pedagogical insights and suggestions.

I, _____ agree to take part in the research study on "Heritage Language Learning and Identity Construction of 1.5 and Second Generation Korean Canadians."

I have read and understood the information about the study on the above mentioned topic.
I understand that I will be asked to participate in one 2-2.5 focus group interview with other community leaders (2 to 5), which will be audio-recorded. I understand that I will commit to a total maximum of 2.5 hours for the interviews and approximately 2 hours to review the interview transcripts. This group interview will be guided by a semi-structured, open-ended interview protocol between October to December 2017, and at the most convenient time and place based on the agreement with other community leaders and the researcher.

I will be provided with an explanation and invitation for the study, a consent form and interview questions. I understand that the interview will be conducted in Korean, but I can use both Korean and English. I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed (and translated) afterwards by the researcher. I know that the researcher will also take some notes during the interview to help her remember the thoughts and feelings concerning the interview. And I realize that the researcher might get back to me for some clarification of the information if necessary.

I understand that participation in this study is voluntary. I can refuse to answer any questions and stop the interview any time. I may withdraw without penalty from the study any time. I understand that participation in this study may or may not have direct benefits to me. My input may contribute to considering 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians' needs and their heritage language learning programs and practice, and understanding and supporting their identity construction. I understand that there is no direct anticipated benefit for participation.

I understand that there are minimal risks and discomforts expected from participating in this study that are greater than normal life. Although there are minimal risks expected from participating in this study, I may potentially experience stress during the interviews. I can seek assistance with this issue from health service agencies such as Canadian Mental Health Association Manitoba and Winnipeg. I will be provided with the contact information for these agencies from the researcher.

I understand that to help protect my confidentiality and anonymity, I will be asked to choose a pseudonym, and the pseudonym will be used to refer to my case throughout the study. My real name will not appear on any of the researcher's notes, audio recordings, transcripts or her final reports. I understand that I will not reveal other community leaders and their pseudonyms involved in the group interview. I will also be given the opportunity to read, revise, and edit out any information on the transcripts I feel are too sensitive or identifiable.

All interview transcripts will be returned to participants for member-checking by the researcher through email as soon as they have been transcribed, within 1 month. I can let the researcher know the information I want to edit either by phone or by email. The time to review the interview transcripts will be approximately 2 hours. I will be asked to complete the review within two weeks; however, extensions may be allowed for certain circumstances. If I want the written reports to be translated into Korean, the researcher will provide the translation service, either orally or in written forms, as I prefer.

Any information about me obtained as a result of this research will remain confidential and will be stored in the researcher's personal password protected laptop and backup hard drive or in a locked drawer in the researcher's house. I understand that only the researcher and her advisor, Dr. Schmidt will have access to the data collected during the study. I understand all confidential data from this study will be destroyed within 7 years of the completion of the research. The approximate time of destruction will be around May 2025.

I understand that there will be a small compensation of lunch or dinner provided by the researcher after the group interview (the value of the meal will be approximately $25.00) for participation in this study. Refreshments and beverages will be provided during the interview.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent to participate in this study at any time without penalty. If I want to withdraw from this study after I have given initial consent, I can notify the researcher either by phone or by e-mail. I understand I may be asked to sign a withdrawal letter. I

understand that I will choose whether the data from myself will be utilized for the study or destroyed right after the withdrawal. I affirm that the researcher is not in any way in a position of authority over me.

A brief (1-3 pages) summary of the findings of the study will also be sent to me at the completion of the research, via e-mail or in hard copy, as I prefer. I expect the approximate time of completion of the research to be May 2018, but the time of completion will be informed by the researcher later during the study. I understand that the Korean translation of the summary may be provided if I ask.

I understand that the findings of the research will be disseminated in places beyond a PhD thesis; the places include academic and public conferences and journal publications, and the consumers of the findings will include anybody who is interested in the research topic from academia, communities, and government.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

-------------------------------------Provide for Signatures as Required--------------------

Participant's Signature _____   Date _____
Researcher's Signature _____   Date _____

After the interviews

__I prefer to receive my interview transcript via e-mail: address_____
__I prefer to receive my interview transcript in hard copy: address_____

After the thesis is completed

__I prefer to receive a summary of the findings via e-mail: address_____
__I prefer to receive a summary of the findings in hard copy: address_____

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact the researcher, Hyekyung (Kay) Song at XXXX or via email at umsong29@myumanitoba.ca or Hyekyung.Song@umanitoba.ca. Her thesis advisor, Dr. Clea Schmidt can be reached at 204-474-9314 or via email at Clea.Schmidt@umanitoba.ca respectively.

Appendix E. Interview Questions for Primary Participants

Interview Session I

Overall background information

1. How old are you?
2. Where were you born?
3. When did you come to Canada?
4. What is your nationality (for 1.5 generations)?
5. Describe your family members (e.g. their occupation, language proficiency).
6. Tell me the story of your family's immigration. What experiences have you and your family had in immigrating and settling in Canada?
7. When you were growing up, did you feel Korean or Canadian? Why? Did you notice any differences (e.g., relationship between parents and children and other cultural issues) between your family and the families of your friends with a different ethnicity (e.g., European Canadians or other Asians)?
8. What languages have you learned and what languages do you use at home, school, or workplace?
9. How fluent do you feel in Korean (speaking, listening, reading, and writing)? What about your other family members (e.g., siblings)?

Overall educational history and experiences

1. What language policies did the schools that you attended have (e.g., English, French Immersion, etc.)?
2. To what extent do you think your schools (or teachers) appreciated your Korean cultural/linguistic background? How?
3. What kinds of experiences did you have using different languages at your home and at school (e.g., language, culture, values)? Share your experiences regarding this, if any.
4. Many immigrant parents report immigrating to Canada to provide opportunities for their children. Can you share any ideas on this or any relevant experiences?
5. Can you describe your friends when you were in elementary, junior high, high school, and university?
    1. What commonalities did/do you share with your friends?
    2. Are there any differences between your friends in elementary, junior high, high school, and university (e.g., ethnicity, languages, social class, etc.)?
6. Can you tell me about any experiences feeling isolated from your peers during your school years? What do you think was the reason (e.g., language, culture, race)?
7. How did you enjoy your overall schooling experience in Canada?
8. What is/was your undergraduate major? Why did you choose the major?

Language learning/uses: Home

1. Tell me about your Korean language learning experiences at home.
2. Some Korean Canadian parents have policies about language usage in their home. Some

3. parents emphasize learning Korean, while others do not stress learning Korean. What is your opinion on this? What are your relevant experiences?
4. Did you have enough opportunities to learn Korean at home? Why or why not?
5. What resources were available to you for learning Korean?
6. Who mainly taught you Korean at home and how?
7. Tell me about your interactions with your family members. When you interact with your family members, what language do you prefer?
8. When do/did you use Korean the most?
9. How do you feel when you speak Korean compared to when you speak English (or any other languages)? (e.g., identity, communication barriers, comfort)
10. Does the type of language affect your communication with your family members? How?
11. Do you/ your family members watch Korean dramas or movies or listen to Korean music? If so, how do you feel about this? To what extent do you think consuming Korean dramas or music influences your HL learning and your life?
12. What factors have encouraged or discouraged you to learn or practice Korean?

Language learning/uses: Outside the home (schools, friends, non-ethnic communities)

1. Tell me about your experiences of learning and using Korean outside the home.
2. What was your experience in the schools, especially related to the use of languages in school (e.g., elementary, junior high, high school etc.)? What kinds of opportunities to use or learn Korean did you have at school, if any?
3. Tell me about your interactions with friends.
    1. Who are they (e.g., high school friends, university friends, Korean Canadians, Canadians, Asians)?
    2. What language(s) do/did you use when interacting with your friends?
9. Are/were you involved in any extracurricular (or any local/national/international community) activities in or outside the campus?
    1. If so, what were your reasons for participating in them (e.g., friends, future opportunities)?
    2. What language(s) do/did you use, and in what context?
    3. How did you feel about yourself when you used Korean?
10. Have you interacted with Korean international students who are fluent in Korean on/off campus?
    1. If so, what are some similarities and differences between you and them?
    2. What are your views on them?
    3. What language do you use when you interact specifically with Korean friends? Why?
11. When you practice Korean outside the home, to what extent do you feel connected to Korean cultures or values and overall being Korean?
12. Has your knowledge (proficiency) of Korean ever been valued on any occasions? If so, tell me about these experiences.

Interview Session II

Language learning/uses: Ethnic communities

1. Have you attended any community-based Korean language programs? If so, tell me about your learning experiences. What were good/bad things for you when you learnt from the programs? Do you think the learning experiences have contributed to your sense of who you are? If so, how?
2. Have you ever been involved in any Korean communities or Korean organizations on/off campus? Why or why not?
    1. If so, tell me about your experiences in detail.
    2. What language(s) do you use when you take part in those activities?
    3. How did you feel about yourself when you participated in the organization(s) or when you used Korean?
3. How do you feel when you speak to those fluent in Korean in (or outside) the ethnic community?
4. Tell me about what it was like growing up in the community as a child. How much did Korean culture influence things when you were growing up?
5. What are the pros and cons of being a Korean Canadian student on/off this campus? Does being a member of the ethnic organization(s) have anything to do with how you feel about yourself?
6. To what extent does your proficiency in your HL encourage/impede your participation in ethnic community activities? What are other factors that affect your participation?

Ethnic identity and other cultural practices

1. How do you feel about your Korean identity and ethnicity?
    1. Would you identify yourself as a Korean Canadian?
    2. Are you proud to be Korean?
    3. How do you feel when people put down Korean or Asian people?
    4. Throughout your life, how has your ethnic identity changed over time?
2. What kinds of experiences did you have due to your Korean ethnic background or cultural practices, if any?
    1. What about any negative (e.g., discrimination)?
    2. Tell me about any Korean cultural practices you are/were involved in (e.g., celebration of traditional holidays, food, Korean name).
    3. How much do/did you enjoy Korean culture (e.g., food, life style, Korean entertainment)?
3. What kinds of practices/activities helped you feel more attached to Korean ethnicity? Tell me about a time when you felt very connected to your Korean ethnicity and a time when you don't/didn't?
4. If someone does not speak Korean, can he (she) still claim to be Korean? To what extent do you think your Korean (e.g., proficiency, maintenance) is related to being Korean or having a Korean identity?
5. Korean pop culture (e.g., K-pop, K-drama) has attained global popularity and many students want to learn Korean because of their interest in Korean pop culture.
    1. Do you consume Korean pop culture?
    2. What kinds of Korean pop culture do you consume (e.g., Korean drama, movie, TV shows, music, etc.)? Why or why not?
    3. What are the differences between Korean and North American pop culture?

      4. Does consuming Korean pop-culture have something to do with your identity (e.g. exploring Korean culture/language, Korean representation)?

HL learning experiences at the University of Manitoba

1. What led you to study Korean at the U of M?
    1. What level(s) did you take (Introductory and Intermediate levels)?
    2. When you heard that Korean was offered at the U of M, how did you feel about this?
2. How important was it for you to maintain the Korean language and culture before you took the Korean class at the U of M?
3. Can you describe your experiences of learning and studying Korean at the U of M? What were your challenges and successes?
    1. What linguistic components or skills were most challenging (e.g., honorific forms, pronunciations, speaking, writing)?
    2. Did you see any improvement in your language proficiency after studying Korean at the U of M?
4. What are the differences between learning Korean at home/community during your childhood and learning Korean at a university as an adult?
5. What do you think about the textbook and other learning materials in your class? Were there any topics or concepts that confused or worried you?
6. Can you tell me the advantages and disadvantages of being HL learners of Korean compared to those who are not HL learners in your class? When you needed to talk with other classmates in the classroom, did you prefer to use Korean or English? Why?
7. Do you have any suggestions for improving the Korean program?
8. Tell me about any past/current extracurricular involvements to improve or practice Korean language on/off campus (e.g., language exchange partner program). Tell me about your experiences regarding the development of your Korean skills after taking the Korean class.
9. Not all minority languages are offered at institutions.

    1. What does the institutional inclusion of Korean language as a credit course mean to you?
    2. What factors do you think influence school curricula in terms of minority language education?
    3. What do you think about minority language education in higher education?

Interview Session III

Transnational experiences

1. How often do you visit Korea? If you have not visited Korea, do you plan to visit in the near future? Do you have family and friends in Korea?
2. How do you contact them (e.g., through email, messaging apps, phone, personal blogs)?
    1. How often do you contact them?
    2. How do you feel about interacting with people in Korea?

3. What language do you use?
3. Please tell me about your trip(s) to Korea in detail. Can you share a positive experience you've had with your (extended) family or friends while in Korea?
4. What did you learn about Korean language and culture throughout your trip?
5. What ideas/assumptions/beliefs/imaginations about Korea did/do you have?
6. How have your experiences in Korea (or in relation to the family/relatives/ friends in Korea) changed your perceptions of Korea, Koreans, and Korean culture/language? How have your experiences influenced your overall life, perspectives or worldviews, and your sense of self?

Multiple identities and multiple communities

1. People often use different terms to identify/define who they are. For example, there are categorizations of people based on ethnicity, race, nationality, and religion. Which terms will you use if you need to categorize yourself? How would you identify yourself (e.g., Korean, Korean Canadian, Canadian, Christian, Manitoban, Winnipegger, global citizen etc.)? Do you think there are multiple identities within yourself to fit each category?
2. To what extent do you feel attached (a sense of belonging) to being a Korean, Canadian, Manitoban, Winnipegger, and a member of the global community? When do you feel most like a Korean, Canadian, Manitoban or Winnipegger, and a member of the global community? What aspects, experiences and practices of your life support your sense of belonging to each community?
3. Please share any community practices are you involved in (e.g., volunteering, workplaces, churches, schools, international organizations, NGOs)? What are conflicting practices or values between communities, for example, ethnic identity and national identity, if any?
4. To what extent do you feel your full membership as a Canadian, living in Canada? How important is your sense of Korean identity, living in Canada?
5. What do you think is the role of Korean language in terms of your connection to each community? For example, Canada adopted Multiculturalism and encourages bilingualism. Do you think bilingual competency (e.g., English and Korean) should be a feature of a multicultural citizen in Canada?
6. What is your overall perception of the Korean language (e.g., linguistic minority right, resource or capital) in Canada? For example, if you know Korean (bilingual), you may have more opportunities for your future jobs.

Negotiation of identities

1. Tell me about your experiences in relation to your racial, ethnic, linguistic identity as a Korean Canadian and a minority.
   1. What kinds of disadvantages did you experience while living as a racialized minority, if any?
   2. If you have any strategies or tactics when you negotiate your positions or identities, can you share them?
2. What factors or part of your life have most influenced your sense of who you are?

3. What constraints (familial, sociocultural, economic, political, ethnic etc.) do you perceive have impeded your potential, opportunities and identities? And what factors have helped towards your potential?
4. Do you have any experiences related to racism or discrimination?
    1. If so, tell me your experiences.
    2. What do you think are the sources of racism?
    3. What do you think about stereotypes based on race, ethnicity, and your HL?
    4. Do you have any strategies or tactics addressing or reacting to racism or discrimination?
    5. How do you think these experiences influenced you (e.g., identity, life, and HL learning/use)?
5. Are you familiar with the term 1.5/second generation?
    1. If so, would you consider yourself 1.5/second generation immigrant?
    2. What is your understanding of this generation?
    3. What kinds of differences did you perceive between 1.5 generations or second generations, if any?
    4. What would be the advantages of being 1.5/second generations?
6. What kind of advice would you give to 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians with similar experiences and challenges?
7. What are your future professional aspirations? What are some of the challenges you might face in achieving your future professional goal and overall your future life?
8. Do you want to keep your Korean language? Would you like your children to learn Korean? What role does the Korean language play in your life?

Appendix F. Focus Group Questions for Community Leaders

1. 캐나다에서 포괄적으로 그리고 특별히 마니토바에서 한국 교포 사회의 입지나 지위가 어떻다고 생각하십니까? (예, 인구 크기, 사회경제적 혹은 정치적 입지)

   What do you think about the status/position of the Korean community in Canada in general and in Manitoba in particular (e.g., demographic, socioeconomic, political aspects)?

2. 1.5 세대/ 2 세대 한국인들이 캐나다에 살면서 어떠한 도전이나 난관 혹은 성공을 겪었고 앞으로 겪게 될 도전이나 성공이 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

   What challenges and successes do you think 1.5/second generations have experienced or will encounter living in Canada?

3. 캐나다에서 1.5 세대/ 2 세대 한국인들이 한인캐나다인으로 정체성을 어떻게 발전시킬 수 있다고 보십니까? 캐나다에서 어떤 기회나 선택들이 그들에게 열려 있습니까? 그들이 자기들의 민족정체성을 갖으면서 캐나다 주류에 적극적으로 참여활동하는 것, 이 두 가지를 어떻게 균형을 이룰 수 있을까요?

   How can 1.5/second generations develop their identity as a Korean Canadian in Canada? What opportunities or options are open to them in Canada? How can they balance developing their ethnic identity and participating actively in the mainstream?

4. 어떠한 사회문화적, 정치적, 역사적 혹은 여타 요인들이 우리 1.5/2 세대들의 정체성 형성에 긍정적인 혹은 부정적인 영향을 미쳤다고 생각하십니까? 예를 들어 주십시오.

   What sociocultural, political, historical and other factors do you think influence/have influenced their identity formation positively or negatively? Please give some examples.

5. 일부 한국계 캐나다인들이 다양한 환경에서 직접적인 혹은 간접적인 인종주의, 차별주의, 고정관념 등을 경험했습니다. 이러한 측면에서 1.5 세대 2 세대들이 이러한 부정적인 경험이나 사회문화적 제약들을 잘 극복하고 대처해 나갈 수 있도록 우리가 어떻게 도울 수 있다고 보십니까?

   Some Korean Canadians experienced racism, stereotypes, and discrimination in covert or overt ways in various settings. In this respect, how can we help 1.5 and second generation Korean immigrants navigate/react to these negative experiences and sociocultural constraints.

6. 많은 연구에서 이민 자녀들의 정체성 형성에 모국어 발달이 중요하다고 강조하고 있습니다. 여러분들은 1.5 세대 2 세대들이 그들의 정체성 형성과 관련하여

모국어를 배우고 유지하는 게 얼마나 중요하다고 생각하십니까? 이들이 한국어를 개발하면 어떠한 이점이 있을까요? (예, 가족과의 의사소통, 문화 공유, 언어자본이나 보다 많은 기회)

Many studies affirm the importance of HL development for immigrant children's identity formation. What do you think about the importance of HL development and maintenance for 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians in relation to their identity formation? What benefits do they have, if they develop their Korean language? (e.g., communication with family, sharing culture, linguistic capital and more opportunity)

7. 누가 (가족, 지역사회/한국교포사회, 학교와 캐나다 사회) 이민자 자녀들의 모국어 개발에 책임이 있다고 생각하십니까? 한국 교포 자녀들이 모국어를 개발하는데 어떠한 기회와 제약들이 있다고 보십니까?

Who (family, community, school) do you think is responsible for developing immigrant children's HL? What opportunities and constraints do Korean immigrant children have in developing their heritage language?

8. 캐나다 정부가 다문화주의를 채택하여 이민자 언어 교육을 고취하는 정책을 표방하고 습니다. 이 정책이 우리 한국인 이민자녀들의 모국어 개발에 어느 정도까지 기여한다고 생각하십니까? 어떻게 기여하고 있다고 보십니까?

Canada has adopted the policy of Multiculturalism by which HL education is encouraged. To what extent do you perceive the policy supports Korean immigrant children's HL development? And how?

9. 대학기관에서 어떤 민족 언어는 교과 과정에 포함되고 어떤 민족 언어들은 교과 과정에 배제되어 있습니다. 이에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까? 각 이민자 민족의 입지하고 그 민족 언어가 정규 학점 과목으로 편입되는 것하고 상관 관계가 있다고 생각하십니까?

What do you think about inclusion/exclusion of selective HL courses at university institutions? What do you think about the relations between the status of an ethnic community and school curricula (e.g., inclusion of HL)?

10. 정부, 학교, 우리 한인 사회, 그리고 가족 차원에서 1.5/2 세대 한국인들의 모국어 교육과 정체성 형성을 위해 어떻게 지원해 줄 수 있을까요? 다른 민족 이민자들에 대해서는 어떻게 생각하십니까?

How can the government, education, Korean community and family support HL education and identity construction for 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadians? What about other ethnic groups?

Appendix G: Transcription Conventions

The following transcription conventions were applied to excerpts, tables, and main texts.

( ) : Translation of Korean language utterances into English

[ ] : Encloses the researcher's words, which were omitted in the context.

/text/: Romanization of Korean language

…: Indicates an omission of a few words or a few sentences.

//: Indicates an omission of part of an interview

Kor: Indicates English translation of Korean transcript