

Running head: HERITAGE LANGUAGE LOSS IN KOREAN IMMIGRANTS

Heritage Language Loss, Maintenance, and Cultural Adaptation among Korean
Immigrant Families

By

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Abstract

Research shows that many immigrant families face challenges maintaining their heritage languages. A heritage language is more than just a means of communication; it embodies and transmits the cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors of the heritage community. For an immigrant Korean family living in a multicultural society such as Canada, maintaining the Korean language facilitates a strong sense of belonging and cultural identity within the Korean community.

This research analyzes case studies of Korean immigrant families in Canada regarding their attitudes and efforts toward Korean language maintenance. Through the life experiences of Korean immigrant families, this study examines 1) the role of the Korean language in Korean immigrant families, 2) parenting methods and attitudes towards maintaining the use of the Korean language, 3) challenges regarding cultural adaptation, and 4) the effects of Korean language loss within Korean immigrant families. Perspectives from Korean immigrant parents will be explored to examine how Korean language loss impacts the family in the context of relationships, cultural values, and identities. Furthermore, the ability of future generations of Korean immigrant families to maintain the Korean language will be discussed. Finally, the study will suggest alternative approaches to maintaining the Korean language to assist Korean immigrants in the future.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The current era is defined by increased mobility, cooperation, and globalization. Improved information and transportation technology rapidly connect people to one another everyday across vast distances and national boundaries creating a truly “global village” (Archibugi & Iammarino, 2002, p.99; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Globalization has had a significant impact on the social, economic, and cultural lives of individuals (Diaz & Zirkel, 2012). Today, in the new global village, better economic opportunities and an enhanced quality of life is within reach of many immigrant families, which has contributed to the steady growth of international migration (Mariana Shimpi & Zirkel, 2012).

Immigrants in a new and foreign land often experience dramatic changes that affect every aspect of their lives (Choi, Dancy & Lee, 2013; Kim, Han, Shin, Kim & Lee, 2005). Living in Canada as a recent Korean¹ immigrant, I can identify with the cultural and social challenges faced by Korean immigrants. As part of my work with new immigrants in the Entry Program², I regularly encountered new Korean immigrants. My role at the Entry Program was to help new Korean immigrants to understand the program and translated the presentations by government representatives (e.g., Winnipeg Police or Child and Family Services). The Korean immigrants I met were excited for a better life in Canada. At the same time they were anxious and worried about learning English and finding secure employment. The Korean immigrants I worked with often came up to me to share their journey of why their family decided to come to Canada. Interestingly, most of the Korean

¹ In this thesis, Korean refers to people from South Korea or the Republic of Korea.

² The Entry program is a non-profit organization funded by the provincial government. When newcomers arrive or become a permanent resident, they are encouraged to take a four-week class at the Entry program. The purpose of the organization is to help settlement of immigrants and provide basic information about living in Canada.

immigrants who had school aged children shared a similar motivation for migrating to Canada. Several Korean parents informed me that the primary reason for their immigration to Canada was for the sake of their children's education.

In 2012, approximately 329,000 foreign students were enrolled in educational institutions across Canada; the top three source countries were the People's Republic of China, India, and Korea, which together made up 49% of the total foreign students (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a). According to Li (2009) and Ong (1999), the decision of Chinese/Asian immigrants to immigrate to North America for education is driven by the perceived quality and status of a formal Western education. Waters (2006), for instance, described that the Canadian education system highlights the creativity, personality, and independent style of individuals while the Hong Kong education system, at the time of the research, emphasizes memorization and academic achievement. Arthur and Flynn (2011), in addition, stated that a Canadian education provides foreign students with diverse cultural learning as well as academic development, which enhance their employment opportunities in response to global mobility (Ong, 1999; Waters, 2006). With the purpose of giving a better education and future to their children, a number of immigrant families are consistently motivated to migrate to Canada.

The Importance of English Education to Koreans

Many Korean parents believe that living in Canada and being able to speak English fluently will provide a better future for their children. Education is highly valued by Korean parents who believe that it is the pathway to achieving success and social status (Cha & Kim, 2013; Jung, Stang, Ferko & Han, 2011; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Korean parents often identify themselves by their children's success as it is

viewed as “a reflection of their parental efforts” (Anderson & Kohler, 2013, p.207).

As a consequence, competitive pressures often lead some Korean parents to spend substantial amounts of time and money on private education³ every year. The total private education expenditure in Korea reached 19 trillion won or 17.7 billion US dollars in 2012, of which 46% was spent on English education (Statistics Korea, 2012).

English is not only a global language, but also “a class maker” (Park & Abelmann, 2004, p.646) in Korean society. Through global events, such as the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 and the Korean financial crisis⁴ in 1997, Koreans increasingly realized the importance of the role English plays in the globalizing world (Anderson & Kohler, 2013; Park, 2009). As of 1997, English became a mandatory subject at elementary school across Korea. This encouraged more parents to send their children at younger ages to private English programs in Korea and overseas (Cha & Kim, 2013; Park, 2009). Some Korean families who believe English is essential for success choose to be separated for the sake of their children’s education abroad (Anderson & Kohler, 2013; Lee, 2010). In these families, typically the fathers stay alone in Korea to work and provide financial support for the whole family while their wives and children live in English speaking countries. The family may live apart from only a few months up to over 12 years or more. These new

³ The private education includes all extracurricular lessons: private academic institutes, one-on-one tutoring, group tutoring, after-school programs and English courses abroad.

⁴ Korea had a financial crisis because the cumulative external debt in Korea reached five times more than the foreign exchange reserves in 1997. The Korean government received \$58 billion bailout from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in December 1997. The Korean financial crisis caused corporate bankruptcies, massive layoffs, and influenced people to find opportunities outside Korea.

formations of Korean immigrants are known as “*gireogi* family (wild goose family)”⁵ within the Korean social context. Studying abroad at a young age may provide educational benefits to children but the long separation within a *gireogi* family can cause strain on the family. The *gireogi* family may experience a lack of communication (Cho & Shin, 2008), intergenerational conflicts (Cha & Kim, 2013), a higher divorce rate, and a higher suicide rate of the *gireogi* father (Lee, 2010). In spite of all the negative consequences, the number of *gireogi* families and young Korean students studying abroad is continuing to grow (Cho & Shin, 2008; Park, 2009).

Similarly, a global transformation of the family for the sake of children’s education can also be found in many Hong Kong/Chinese/Taiwanese families, which are referred to as a “transnational family, astronaut family, parachute children, and satellite kids” (Shin, 2010, p. 8; see Li, 2009, for studies on Chinese immigrant adolescents in Vancouver, see Goldstein, 2003, for studies on high school immigrant students from Hong Kong in Toronto).

Heritage Languages

Heritage languages contain cultural values, beliefs, and meaningful resources (Fishman, 2001; Hornberger, 1998), which are much more than just a means of communication. However, developing a person’s heritage language did not garner much attention or support in English mainstream education until relatively recently (Cummins, 2005; Crawford, 1996). After emphasizing the use of speaking English in

⁵ The term “*gireogi* (goose)” stems from characteristics of geese. Geese migrate for a long distance and they mate for life. Father geese devote themselves to taking care of their offspring if the mother geese die. In this regard, Korean families, separated for their children’s education while the fathers remain in Korea to support the family, are referred to by some scholars (e.g., Shin, 2010) as “*gireogi* families”.

everyday life, numerous heritage language speakers from immigrant communities faced heritage language attrition (De Klerk, 2002; Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003).

Definition of heritage languages. Researchers define the term “heritage language” differently depending on the country context. According to Fishman (2001), in the American context, heritage languages can be categorized into three groups: indigenous languages, colonial languages, and immigrant languages. First, he described indigenous languages as those spoken by Native Americans or people with Native American ancestry. Second, he described colonial languages as those spoken by earlier groups of settlers to the United States (e.g., Dutch, French, and German). Third, he described immigrant languages as those spoken by recent immigrants of minority background in the United States (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, and Korean). In other word, any other language besides English and those languages spoken by Native Americans (e.g., Navajo or Cree) are considered as heritage languages in the American context.

Within the Canadian context, on the other hand, Cummins (2005) noted that languages other than English and French (i.e., the two official languages in Canada) are considered as heritage languages. He explained that although the heritage language is the most common term used in Canada, other terms such as “international... ethnic, minority, ancestral, third, modern and non-official languages” (p.591) are also used to refer to heritage languages in different Canadian provinces. In addition, people who belong to Canadian First Nations tend to refer to their languages as “indigenous or aboriginal languages” instead of heritage languages (Cummins, 2005, p.591).

Definition of heritage language speakers. Valdés (2001) indicated that the use of the term “heritage language speakers” was introduced relatively recently to the field of heritage language education. Heritage language students have been referred to in the past as “quasi-native speakers, residual speakers, bilingual students, or home background speakers” (Valdés, 1997, p.13; Valdés, 2001). Researchers raised a number of questions related to the multiple uses of the term “heritage language speakers”, and discussed the characteristics that define heritage language speakers in terms of language proficiency and their heritage background (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Valdés, 1997; Wiley, 2001). For instance, Wiley (2001) sought to answer questions such as who is legitimately a heritage language speaker? What level of language proficiency or contact with a heritage culture⁶ is required for a person to be considered a heritage language speaker? Is the heritage culture important to a person whose ancestors never spoke the heritage language?

In addition, plurilingual methodologies introduced a perspective distinct from multilingualism to the field of heritage language education. The difference between plurilingualism and multilingualism is explained by Beacco et al. (2010),

plurilingualism is the ability to use more than one language – and accordingly sees languages from the standpoint of speakers and learners. Multilingualism, on the other hand, refers to the presence of several languages in a given geographical area, regardless of those who speaks them. In other words, the presence of two or more languages in an area does not necessarily imply that people in that area can use several of them; some only use one (p.16).

⁶ Maintaining heritage languages includes the understanding of heritage culture. Features of heritage culture, such as custom and social norm, represent a broad foundation on its heritage languages learning (Bradby, 2002). Heritage language and heritage culture are closely associated from each other. More explanation about the development of language and culture in social interactions can be found in chapter two.

While multilingualism focuses on a number of heritage languages, plurilingualism emphasizes the relationships between heritage languages and heritage language speakers. Lotherington (2013) and Piccardo (2013) demonstrated that promoting plurilingualism in mainstream classrooms improves awareness of heritage languages and cultures. Recently, more attention has been drawn to heritage language speakers and heritage language learning in the paradigm of plurilingualism rather than multiculturalism.

Valdés (2001) identified a heritage language speaker as a person “raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English” (p. 38). Based on Valdés’ (2001) narrower definition, Korean heritage language speakers are those who are raised in a home where Korean was spoken and have some degree of language proficiency in Korean and English. Cummins (2005), on the other hand, defined heritage language speakers as people “who have either learned the language as their home language or who have some form of family or heritage connection to the language” (p. 586). Based on Cummins (2005)’s wider definition, Korean heritage language speakers include anyone with a family heritage connection, regardless of their Korean language proficiency or the language spoken at home. Cho, Cho and Tse (1997) further supported the approach to heritage language speakers suggested by Cummins (2005), reinforcing that heritage language speakers are associated more with the personal connection to the heritage cultural background than necessarily the degree of speaking the heritage language at home.

Thus, based on the more inclusive approaches by Cummins (2005) and Cho et al. (1997), Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) concurred that individuals who would be

considered heritage language speakers vary widely from non-native speakers to fluent speakers of the heritage language, as long as those individuals feel culturally connected to their heritage language and culture.

Korean Language Loss in Korean Immigrants

Since I began studying in the field of second language education, I have often found myself relating my studies to my own Korean heritage community. The majority of my life experiences, social and cultural norms originated within the Korean community. Through understanding my Korean roots, I am able to empathize with many of the challenges that Korean immigrant families face.

While teaching Korean at a local Korean language school in Canada, I was able to observe young Korean immigrant students losing touch with their Korean language and heritage. At the Korean language school, most students were from Korean immigrant families or multicultural families where at least one of the parents was Korean. I taught a beginner level class with students aged 6 to 10 years old. Each student in the class was at a different stage of losing their ability to communicate in Korean. Some students refused to speak Korean in front of others, as they felt ashamed of their lack of proficiency and confidence in the Korean language. It was challenging for me to motivate young Korean Canadian students who did not speak Korean at home with their parents.

After one of my classes, I was talking to 7 year-old twins from a Korean immigrant family. The twins only spoke English in the classroom so I assumed that they must have been born in Canada. However, I was shocked to learn that the twins actually only moved to Canada two years earlier. When I asked the twins what language they felt more comfortable speaking at home, both of them instantly

answered “English”. The twins seemed proud of the fact that English was their primary language and not Korean. Learning Korean did not seem as important to the twins as learning English.

The twins had an older brother in one of the other classes. Unlike the twins in my class, the older brother did not speak English. I complimented the older brother on speaking Korean in front of the twins and thought it may encourage the twins to continue learning Korean. Unfortunately, the twins started teasing the older brother for his poor English. Apparently, the older brother’s English was not as good as the twins even though they had been in Canada for the same period of time. The older brother continued speaking Korean because he was not learning English as quickly as his younger brothers. The mother of these children later disclosed to me that they were in fact a gireogi family with the father living back in Korea. She explained that the goal of the children’s education was to quickly learn English so she only encouraged speaking English at home. The mother spoke Korean to the children and the children mostly responded in English to their mother. After a year in the Korean language school, the mother decided to withdraw the twins from their Korean studies so that they could focus on other activities with English speaking children.

It was heart breaking to observe that 1.5-generation⁷ Korean immigrants, like the twins, and second-generation⁸ Korean Canadians did not recognize the value of their own Korean heritage language. Park and Sarkar (2007)’s research, a case study of Korean-Canadian immigrants in Montreal, indicated that the maintenance of the Korean language in immigrant families was primarily the result of parents’

⁷ 1.5-generation refer to those children who are born in Korea and migrated at a younger age during childhood with their first-generation Korean parents.

⁸ Second-generation refer to those who are Canadian born and have their parents as first-generation Korean immigrants. Thus, 1.5-generation and second-generation are classified by the place of birth and the age at immigration.

positive attitudes toward learning Korean. When immigrant parents encourage using the heritage language at home, their children find it more meaningful and validating in developing their heritage language (Lao, 2004).

However, other factors outside of the family also play an important role in maintaining heritage languages. Hinton (2008), for instance, explained that peer pressure at school, which conforms behaviors to fit into the mainstream, contributed to immigrant children rejecting their own heritage language. Babae (2014) stressed that the lack of heritage language programs in Canadian public schools made it difficult for immigrant children to maintain their heritage language. In addition, Babae's (2014) study revealed that heritage language teachers who taught in extracurricular programs and private language schools were often not certified teachers; therefore, they tended to be unfamiliar with the Canadian education system and may lack the necessary teaching skills (Babae, 2014; Coelho, 2008). Li and Duff (2008) raised the issue of insufficient teaching materials and textbooks for Chinese heritage language students in Canada, which were limited to a basic linguistic coverage of grammar and vocabularies. At the time of the research, the authors emphasized the need for appropriate teaching materials at advanced levels of linguistic and cognitive literacy, which also "contain relevant... sociocultural and sociolinguistic information" (p.26). Maintaining heritage languages is complex with diverse factors and variables; therefore, proper resources and support provided by immigrant parents and communities would improve the chances of maintaining heritage languages (Park & Sarkar, 2007; Lao, 2004).

Heritage Languages and Cultural Identity

While I was teaching English in Korea, a colleague of mine shared his life experiences of growing up as a second-generation Korean American. He was born and raised in California shortly after his parents migrated to the United States in the late 1970s. His parents had to work long hours to support the family and to get settled in their new country. The parents did not expose him to the Korean language or heritage. He expressed difficulties finding his identity during his adolescence. He explained that the most irritating comment he often heard from other Americans, was that he spoke good English even though he was Asian. He realized that although he grew up in America and spoke English fluently, he still felt like an outsider as his Asian appearance segregated him as a visible minority. However, he also did not fit into the Korean community in California due to his lack of exposure to the Korean language and culture. He felt that he did not belong to either Korea or the United States.

The question of his identity motivated him to come to Korea for a year after graduating from University. His experiences in Korea helped him to better understand his Korean roots and form a stronger connection to the Korean language and culture. He was finally able to put some of the missing pieces together and developed his own understanding of what it means to be Korean American.

The story of my Korean American colleague led me to wonder what it would be like to not know or share the same culture and language as my own parents. In many cases, Korean immigrant parents often communicate in two different languages with their children (Lee & Shin, 2008; Shin, 2005). Korean parents speak Korean to their children and the children respond in English. It works in some

Korean immigrants families; however, I wonder if the parents and their children are able to have deeper conversations and truly understand each other.

Language is one of the most important features of group identity (Cavallaro, 2005; Norris, 1998). People who have a strong proficiency in a heritage language are more likely to have a clearer sense of identity, a better understanding of their heritage, and a closer connection to their heritage group (Cho, 2000). In other words, maintaining the Korean language will benefit the children of Korean immigrants by building a positive cultural identity (Park & Sarkar, 2007) and a stronger connection to the Korean heritage and the Korean community.

In regards to the important role that families play in heritage language education, Fillmore (2000) and Li (2009) asserted that it is the parents' responsibility to provide their children with the basic elements of a cultural identity and to help create a sense of belonging within the heritage community. As a result, immigrant parents are more likely to form positive relationships with their children and better understand and share in their daily life, and vice versa (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). This responsibility also extends outside of the home to schools and the broader community. The cultural identities of immigrant children are continuously transformed and negotiated by their peer group and teachers at school (Goldstein, 1999). It is therefore also the responsibility of educators and the broader community to accommodate heritage languages within a wider social context (Hornberger, 2003; Li & Duff, 2008).

Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The concept of heritage language maintenance is of interest to many researchers who look at its impact on different immigrant communities in Canada,

such as Chinese immigrants (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Goldstein, 2003; Li, 2009), Japanese immigrants (Sakamoto, 2000), and Iranian immigrants (Babae, 2014). There are several studies of Korean immigrant families in Canada, including highly skilled Korean immigrants (Song, 2010), Korean immigrant parents' attitude toward heritage language (Park & Sarkar, 2007), and gireogi families driven by the importance of learning English and education (Shin, 2010). However, there are not many studies focused on Korean immigrants in Canada and their experiences and challenges with maintaining the Korean language. After working with Korean immigrants first hand, in particular, I decided to work with some members of the Korean heritage language community to explore some of the causes of Korean language loss and how Korean language loss impacts members of Korean immigrant families.

Maintaining a heritage language is often left up to parents. However, research shows that there are more variables that affect the cause of the heritage language attrition than parenting. Therefore, this study examines the issues of Korean language loss and maintenance from the perspectives of five Korean immigrant parents, and analyzes how it influences relationships between the parents and their children.

My investigation into Korean language loss and maintenance, through examining current studies as well as my primary research, has the potential to help readers to understand the importance of maintaining a heritage language in a multicultural setting. In addition, my research suggests alternative approaches that I hope will assist Korean immigrants in maintaining their heritage language.

This thesis aims to answer the following questions:

- 1) How do Korean immigrant parents perceive heritage language maintenance and loss in relation to a) cultural adaptation, b) social interactions, c) cultural identity, and d) family relationships?
- 2) What successes and challenges in maintaining their heritage language do Korean parents and children face?

Every family member within the same immigrant family may experience a different degree of cultural adaptation. While the children of immigrants quickly become fluent in English and are exposed to the mainstream culture after entering school in Canada, first-generation immigrant parents often tend to experience less cultural adaptation than their second-generation children (Fillmore, 2000; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Due to the different amount of exposure to the Canadian society, the immigrant parents may experience more difficulties in learning English and adapting to the Canadian culture (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). As Kwak (2003) explained, generational discrepancies in cultural adaptation between the immigrant parents and their children may lead to conflicts over the fundamental differences between Korean and Canadian cultures. Therefore, this research explores the connection between Korean language maintenance and cultural adaptation through the perceptions of participants.

As a language presents a group identity (Cavallaro, 2005; Norris, 1998), heritage language maintenance may affirm a sense of belonging to heritage language speakers and accelerate their social interactions within the heritage language community (Cho, 2000). Korean immigrant children each practice a different level of heritage language use depending on their level of social interaction with other Korean language speakers. The children's level of social interactions at

school or their involvement within the Korean community may increase or decrease their ability of maintaining the Korean language. Thus, exploring the relationship between Korean language maintenance and social interactions is included in the research question.

The cultural identity of Korean immigrant parents and their children undergo significant changes as a result of immigrating to Canada and the U.S. (Cho, 2000; Choi, Dancy & Lee, 2013; Kim.T., 2007). Cho (2000) explained that maintaining the Korean language should help immigrants to develop and maintain a strong cultural identity. For example, Lee (2002)'s study indicated that Korean immigrant children with higher proficiency in Korean tended to have a stronger cultural identity. As a result, exploring the relationship between Korean language maintenance and the development and maintenance of cultural identity is involved in this study as an important criterion.

Heritage languages mainly function as a communication tool in immigrants' households. Depending on the degree of Korean language competence of each family member, including extended family members, each family member will have a significantly different relationship with one another. The research question is focused on how Korean language maintenance and loss influences family relationships between immigrant family members.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this chapter, I present a review of the relevant literature on heritage language education and issues relating to immigrant families. This literature review examines 1) the international migration to Canada, 2) theories and practices relating to heritage language loss and maintenance, and 3) cultural adaptation and its association with heritage language loss in multicultural environments. Also, I explain the theoretical framework of this study.

International Migration

Today's migration presents greater changes in terms of the scale of the population movements and the variety and complexity of motivations for migration. Increased economic integration and the mobility of individuals facilitate opportunities for employment around the world that leads to mass international migration (Diaz & Zirkel, 2012; Soroka, Banting, & Johnston, 2006). Countries that provide better economic opportunities attract more immigrants, which lead to a concentration of immigrants in certain areas. According to Mariana Shimpi and Zirkel (2012), the majority of immigrants choose to migrate to developed countries and regions, especially those that are members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)⁹. Approximately 40% of the total population growth from 2001 to 2011 in OECD countries was a result of immigration (OECD, 2013).

Canada is one of the countries receiving the highest number of immigrants

⁹ OECD is an international economic organization for governments to cooperate and provide economic growth and financial stability. Currently, 34 countries are members of the organization: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/about/membersandpartners/list-oecd-member-countries.htm>

every year. Between 2006 and 2011, Canada accepted approximately 1.2 million immigrants, which increased the total Canadian population during the same period by roughly 3.5% (Statistics Canada, 2013). In the past decade, Canada has admitted between 230,000 and 280,000 immigrants per year. As of 2011, there are 6,775,800 foreign-born¹⁰ immigrants living in Canada who together represent 20.6% of the Canadian population or one in five residents (Statistics Canada, 2013). Furthermore, in the past decade, approximately 63% of immigrants to Canada were aged 25 to 44 years old (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a).

Immigration policy in Canada has evolved by needs of the labor market in response to Canadian industrial developments and expansion of the economy (Reitz, 2013; Harell, Soroka, Iyengar & Valentino, 2012). Reitz (2013) noted that immigrants in Canada are expected to contribute to the economic growth of the country; therefore, the largest group of immigrants arriving in Canada is under the “economic class”¹¹ (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a). Since 1967, in particular, the “points system” was introduced in order to give priority to economic class immigrants, who have employability in Canada (Banting, 2010; Reitz, 2013; Triadafilopoulos, 2013). The points system emphasizes the selection of highly skilled immigrants where a large number of points are given for educational credentials, work experience, and official language proficiency (i.e., English and/or French). In 2014, the government of Canada planned to admit between 240,000 and

¹⁰ Foreign-born refers to anyone who did not obtain a citizenship of the country at birth. It also includes anyone who has become a citizen through naturalization, permanent resident, and temporary migrants.

¹¹ The economic class immigrants include skilled workers, business immigrants, provincial and territorial nominees, Canadian experience class, and live-in caregivers. These immigrants are selected for their skills and ability to contribute to economic needs in Canada.

265,000 new immigrants, which consist of 63% economic class, 26% family class¹², and 11% humanitarian class¹³ (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013b).

Among all recent immigrants to Canada, people from Asia are the largest source of immigrants. Before 1970, only 9% of the foreign-born population in Canada was from Asia, however that number grew to 57% in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2013). According to the latest immigration statistics, China is now the leading source of immigrants with a total of 33,000 immigrants to Canada in 2012, which is 12.8% of the total immigrants in 2012. The Philippines and India followed as the next leading sources accounting for 12.6% and 11.2% of immigrants to Canada in 2012, respectively. The top 10 source countries of immigrants to Canada in 2012 were China, the Philippines, India, Pakistan, United States, France, Iran, United Kingdom, Haiti, and Korea (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a).

Koreans are no exception to the recent influx of immigration to Canada. From 1972 to 2013, approximately 206,000 Koreans immigrated to Canada, which ranked as the fourth country¹⁴ containing the most Koreans residing overseas (Statistics Korea, 2013). Between 2002 and 2012, Canada ranked as the second most preferred country¹⁵ that Koreans choose to immigrate to, which consist of 15 % of the total Korean emigration (Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2013). Korea has consistently been one of the ten top sources of immigrants to Canada since 2003 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a).

¹² The family class immigrants include spouses, dependent children, parents, grandparents, or any other close relatives sponsored by their family member of a Canadian citizen or a permanent resident living in Canada.

¹³ The humanitarian class immigrants include refugee claimants, humanitarian and compassionate cases, and people granted resident status based on public policy consideration.

¹⁴ China was first with the United States and Japan following as second and third.

¹⁵ The United States ranked first, which consists of 59% of total Korean emigration. Australia and New Zealand followed Canada accounting for 6% and 4%, respectively.

Heritage Language Loss in Immigrants

Immigrants create diversity in societies in terms of both languages and cultures. The rise of multicultural and multilingual societies is viewed as a beneficial resource to the host country (Hornberger, 2002; Wang & Garcœa, 2002); however, the immigrant families are faced with the challenge of maintaining their heritage languages within a bilingual context (Bialystok, 2007; Jeon, 2007, 2008; Lee & Shin, 2008; Valdés, 1997). This section investigates the factors and consequences of heritage language loss in immigrants.

Factors in heritage language loss. Heritage language loss causes second-generation immigrants to lose a significant degree of their heritage language skills, which in turn causes even more heritage language loss in third-generation immigrants, and so on (Fillmore, 2000; Veltman, 1988). Valdés (2001) identified the general patterns of heritage language loss in immigrant families settled in the U.S. The study indicated that first-generation immigrants are often to some degree bilingual in English and in their respective primary heritage language. Second and third-generation immigrants, on the other hand, tend to speak fluent English as their primary language and only use their heritage language to communicate with their first-generation family and community members. Valdés (2001) continued to describe that fourth-generation immigrants exhibit near complete heritage language loss and become essentially English monolingual.

When young children of first-generation immigrant parents start learning English, their heritage language is quickly replaced with English as their primary language (Cummins, 2005; Fillmore, 1991). Especially, the process of heritage language loss is accelerated as the children enter English schools (Jeon, 2008; Lee

& Shin, 2008; Shin & Milroy, 1999).

In some immigrant families, first-generation immigrant parents choose to speak English at home rather than their heritage languages to better assimilate with the mainstream language and society (Arriagada, 2007; Hinton, 2008; Jeon, 2008). For example, most Korean immigrants migrate for the sake of their children's education (Cho et al., 2013; Jung et al., 2011). Korean immigrant parents often emphasize the importance of learning English so that their children can achieve better grades to enter higher ranked universities (Jeon, 2008). Korean immigrant parents are concerned that their children's poor academic results would translate to their failing as a parent in the eyes of the Korean community (Anderson & Kohler, 2013; Jeon, 2008; Jung et al., 2011). Immigrant parents may emphasize English development due to the pressure and anxiety of assimilation (Peyton et al., 2001). As a consequence, it is often challenging for Korean immigrant parents to maintain the Korean language within their families. Lopez (1996)'s study showed that at the time of the research, second-generation Korean Americans had the highest degree of language attrition amongst the Asian heritage communities in Los Angeles. The results of the study revealed that 78% of Second-generation Korean Americans spoke English at home rather than Korean whereas only 36% of Vietnamese spoke English at home rather than Vietnamese.

Fillmore (1991, 2000), however, stressed that learning a second language should not come at the expense of losing a primary or heritage language. She continued to explain that when children of immigrants focus only on learning English before their heritage language is fully developed, the children are more likely to lose their heritage language. Fillmore (1991) asserted that heritage language loss is more related to the timing of learning English so that parents and educators should

be patient to allow time for both languages to develop properly.

On the other hand, peer pressure through classmates at school is as important as parents' attitudes towards maintaining heritage languages (Campbell, 2000; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Hinton, 2008). Children of immigrant families, exposed to mainstream norms and cultures at school, may experience internal conflicts between their heritage backgrounds and the mainstream norms. This internal conflict may lead immigrant children to feel different or left out from other students in the mainstream (Giguère, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010; Hinton, 2008; Li, 2009). For example, Li (2009) discussed the experiences of Chinese immigrant students at a high school in Vancouver. Her study revealed that the immigrant students were afraid of being mocked for their heritage language and cultural idiosyncrasies in class. As a result, the students experienced low self-confidence and had trouble fitting into the mainstream peer groups.

Acceptance by peer groups, in particularly during adolescence, is very important (Giguère et al., 2010) so that immigrant children tend to be less willing to identify themselves as being different from the mainstream at school (Wang & Garcœa, 2002). Due to overwhelming peer pressure, heritage language students often disassociate themselves from their heritage languages and cultures in order to conform to the mainstream, which is a contributing factor to heritage language loss among immigrant students (Campbell, 2000; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Shin, 2005; Hinton, 2008).

According to Fillmore (1991), educators and policymakers assumed that new immigrant students were not learning English fast enough in bilingual programs to keep up with other children in the class, which resulted in falling behind in their academic studies. She explained these beliefs by educators' emphasis that learning

English is more important for immigrant students than maintaining their heritage language. Pacini-Ketchabaw, Bernhard and Freire (2001)'s study discovered that some educators discouraged Spanish immigrant children in Toronto from speaking their heritage language at home in response to their low academic achievement at the Canadian public schools. Similarly, Cummins (2005) and Jeon (2007) pointed out that in the United States, the "No Child Left Behind Act"¹⁶ accelerated heritage language loss in immigrant children and maximized the use of English at schools. Cummins (2005) observed that heritage languages had a low priority and educators considered heritage language as either irrelevant or a barrier to learning English.

Goldstein (2003)'s study on linguistic diversity of immigrant students at a Canadian high school in Toronto revealed that the use of heritage languages at public schools creates linguistic tension and dilemmas for both teachers and students. Teacher's attitudes and interactions can strongly influence how heritage language students perceive their heritage backgrounds (Cummins, 1996), which may inadvertently deter immigrant students from maintaining their heritage language (Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001). Therefore, prevailing sentiment towards heritage languages in the education system discourages immigrant students from speaking their heritage languages at school and contributes to heritage language loss (Cummins, 1996, 2005; Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 2001; Goldstein, 2003; Jeon, 2007; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001).

¹⁶ "No Child Left Behind Act" was introduced in 2001 for the purpose of promoting standards of education achievement in the United States. The Act requires all schools to have annual academic assessments in reading and math to ensure that all students meet the academic standards. All immigrant students and disadvantaged students are included and if schools fail to make adequate yearly progress, federal funding is not provided to the schools (Bush, 2001).

Consequences of heritage language loss. Heritage language loss in immigrant families may have negative effects on family relationships and the lack of communication creates barriers and distance within the immigrant families (Cho, 2000; Choi et al., 2013; Fillmore, 2000; Hinton, 2008).

A case study of Korean immigrant parents by Shin (2005) examined how Korean language loss influenced communication between Korean immigrant parents and their second-generation children in the United States. The researcher asked what the Korean immigrant parents did when they did not understand their children's English. The findings revealed that 58% of the parents asked their children to speak English more slowly or repeat to explain again, whereas 30% of the parents asked them to speak Korean. The remaining 7% of parents asked their children to write down what they wanted to say and asked another family member (e.g., father or eldest child) to interpret or use a dictionary to communicate. The second-generation Korean American children in the study expressed that although they tried to explain in simpler terms and speak slowly in English to their parents, it was still difficult to communicate in a meaningful way. After all, the study revealed that 15% of second-generation Korean American children gave up repeating what they said to their parents and just said "never mind" (Shin, 2005, p.133). Eventually, Korean immigrant parents and their second-generation children struggled to have meaningful conversations due to the Korean language loss in the family.

Similarly, Choi et al. (2013) conducted a study to understand the relationship between parents and children in immigrant families. The authors interviewed 21 Korean immigrant parents, who were born in Korea and had children aged 11 to 14 years old, to investigate the challenges and difficulties of raising adolescent Korean American children in the United States. The results of the study indicated that the

Korean immigrant parents felt “inadequate” and “powerless” (p.512) raising their children in the United States because of their unfamiliarity with the American school system and their lack of English. Korean immigrant parents in the study preferred to avoid embarrassment and took “passive and reluctant attitudes” (p.510) toward their children’s school activities.

Moreover, Cho et al. (2013)’s study revealed that Korean immigrant parents believed that North American cultures had changed their second-generation Korean immigrant children to “become more selfish and less respectful to adults the longer they lived” (p.511) in the host country. In this regard, Jung et al. (2011) claimed that conflicts in the North American culture between Korean immigrant parents and their children were often caused by “the Western values of independence and individualism” (p.33). The authors explained that the Korean culture places more importance on the benefit of the group. In other words, Korean immigrant parents with a strong connection to the Korean culture tend to encourage decisions that benefit the family or community rather than the individual (Jung et al., 2011). Kwak and Berry (2001), for example, explained that Korean immigrant families in Canada may experience conflicts between the parents and their children when second-generation Korean immigrant children make an independent decision without negotiating with their parents within the hierarchical family structure.

In the same way, Costigan and Dokis (2006) conducted a study on 88 Chinese immigrant families in Canada; the research revealed that children of immigrants may suffer from different expectations and values between the Canadian education system and their heritage cultures at home (Campbell, 2000; Giguère et al., 2010; Li, 2009). Children of immigrants are widely exposed to the Canadian culture through school and media, and are more likely to adopt the values and

behaviors of the Canadian society (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). The Chinese immigrant parents in Costigan and Dokis (2006)'s study, on the other hand, encouraged their children to follow traditional Chinese behaviors and norms such as obedience to parental authority for the sake of family harmony (Dion & Dion, 2001; Giguère et al., 2010).

Enforcing traditional Chinese norms and values at home, such as duty and obedience, may conflict with Canadian norms and values, such as independence and autonomy, taught at school and as part of the larger western social context (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). For instance, Li (2009) reported that Chinese immigrant student in Vancouver were often frustrated with the traditional Chinese way of parenting that tended to emphasize academic achievement, parental authority, and overall discipline (Giguère et al., 2010; Kwak, 2003). The children of immigrants in Li (2009)'s study noted that the prevalent parenting approaches limited their participation in other activities perceived to be distracting from academic success. This influence can extend to children's career choices, where Chinese parents may direct children to certain practical careers that are valued and recognized by the Chinese community (Giguère et al., 2010). Imposing traditional discipline with top-down parenting may result in relatively low self-confidence in immigrant children (Li, 2009) and, furthermore, cause negative emotional attitudes towards maintaining their heritage languages and cultures (Giguère et al., 2010; Lalonde & Giguère, 2008).

Heritage Language Maintenance

Maintaining heritage languages requires a wide range of support and cooperation among parents, educators, heritage communities, and the broader

mainstream society. In this section, the challenges and advantages of maintaining heritage languages are discussed.

Challenges in maintaining heritage languages. The rising diversity of multiculturalism in Canada (Banting, 2010; Soroka et al., 2006) is increasing the interest in bilingual programs for parents who see learning languages as a valuable resource (Christian, 1994; Dagenais, 2003, Park & Sarkar, 2007). In particular, the French Immersion program that is offered in the Canadian public school system to develop two official languages (i.e., English and French) has witnessed rapid growth in enrollment in response to increasing immigration in the Vancouver area (Dagenais, 2003). However, Dagenais (2003) expressed concern that the children of immigrants in the French Immersion programs may not have opportunities to develop their heritage language. As an example, Park and Sarkar (2007) described that some Korean immigrant parents in Montreal decided not to teach Korean to their children; learning French and English at the same time was already challenging for their Korean-Canadian children. Speaking a heritage language at home is often undervalued to the extent that little attention and support is given to heritage language education (Babae, 2014; Bialystok, 2007; Cho et al., 1997; Lee & Shin, 2008; Park & Sarkar, 2007).

Babae (2014) reviewed heritage language programs at public schools across Canada, and determined that only the western provinces (i.e., British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba) provided bilingual programs in heritage languages (e.g., Arabic, German, Hebrew, Chinese (Mandarin), Russian, Spanish, and Ukrainian). Otherwise, heritage languages have to be learned as an extracurricular course in community-based heritage language schools in most

Canadian provinces (Babae, 2014). Heritage language programs, in addition, have difficulties in finding relevant materials for instruction (Li & Duff, 2008; Shin, 2005) and professional level heritage language teachers (Babae, 2014; Coelho, 2008). To benefit from multiculturalism and encourage students to maintain their heritage languages (Banting, 2010), society and educators should provide more opportunities and systematic support for learning heritage languages in schools (Babae, 2014; Shin, 2005).

On the other hand, Shin (2005) examined 251 Korean immigrant parents in the United States regarding their attitudes toward Korean language loss in their second-generation children. The research revealed that 82% of the Korean immigrant parents felt “bad, shameful, or unacceptable” (p.135) in reference to the fact that their children were not able to speak Korean. However, only 42 % of the Korean immigrant parents sent their children to Korean language schools on weekends to continue learning Korean language. The remaining 58% of parents chose other extracurricular activities for their children or had trouble transporting them due to work. Shin (2005) further stressed that the Korean immigrant parents decided not to speak Korean at home because of their children’s objection to learning Korean.

Maintaining heritage languages in bilingual context. Several studies have explored the advantages of maintaining a heritage language in multilingual societies. Bialystok (2007) described that children who are raised in bilingual environments experience improved social, cognitive, and linguistic development over those who are raised in monolingual environments. The author indicated that monolingual children learn how to structure their thoughts and perceive the world within only one

cognitive dimension. Bilinguals, on the other hand, are able to interpret the world through enabling two different language structures or lenses (Bialystok, 2007). For example, learning English and Korean introduces two perspectives for bilinguals that serve to broaden cognitive development and social interaction.

Similarly, Cummins (2001) and Portes and Schauflier (1994) claimed that students who are bilingual in English and their heritage language are more likely to perform better academically than those students who have not maintained their heritage language. A study by Portes and Schauflier (1994) specifically indicated that students who spoke their heritage language demonstrated higher performance in mathematics in the 8th and 9th grade than those students who lost their heritage languages. Malakoff and Hakuta (1991) pointed out that bilingual students developed more complex language structures than monolinguals, which are more likely to improve academic language skills.

Dagenais, Day, and Toohey (2006) and Fishman (2001) suggested that promoting heritage language education to the public (particularly if educators and policy makers take the lead in doing so) would provide more possibilities to improve the quality of teaching and learning heritage languages. Public awareness will support the value and existence of heritage languages in multicultural societies (Fishman, 2001), which helps to understand and accommodate the linguistic diversity of heritage language students at school (Li & Duff, 2008). Taylor and Snoddon (2013) pointed out that the linguistic complexity in a Canadian classroom draws attention to “plurilingual competences”¹⁷ in many English monolingual

¹⁷ According to Coste, Moore, and Zarate (2009), “plurilingual competence” refers to the ability to speak several languages, at least two languages, in order to socially interact with other people. Plurilingualism includes varying degrees of proficiency in languages and cultures that reflects individuals’ transmission of social paths regarding their desire for languages.

domains. Teachers should acknowledge a paradigm shift of promoting plurilingualism (Campbell, 2000; Taylor & Snoddon, 2013), which implies developing heritage languages for the purpose of communication with other social groups (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 2009). As Cummins (2001) described, heritage language students can be empowered through positive experiences in developing their heritage languages at school, which educators can promote in classrooms. In situations where teachers and peers view marginalized languages positively in multilingual classrooms, heritage language students are more likely to share their linguistic and cultural knowledge of heritage through collaborative activities in multilingual settings (Dagenais et al., 2006; Goldstein, 2003; Taylor & Cummins, 2011). According to Goldstein (2003) and Li (2009), teachers should not overlook challenges and conflicts, driven from the power relationship between the dominant society and heritage communities, and need to find how to negotiate the diversity of languages and cultures in educational context.

Additionally, Cho et al. (1997) conducted empirical studies on motivation for learning Korean, which supports the view that maintaining heritage languages has economic benefits. Korean American participants in the study believed that learning Korean would provide more job opportunities and make them more marketable in the Korean business community. De Klerk (2002) further noted that promoting heritage languages would empower and protect many heritage communities, which is valuable not only for individuals but also extended societies.

Heritage Languages and Cultural Adaptation

Immigrants in predominately multicultural countries, such as Canada, the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom, get fully immersed in a new

“multicultural” culture and social context (Berry, 2005; Choi et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2005). Immigrants have to quickly adapt to a new job or school, a new culture, a new society, new social norms, and possibly a new language. Berry (2005) claimed that to successfully blend in to a new society, immigrants may have to significantly adjust their pre-existing behaviors and attitudes to the new culture.

Cultural adaptation in immigrant families. In the context of increasing contact between cultures, Berry (2005) defined the term “acculturation” as “the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (p.698). Many studies have been conducted that revealed the consequences and complexity of acculturation relating to international migration (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Cabassa, 2003; Duff, 2003; Lee & Tse, 1994; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936; see Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Lebrun, 2012; McDonald & Kennedy, 2005).

Sakamoto (2006) examined acculturation or how immigrants negotiate and reconstruct their cultural values when they encounter multiple cultures in a host country. She explained that when immigrants encounter new culture(s), they experience cultural differences and re-evaluate the host culture and their original culture. During acculturation, some immigrants may feel resistance to the host country and do not want to adapt to the host culture, which results in returning and maintaining the original culture (Duff, 2003; Sakamoto, 2006). Or, immigrants may tend to assimilate to the host culture and not maintain the original culture (Arriagada, 2007; Liao, 2008). After re-evaluating the host culture and the original culture, immigrants may negotiate cultural values between the host culture and the original culture and accommodate to some degree of cultural integrity (Sakamoto, 2006).

As the process of acculturation is complex, immigrants may experience different patterns of acculturation depending on their individual choices and behaviors (Berry et al., 2006; Cabassa, 2003; Lee & Tse, 1994; Sakamoto, 2006).

When exposed to sudden changes in culture, immigrants can often suffer from “culture shock”, which can lead to cultural conflicts (Berry, 2005; Jung et al., 2011) such as racism (Li, 2009; Mariana Shimpi & Zirkel, 2012; Rodriguez, 1983; Shin, 2012), mental stresses (Choi et al., 2013; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002), severe depression (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Kim et al., 2005), and a lack of communication within the family (Shin, 2005). Berry (2005) points out that a process of acculturation affects individuals and communities differently in varying rates of changes and degrees of adaptation.

A case study of a Chinese immigrant family by Fillmore (2000) supports Berry (2005)’s observations of different patterns of acculturation. In Fillmore (2000)’s study, the Chen family, who immigrated from Hong Kong to the United States several decades ago, showed that each family member stayed at different phases of acculturation and a number of variables affect their experiences differently. The author described that the two children from the Chen family exhibited different English proficiency and rates of acculturation after attending the same public school depending on their personality and attitude. Eventually, the children became fluent in English and adapted to their new culture more quickly than their parents (Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Fillmore (2000) explained that the parents in the Chen family did not adequately assimilate to the new society as they had to work long hours in the Chinese community and did not have the same opportunity as their children to learn English (Costigan & Dokis, 2006).

Language brokering in immigrant families. In most cases, second-generation immigrant children attending public schools are more likely to adjust to a new culture and language faster than their first-generation immigrant parents (Buriel, Perez, Terri, Chavez, & Moran, 1998; Fillmore, 2000; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). The children of immigrant families, who speak better English than their immigrant parents, often serve as language translators (Choi et al., 2013) or “language brokers” (Tse, 1995; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002) for their families. Tse (1995) defined language brokers as “intermediaries between linguistically and culturally different parties” (p.180). She further explained that language brokers are not only transferring content between two languages, but also becoming decision makers. Thus, language brokers are distinct from language translators in terms of having an authority to influence the decision-making process.

Weisskirch and Alva (2002) examined a case study of 36 bilingual Latino students in California in order to investigate the relationship between language brokering and its effects on the children of immigrant parents. The study revealed that the materials the bilingual students translate for their immigrant parents varied from simple notes to more complicated documents such as rental contracts or insurance forms. The bilingual students in the study expressed that language brokering was challenging and stressful. The task demanded high levels of linguistic competence while the bilingual students were still in the process of language development (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). The results of the study further described that young children of immigrants often felt obligated to translate for their parents. Through the experience of language brokering, the children of immigrant parents often felt responsibility for the decisions of their parents based on the information the children provided (Buriel et al., 1998; Weisskirch & Alva,

2002).

Tse (1995) and Buriel et al. (1998), on the other hand, pointed out the positive effects of language brokering. Tse (1995)'s study suggested that speaking two languages during language brokering provides the children with a better understanding of their parents and heritage. The process of language brokering can also help the children to learn English faster and encourage them to be more fluent in their heritage language (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991). She further stressed that language brokering develops a strong sense of independence and maturity in bilingual children of immigrant families. In addition, Buriel et al. (1998) highlighted that the children of immigrant families have more chances to be involved in biculturalism through the process of language brokering. In consequence, the students can build interpersonal experiences that eventually enhance self-confidence in the children of immigrant families (Buriel et al., 1998). Similarly, Malakoff and Hakuta (1991) explained that appropriate translation requires not only conveying the meaning of language, but also inputting the meaning into restructured sentences. Therefore, language brokering can advance the language proficiency in both English and the heritage language (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991).

Heritage languages and self-confidence. For Crawford (1996), languages confer a sense of “personality, way of thinking, group identity, religious beliefs and cultural rituals” (p.47), and symbolizes who you are (Hunt, 1966). In this regard, language and identity are closely linked (Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996) and self-confidence of heritage identity can be determined by proficiency of the heritage language.

Cho (2000) recognized the maintenance of a heritage language as not only a

language competence, but also an important sociocultural advantage. She conducted a case study of 114 second-generation Korean Americans and analyzed the co-relationship between Korean language proficiency and self-confidence. The research findings described that the “strong Korean competence” group showed a stronger attachment to their ethnic groups and culture, and had a solid ethnic identity (e.g., being proud of Korean and actively interacting with Korean speakers). In contrast, the “weak Korean competence” group experienced frustrations and isolation from family acquaintances and Korean communities (e.g., avoiding phone calls at home). Not being accepted due to a lack of Korean competence may cause negative self-confidence in children of Korean immigrants (Cho et al., 1997). As Fillmore (1991) indicated, losing a heritage language affects every aspect of social, educational, and cultural development. Therefore, it is important to note that developing and maintaining a heritage language can reinforce a positive cultural identity in children of immigrants (Cho, 2000; Noels et al., 1996; Park & Sarkar, 2007).

Theoretical Framework

Languages form a meaningful connection between individuals and society. People use languages as a tool to learn and communicate knowledge as well as express thought and emotions. It is through the process of communication and expression that people use language to create and transmit culture (Origg & Sperber, 2000). Norris (1998) highlighted that “language is one of the most tangible symbols of culture and group identity” (p.8). The use of a particular language ties people together as part of a group or society that share the same social and cultural identity (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Ochs, 1999).

In respect of language use in the social and cultural context, the purpose of this study is to explore, through case studies of Korean immigrant families in Canada, their attitudes and efforts toward Korean language maintenance. Through the lens of language socialization and sociocultural theory, this study examines influences on Korean language loss and how it impacts the family in the context of relationships, cultural values, and identities.

Language use and acquisition occurs in social contexts (Young, 1999). There have been several studies undertaken to help understand how bilingual acquisition is related to language socialization (Bialystok, 2007; Duff, 2003; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), who first established the notion of language socialization, differentiated between language acquisition and language learning. Language acquisition refers to learning how to use the language in appropriate social contexts, and understanding linguistic proficiency (e.g., morphology, syntax, and vocabulary) at different developmental phases (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), which can be acquired in natural environments of language use. Language learning, on the other hand, is the result of formal language instruction that learners consciously acquire the knowledge of language skills (Krashen, 1981; Ray, 2012). Therefore, Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) indicated that language acquisition is a further subconscious development of language learning that involves “culturally relevant meaning-making activities” (p.342). In the process of language acquisition, young children and adult novice speakers also acquire knowledge of the culture and social practices associated with the language in particular communities, which is known as language socialization (Duff, 2003; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, Ochs, 1999). Duff (2007) refers to language socialization as

[a] process by which novices or newcomers in a community or culture gain communicative competence, membership, and legitimacy in the group... it is a means of foregrounding social, cultural, and linguistic knowledge and how it is gained, across a variety of language learning situations at various age and stages of life (p.310).

Language socialization requires having not only the knowledge of linguistic aspects, but also understanding social and cultural practices of the society where the language is being used. Thus, language acquisition and language socialization are mutually inclusive; in other words, complete language acquisition cannot occur without language socialization, and vice versa.

Language socialization is a process that immigrants undergo when they first learn their mother tongue and again when they learn a second language (Duff, 2003; Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002; Zuengler & Miller, 2006). Duff (2007) indicated that immigrant families may feel conflicted about becoming socialized into the new ways of their adopted society. First-generation immigrants often prefer to keep their cultural traditions and heritage community affiliations. Immigrant parents and their children have to deal with more complicated processes of language socialization involving their heritage language at home and a dominant language in the new society. In Canada, immigrant parents may consider enrolling their children in French Immersion to acquire the two official languages of English and French (Dagenais, 2003). Multiple languages are used in the society that immigrant families may happen to cooperate with several languages besides English and their heritage languages. Immigrant families have to continuously negotiate between the values and practices of the new social group and their own heritage group in order to maintain communicative language competence and memberships within both

communities (Duff, 2003, 2007).

According to Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), people socialize through the language use and at the same time, people are socialized to use language; therefore, the functional interface and relationships between language and culture are important to understand the role of Korean language and the effects of Korean language loss within Korean immigrant families.

Language socialization widely shares aspects from sociocultural theory, which is inspired by Vygotsky (1978). Vygotsky (1978) emphasized the important role of social interaction in developing behavior and consciousness as people learn a language. In light of sociocultural theory, social interaction leads people to develop appropriate language use and creates meanings in cultural communities (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995; Vygotsky, 1978). Lantolf and Thorne (2006) explained that sociocultural theory is “mediated mental development... that focus[es] on communication, cognition and meaning rather than on formalist positions that privilege structure” (p.4). People internalize concepts of communicative language through meaningful social interactions; so that, sociocultural theory helps to understand how individuals, socially and culturally, develop their behavior and consciousness in a particular social context (Johnson, 2006; Mahn, 1999; Vygotsky, 1978; Zuengler & Miller, 2006). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) employed sociocultural theory to analyze cultural identity that socially emerges from a particular linguistic interaction as a social and cultural phenomenon.

In light of the important roles social and cultural factors play in language learning, perspectives from language socialization and sociocultural theory are employed for this study to document and analyze the experiences of Korean immigrant families. The theoretical framework underscores the importance of social

interactions in the development of language and culture that broadly explores what successes and challenges the Korean immigrant parents and their children face in maintaining their heritage language.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In this chapter, I outline the research methodology employed in the study. A qualitative approach of case studies including a description of participant recruitment, the procedure taken for data collection, and data analysis are provided. Furthermore, the issues of the researcher's role in the study are discussed.

Research Design

Qualitative Research. A qualitative approach was selected for the current study. As Freebody (2003) explained, qualitative research in education is fundamentally related to social relationships in communities as educational activities involve social interactions. Guba and Lincoln (1994) pointed out that qualitative approaches allow researchers to describe human behaviors with rich insights, which leads to exploring an "unstructured" or "open-ended" methodology (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Burnard, 1991). The open-ended approach "allows the informants to answer from their own frame of reference rather than from one structured by prearranged questions" (Bogdan & Bilken, 2007, p.3). Within these flexible settings, participants can freely respond and add more depth and richness through their own words to the study (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Freebody, 2003; Yeh et al., 2005).

This approach allowed me to take a closer look at my participants' life experiences, enabling me to explain particularly meaningful situations and feelings that the Korean immigrant parents experienced (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Freebody, 2003; Sandelowski, 2000).

Case Studies. Gomm, Hammersley, and Foster (2000) defined a case study as a method to identify a particular case of inquiry in the field of social research.

According to Bogdan and Biklen (2007), a case study is a detailed examination of a particular group of people in a certain setting, whereby participant observation is used to gather the data. Stake (2005) indicated that case studies are useful in the study of human interactions, but common generalizing from a single object of the case study to a large population of the target group should be avoided. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) further introduced multi-case studies that include more than two subjects and settings in the study. They described that researchers who undertake multi-case studies compare and contrast data from each subject and setting so that the multi-case studies bring more diversity into the study.

As every individual has different experiences and family backgrounds, the method of multi-case studies is suitable for research with Korean immigrant families. Korean language loss, including challenges and efforts to maintain the Korean language, is a current social phenomenon in many Korean immigrant families (Shin, 2005), which concerns parents and Korean immigrant communities. Qualitative case studies help enhance description and analysis of the life experiences of Korean immigrant families. Furthermore, this study offers the potential for people to empathize with what it is like to lose a heritage language and the challenges to maintain heritage language in Canada, providing in-depth insights through personal interviews with Korean immigrant families.

Researcher

A researcher plays a critical role in qualitative research. Information and data in the study are gathered, developed and interpreted directly by the researcher (Bishop, 2005; Hatch, 2002; Lichtman, 2006). Through case studies of Korean immigrants, I was able to understand what difficulties the participants experienced in

maintaining Korean language in Canada. I found that I could personally identify and empathize with the opportunities and challenges of living as a Korean immigrant in Canada. However, it is important to understand my role as an insider and outsider with respect to this study.

As a Korean immigrant in Canada, I was considered as an insider within the Korean community here and personally shared some similar experiences with my participants. My membership in the Korean community likely made my study of Korean language loss and maintenance more easily accepted than if an outsider to the Korean community were conducting the same research. The participants showed eagerness to share their personal stories and hoped that their participation would help the Korean community. As a researcher that shares the same Korean language and many shared cultural characteristics as the participants, I was able to conduct in-depth interviews with the participants in Korean and to empathize with some of their feelings and beliefs. In other words, conducting research within my own heritage community and language facilitated interactions with the participants and made them more meaningful.

As an academic researcher, it was important to avoid assumptions and personal bias in order to maintain the trustworthiness and credibility of the qualitative data (Angrosino, 2005; Lichtman, 2006). I conducted the interviews in an open-ended manner with semi-structured interview questions. During the interviews, I let the participants express their thoughts and feelings as much as possible. The participants sometimes got off the interview questions and discussed off-topic subjects such as events at church of the week or favorite soccer players. In these cases, I rephrased the interview questions to stay focused on the topic of the research.

While listening to the participants' life experiences, I suggested that the participants clarify any ambiguous statements or implied meanings for clarification and greater accuracy. Sharing the same heritage language and culture as the participants, they sometimes omitted explaining details of the phrases they used and assumed that I would understand their implications. For example, when the participant referred to "the typical Korean" during the interview, I had to ask the participant to describe what the typical Korean meant. Even though I was familiar with common notions being understood in the Korean society, I requested the participants to rephrase their answers for better explanation and understanding of the research.

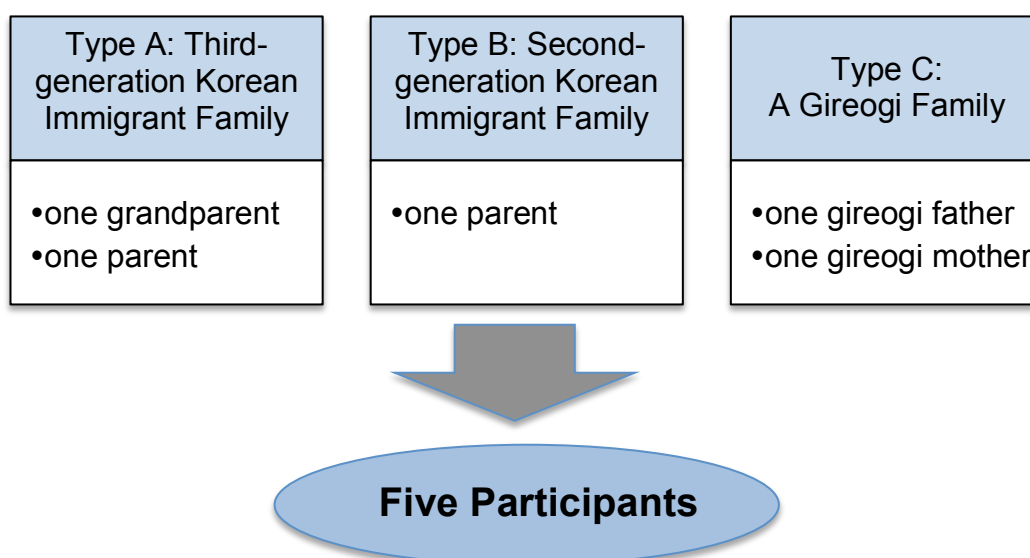
Using my own experiences as an example, I believe that living as a plurilingual speaker has enriched my immigrant life in Canada. Being able to speak both Korean and English has provided me the opportunity to teach Korean at the Korean language school and work as a translator for the government helping other Korean immigrants in Canada. I believe that maintaining my Korean language reinforces my cultural identity and enables cultural belonging within the Korean community. Being an active member of the Korean community in Canada has allowed me to socialize and share my experiences with other Koreans who have undergone a similar transition to living in Canada. Being apart of the Korean community has further enabled me to fully appreciate and express my Korean heritage language and culture within the greater multilingual Canadian society.

I hope that when I have children of my own, they, too, will be able to learn and maintain their Korean language. I believe it is important for my children to learn Korean not only to have a strong cultural identity, but also to be able to form a meaningful bond to my family and relatives back in Korea who do not speak English.

Participant Recruitment

To respond to the need for research on heritage language maintenance, I recruited five participants, which consist of one grandparent and four parents, from three types of Korean immigrant families living in Canada: a) third-generation Korean immigrant family, b) second-generation Korean immigrant family, and c) a gireogi family: 1.5-generation Korean immigrant family. I chose three different types of Korean immigrant families to bring diverse perspectives to the study.

Figure 1. Overview of the participants



Through the life experiences of five Korean immigrant parents, this study examined how Korean immigrant parents' attitudes and efforts influence Korean language maintenance in their children.

In order to participate in this study, the participants had to meet the following criteria:

Table 1. Criteria of the participants

Type A: Third-generation Korean Immigrant Family
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Both first-generation Korean immigrant grandparents were born and raised in Korea and immigrated to Canada over 10 years ago. <input type="checkbox"/> Second-generation Korean immigrant parents and their children, third-generation Korean immigrant, were born in Canada or immigrated at a young age and use English as their primary language.
Type B: Second-generation Korean Immigrant Family
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Both first-generation Korean immigrant parents were born and raised in Korea and immigrated to Canada over 5 years ago. <input type="checkbox"/> Second-generation Korean immigrant children were born in Canada and use English as their primary language.
Type C: A Gireogi Family
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Both first-generation Korean immigrant parents were born and raised in Korea and one of the parents immigrated to Canada over 3 years ago. <input type="checkbox"/> Children of a gireogi family immigrated to Canada at a young age and educated in both Korean and Canadian public schools.

Depending on the length of residence in Canada and the formation of the family, each immigrant family in this study experienced different progress of Korean language attrition and challenges in maintaining Korean language. In particular, as they lived longer in Canada, the participants expressed more difficulties in maintaining Korean heritage languages in their children. The second-generation and the 1.5-generation (gireogi) immigrant families in this study expressed that they tended to emphasize the importance of learning English prior to helping their children to learn Korean language. The participants wanted their immigrant children to be

well adjusted in the Canadian society. Likewise, after living in Canada for 40 years, the third-generation Korean immigrant family faced Korean language loss in the family. However, at the time of the interview, the 1.5-generation immigrant child in the third-generation immigrant family started revaluing Korean culture and language and tried to help his own children to learn the Korean language. Including five participants from three different types of Korean immigrant families enabled me to explore how each immigrant family perceived maintaining Korean language over a period of time and family situations. Therefore, the variety of perspectives in this study improved the quality of the research.

The participants were purposely selected through my personal networking in the Korean language school and Korean community. I let a wide circle of acquaintances know about my research and the criteria of the participant recruitment along with my contact information. Patton (2002) emphasized the benefits of purposeful sampling that “[t]he logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry” (p. 230). Sharing personal stories of Korean language loss in their children may be sensitive issues and private matters to some Korean immigrant families. Thus, my connections as the insider of a Korean community were helpful in finding adequate participants for the study.

Status of Korean language loss is hard to be determined because proficiency of Korean language and expectations are different within each Korean immigrant family members. Therefore, the participants in this study were the Korean immigrant parents who acknowledged themselves that they had difficulties communicating in

Korean with their children or were concerned about maintaining Korean language in their family.

In the process of recruitment, my friends or family members were not included and I was not in a position of power vis-à-vis any of the participants. After finding the suitable participants, I arranged the interview schedule with each participant by phone and email. Before the interview, I explained to the participants that participation was entirely voluntary and there was no anticipated compensation for the participation.

Procedures and Data Collection

For the purpose of the qualitative research, this study employed 1) in-depth interviews, 2) researcher's field notes, and 3) episodes of Korean language use from participants for the data collection. All data gathered from data collection were merged under relevant categories in the research findings.

Two sets of interview questions (Appendix A) and an informed consent form (Appendix B) were provided to participants before the interview. The informed consent form was used to explain the purpose of research and what involved with the participation. By distributing the interview questions beforehand, the participants had time to think about the answers and were fully informed about what to expect at the interview. The participants were given an option of choosing either Korean or English to use during the interview at their preference. Among the participants, four Korean immigrant parents chose to use Korean because they felt more comfortable speaking Korean than English. Only one participant who is the 1.5-generation Korean immigrant parent chose to use English because he spoke English as a primary language and lost a large portion of Korean proficiency. Also, all research

materials provided to the participants were written in both English and Korean for the participants' convenience.

The participants were engaged in two individual interviews for 45-60 minutes each at a time at their home. The interview questions were open-ended so as to allow the participants to share their personal stories and feelings relating to successes/challenges in maintaining Korean language in their family. At the interview, I audiotaped the conversations with participants' permission to ensure the accuracy of the data and to keep a record of the interview. At the same time, I took the field notes on the interviews to describe the interview setting, atmosphere, participants' body language, and my own observations.

In addition, the participants were voluntarily asked to share one of the positive or negative experiences relating to using Korean in an English dominant environment in Canada (i.e., referred to as the episode of Korean language use). The episode of Korean language use provided the participants an opportunity to reflect their thoughts and explain detailed description of the situation, impressions, and reactions to what happened. Guideline for the episode of Korean language use (Appendix C) was given to the participants to guide them in describing their story.

I conducted individual interviews with each participant to ensure comfort and openness to talk about issues that may be sensitive between the participants and their children. The participants willingly answered all the interview questions and preferred to deliver their episodes of Korean language use by oral narratives after the interview.

After data collection, I transcribed the interviews and sent the transcripts to each respective participant to confirm its accuracy, which is referred to as "member checking" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Member checking reduces the chance of

misleading or misinterpreted information from the interviews (Krefting, 1991). The participants were informed that they could withdraw from the participation or omit certain parts of the transcripts if they did not want them to be included as part of this study. In the end, the participants did not request withdrawal or omission.

Any identifying personal information of the participants, gathered during the course of the data collection, remained strictly confidential. I replaced all the participant's names under a pseudonym for the purposes of confidentiality.

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed by using a coding system and theme/category approaches. The researcher transcribed interviews and an original copy of the interviews was stored until the study was completed. Any data collected in Korean from the participants was translated into English by the researcher. All relevant data, including field notes and the episode of Korean language use, were combined together under each theme/category for the data analysis.

Analysis procedure. The following steps of the analysis are based on Creswell (2013)'s inquiry of the qualitative research methodology.

First, I read through my interview transcripts, field notes, and the episode of Korean language use to gain a general idea of the overall information. While reading through my notes, certain words, events, and patterns emerged (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). I made notes in the margin to indicate these patterns, which is called the coding process (Creswell, 2013). As Burnard (1991) suggested, colored highlighting was used to distinguish and organize topics in the transcripts and field notes. The coding process helped to select relevant data and topics for the study.

Second, after the coding process, similar topics were grouped together under a broader theme. Each coded section from the transcripts was placed under a particular theme of the study. As Creswell (2013) advised, a small number of themes were chosen to describe the research findings. For example, the four main themes for this study are 1) internal influences in the family, 2) external influences within school and community, 3) maintaining family ties, and 4) negotiating cultural identity.

Third, coded sections may lose a piece of referring words when it is directly cut out from the original transcripts (Burnard, 1991). Therefore, I put additional words or phrases in the bracket to clarify meanings in the contexts. Also, the original data collected in Korean and its English translation by the researcher were presented together in the research findings and discussion for the purpose of data accuracy. Various quotations from the transcripts were used to portray particular events or feelings of the participants through their own perspectives. Narrating everyday life experiences with Korean language attrition and maintenance is intended to generate greater understanding of and appreciation for the issues studied (Glaser & Strauss, 1965; Sakamoto, 2000).

Fourth, after investigating all the themes, I included my own interpretation of the findings. Wolcott (1994) suggested that qualitative research can be properly analyzed by reducing the stories down to the underlying facts to highlight similarities and differences. Using this approach, I compared and contrasted the research findings from each individual interview to highlight important contributions and relationships (Lichtman, 2006; Wolcott, 1994). At the end, I summarized the results of the research in response to the initial research questions and disclosed any inadequacies of the research during the interview.

The trustworthiness of the study. In order to increase trustworthiness in qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) initially developed four criteria to evaluate accuracy of the research findings: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Based on these criteria, the researcher was able to show more validity of the qualitative research.

Credibility. In qualitative research, credibility refers to evaluating the truth of research findings from the participants' point of view and interpretation by the researcher (Cope, 2014; Lichtman, 2006). Krefting (1991) claimed that triangulation is a useful technique to minimize distortion and avoid biased information in the qualitative research. Stake (2005) defined triangulation as "a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning... by identifying different ways the case is being seen" (p. 454). A diversity of perception through triangulation helps to enhance richness and in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Flick, 2002). In the process of data analysis, I used three data sources from the participants, which were the field notes, transcripts of the interviews, and the episode of Korean language use in order to triangulate my final results of the research. Multiple data sources and data collection increased the credibility of my research (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Confirmability. Confirmability refers to how the research findings and interpretations reflect the experiences and thoughts of the participants, rather than the expectation or preferences of the researcher (Hoepfl, 1997; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Prediction or biased assumptions by the researcher should be avoided in the process of data analysis. To ensure trustworthiness of this research, I included

many quotations from the interview transcripts of the participants, which explained the rationale behind the data analysis (Cope, 2014). Presenting original data from the transcripts allowed readers to understand how the research findings and conclusions were made. Four participants chose to use Korean in the interviews so the transcripts were translated into English.

Transferability. Instead of making generalizations, transferability in qualitative research can apply the results to other individuals, who are particularly in similar settings and contexts (Lichtman, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1986). By providing rich and thick description of the participants, readers interested in this research should be able to “associate the results with their own experiences” (Cope, 2014, p. 89) and decide whether the result is transferable to them. This study provided information about how data was collected from the participants. In addition, materials used for the data collection are included as an appendix. Detailed descriptions of the research procedures may enable the readers to form a connection to other immigrant families who have had similar difficulties in maintaining heritage language at home.

Dependability. In this research, dependability was validated through the consistency of the research process and the research data. Lichtman (2006) emphasized that it is a researcher’s responsibility to describe and identify any changes that occurred during the research, which affect the reliability of qualitative research (Hoepfl, 1997; Kretting, 1991). This study described what was done in the data collection process. For example, any rejections to the interview questions or a choice of language use in the interview were addressed. In addition, the

dependability of qualitative research could be enhanced if another researcher is able to present replicable research findings by following the procedures in similar research circumstances (Cope, 2014; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Krefting, 1991).

Conclusion

This chapter presented the research design of this study. It also explained the researcher's role within the research, participant recruitment, procedure and data collection, and data analysis. Chapter four will present an introduction of the participants and discuss the research findings.

Chapter Four: Research Findings and Discussion

This chapter focuses on the life experiences of three types of Korean immigrant families in regard to their challenges and successes in maintaining the Korean language in Canada. Depending on the length of residency in Canada, three Korean immigrant families experienced different degrees of Korean language loss and cultural adaptation. The results show that the participants faced similar challenges and struggles in raising their children to be plurilingual speakers in both Korean and English; however, the participants' attitudes and approaches to Korean language maintenance were different. Therefore, perspectives on the importance of Korean language maintenance are investigated through the perspectives of five Korean immigrant parents.

Introduction of the Participants

Before discussing the research findings, a brief introduction to the three Korean immigrant families is provided. The introduction below is focused on 1) a description of family members, 2) how the participants immigrated and their adaptation to Canada, 3) the position of Korean language use at home with each family member.

For the purpose of confidentiality, pseudonym family names (i.e., Kim, Park, and Lee, which are the three most common Korean family names) are given to each family. Participants' first names are also replaced with either Korean or English pseudonym names, depending on their official names being used in Canada.

To clarify family relationships with each participant in the family, a family tree is included respectively below (see Figures 2, 3, and 4). The participants, who participated in this research, are highlighted in color for their identification.

The five participants are:

- 1) **Dahee Kim** (Mother to participant Roger Kim)
- 2) **Roger Kim** (Son to participant Dahee Kim)
- 3) **Sujin Park** (Mother)
- 4) **Minsu Lee** (Husband to participant Jiwon Lee)
- 5) **Jiwon Lee** (Wife to participant Minsu Lee)

Table 2. Profile of the participant, Korean immigrant parents

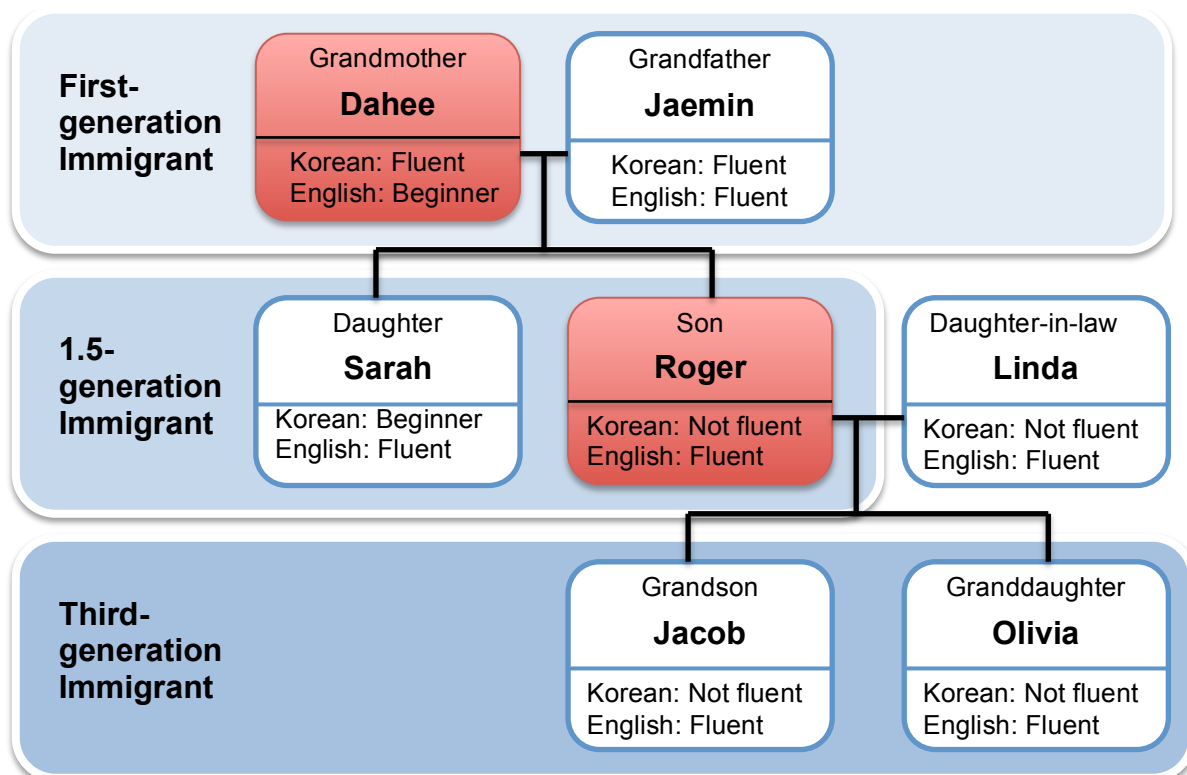
Participant Characteristic	The Kim family		The Park family	The Lee family	
	Dahee	Roger	Sujin	Minsu	Jiwon
Approximate Age	70	45	37	40	40
Length of residence in Canada	40 years	40 years	10 years	6 months	4 years
First language	Korean	English	Korean	Korean	Korean
Birth place	Korea	Korea	Korea	Korea	Korea
Number of children	Son and daughter	Son and daughter	Two daughters	Son	
Age of children	Roger (45) Sarah (42)	Jacob (5) Olivia (3)	Karen (6) Lauren (4)	Hyunjun (9)	
Children's birth place	Korea	Canada	Canada	Korea	
Language use with children	Korean and English	English	Korean and English	Korean	Korean
Education in Canada	None	Master's degree	College	ESL school	College

In the interviews, the participants tended to discuss the oldest child in the family. In the Park family, for example, Sujin discussed more about Karen than

Lauren. In the Kim family, Dahee mainly talked about the oldest son Roger because he was the participant in the study.

Story of the Kim family: third-generation Korean immigrant family

Figure 2. Overview of the Kim family relations



Dahee is a well-educated grandmother in her 70s who willingly shared her family's story of immigration to Canada. She graduated from one of the top universities in Korea and married her husband, Jaemin. Before the marriage, Jaemin went to the United States and graduated with a Ph.D degree in economics and was fluent in English. Returning to Korea, Jaemin became a professor in economics at one of the universities in Seoul and married Dahee. Jaemin and Dahee were financially and emotionally well settled in Korea with their two children, Roger and Sarah. Roger described that "My dad was doing fine. He was a

professor at the University [in Korea]. So he was doing fine. He would have had a good life [in Korea].” (Transcript C, p.5, Line 29-30)

After a few years, however, Jaemin and Dahee thought that living conditions in Korea were quite different compared to Canada during the 1970s¹⁸. Dahee wanted her children, Roger and Sarah, to have a better quality of life and education in a more developed country. Dahee explained,

“우리 남편이 외국에서 공부한 사람이니까. 아, 외국에는 그런 사회는 아니라는 마음이 있어서 데리고 왔어요. 아이들이 더 나은 삶을 살길 바랬어요. 더 질적인 삶을 살기를.”

“My husband [Jaemin] studied abroad so we knew that the western society was different. We wanted [our children] to have a better life. Better quality of life.”

(Transcript A, p.1, Line 12-14)

At that time, Dahee’s father and her two sisters had already immigrated to Canada just a few years prior so Dahee also decided to immigrate to Canada with Jaemin and their two children. Roger explained that “My parents realized that my mom’s sisters came out to Canada first... around in 1972. So they decided to follow [them] along to Vancouver.” (Transcript C, p.5, Line 20-27) They moved to Vancouver. Now, the Kim family has been living in Canada for 40 years.

During the 1970s, settlement in Canada was not easy for the Kim family as early first-generation Korean immigrants. Shortly after they arrived in Vancouver, Jaemin worked as a teaching assistant for a year at a community college while searching for

¹⁸ For a period time after the Korean War in 1953, Korea was considered one of the poorest countries. However, from the 1980s to the late 1990s, Korea’s economy advanced rapidly with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of only \$2,300 per capita in 1980 increasing to \$ 33,700 in 2013. According to the World Bank (2014), Korea’s market economy ranks 14th and it is one of the wealthiest countries in the world.

a full time position as a professor. However, opportunities were not available for Jaemin to continue his career as professor, even though he had his doctorate from a U.S. university. Roger described,

He [my father, Jaemin] started off at the community college and was doing marking... But then there wasn't any opportunity for him. So he bought a grocery store. A few years after, he found a good job with the Korean shipping company... He worked as an executive. And then he was transferred to California. He went by himself and three of us stayed in Vancouver. But then the company went bankrupted... It was a short term. Not more than a year. Then that job was gone... So he came back to Vancouver and worked at the grocery store. (Transcript C, p.5, Line 33-44)

In the end, the Kim family continued working at their grocery store to financially support the family. Jaemin and Dahee worked long hours at the grocery store and later on owned and worked at several different restaurants and grocery stores. After immigrating to Canada, the first-generation immigrant parents in the Kim family had to substantially change careers and lifestyles to provide a better future for their children.

Roger, who was five years old when the Kim family moved to Canada, is now in his early 40s. Roger is married with two children, Jacob and Olivia, who are third-generation immigrants in Canada. At the time of immigration, Roger was fluent in Korean and able to communicate only in Korean with his first-generation immigrant parents, Jaemin and Dahee. After entering an elementary school in Canada, however, Roger's dominant language quickly switched from Korean to English and he started losing his proficiency in Korean. Roger explained "My mom said I was

fluent in Korean when we [first] came to Canada. But then I started learning English so I just used English with them.” (Transcript C, p.1, Line 22-23)

As a result, he is now only able to understand a basic level of Korean. At home, Dahee mostly would speak Korean to Roger but Roger responded in English to her. Roger always had conversations in English with his father, Jaemin. Dahee described,

“우리 남편은 영어로 자기가 의사통이 잘 되니까 불편함이 없었어요. 또 남자들끼리니까... 남자들은 대화가 적잖아요. 그런데 나는 이야기를 많이 해야하는데 나는 한국말로 로저는 영어로 대화하니 그게 답답했어요.”

“My husband [Jaemin] spoke English well so he communicated well with Roger. Also, between men, they kept their conversations short. But as a mother, I wanted to talk more [with Roger]. But Roger spoke English to me and I spoke Korean to him. So that was frustrating.” (Transcript A, p.6, Line 14-16)

Roger is married to Linda, who is an Anglo-Saxon Canadian who speaks English as her first language, so the primary language used in their home always has been English. Roger explained that, “We cannot communicate other than English... So our common language [at home] is English.” (Transcript D, p.5, Line 25-27)

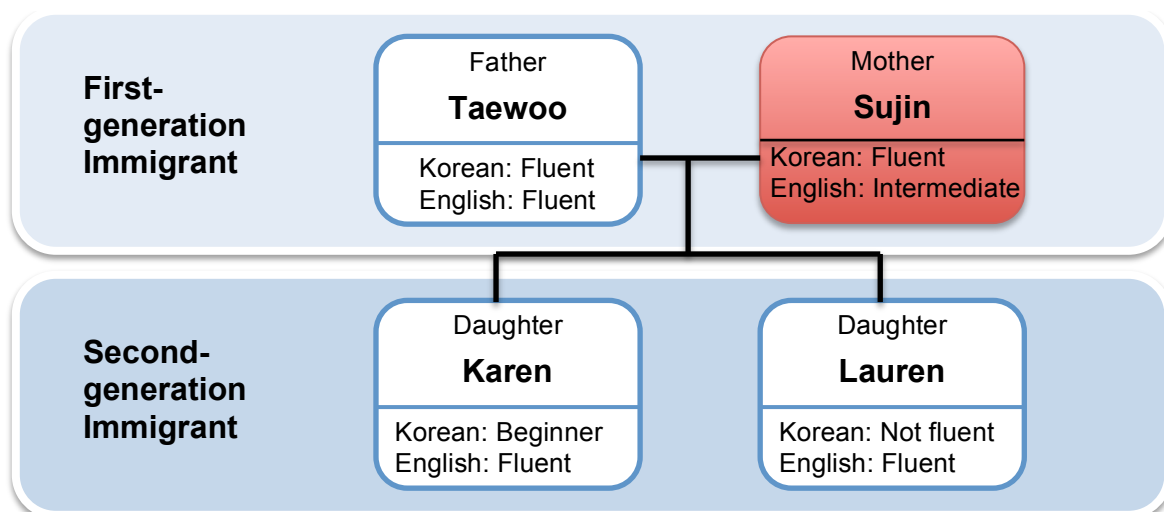
After becoming a father, Roger started regretting his Korean language loss, which he was fluent in at age of 5. Interestingly, when Jacob turned five years old at the time of the interview, Roger decided Jacob should learn Korean and sent him to a Korean heritage language school. The Korean language school provided two-hour classes once a week on Saturdays. At the Korean language school, Jacob started from a basic level of class, which focused on learning Korean alphabets. Roger lost his Korean proficiency so he needed to reach out to external resources to provide a

Korean language education for his children. At the interviews, Roger reported that he believed in positive results from learning the Korean language and wanted to embrace the Korean language and culture in his family for himself and his children, who are third-generation Korean immigrants. Roger described,

[I want] to help [my] kids learn more Korean and to learn more about the culture. Ultimately, it [would be]... helping them with their understanding of themselves and feeling positive about their backgrounds... And plus, there is a social part of it, too. [At the Korean language school], they interact with other children and develop social skills. So it is language, culture, and social part of it, too. (Transcript C, p.6, Line 10-13 & Transcript D, p.2, Line 11-13)

Story of the Park family: second-generation Korean immigrant family

Figure 3. Overview of the Park family relations



Sujin is a busy working mother in her late 30s. When Sujin and her husband, Taewoo, were newly married in their middle 20s, they were young and ambitious. Taewoo acknowledged the benefits of fluency in speaking English in the job market

in Korea; so that Sujin and Taewoo decided to study English abroad. Considering the living costs, tuition, and other circumstances, Canada was the most appealing country to Sujin and Taewoo so they chose Canada for their English education.

Sujin explained,

“유학이었어요. 결혼했지만 아이들이 없었기 때문에 우리만 공부하고 돌아가자. 영어 공부를 위해... 학교를 알아보다가 캐나다가 우리 상황에 제일 맞더라구요...”

경제적인게 딱 여기가 너무 맞더라구요. (웃음) 그래서 위니펙에 왔어요.”

“[We initially came to Canada] for studying. We were married but did not have children [at that time] so we decided to study abroad. When searching for schools... to study English, Canada was the best choice for our circumstances... In terms of the financial situation, it was the perfect fit. (laugh) So [we] came to Winnipeg.”

(Transcript E, p.1, Line 13-22)

In the beginning, Sujin and Taewoo planned to only stay temporarily in Canada and then return to Korea after studying English. After a few years, Sujin thought that Canada would be a better place for her children's education so the Park family decided to immigrate to Canada. Sujin described that

“저는 여기서 아이들이랑 살면 좋겠다. 나는 여기가 오히려 문화적으로 더[좋은 것 같아요]... 그것 때문에 이민 온건 아니고 공부 때문에 왔는데 있다 보니까 그런데 곳이 가야 될까? 나는 여보 안 갔으면 좋겠다. 나는 여기 있었으면 좋겠다.”

“I thought it would be better to live here [in Canada] with my children. I liked the culture here... We came [to Canada] for studying, not immigrating. But as living [in Canada], I began to think that ‘Do we really need to go back [to Korea]?’ [I told my husband] that I do not want to go back [to Korea]. I would like to stay here instead.”

(Transcript F, p.6, Line 21-23 & 29-30)

Sujin and Taewoo improved their English skills and also advanced their education in Canada. Taewoo achieved his Master's degree in theology and Sujin recently attained a certification in accounting from the college. At the time of the interview, Sujin and Taewoo have been living in Canada for 10 years and were permanent residents.

Sujin, in particular, reported satisfaction with their decision to immigrate to Canada after having two Canadian born children, Karen and Lauren. Sujin described,

한국에서 직장 생활을 했을 때 내 삶이 아니라 저는 직장 때문에 사는 거잖아요... 갔다가 늦게 오면 피곤해서. 지금보다 더 피곤해요. 회사를 다니게 되면 거기에 패턴을 쫓아가야 하니까 제 삶이 없었던 것 같아요... 그런 것 때문에 너무 힘들어서 나는 다시 한국에 가고 싶지는 않다.

When I was working in Korea, my life didn't belong to me. I felt like I was living to work... I came home late and always felt exhausted... I felt more tired back then compared to now [that I am working and raising two kids]. I had to follow the prevailing work ethic in Korea so I did not have my personal life... Because of [long working hours and high competitive at work], I don't want to go back to Korea. (Transcript F, p. 6, Line 24-30)

Compared to the competitive education and work environment in Korea, Sujin appreciated having a more liberal education and lifestyle in Canada for her second-generation Korean immigrant children. Sujin explained,

“영어로 애들한테는 부드럽게 캐나다식으로 해주다보니까. 확실히 부드럽게 한국사람들 보다는 하니까. 선생님들이 데이케어에서 하시는 거 보면 대부분은 애들한테 설명을 잘해주고 강요하는 게 아니라 이해를 시키고 하니까”

“In Canada, people have a gentle approach to children. They definitely act softer than Koreans. I noticed at daycare that teachers well explain things to children and do not force them to do something. [The teachers] make sure the children understand and not force it.” (Transcript F, p.1, Line 10-13)

However, Sujin was concerned about helping Karen and Lauren to learn Korean, who were 6 and 4 years old, respectively, at the time of the interview. Sujin expressed that

“밖에서 데이케어나 학교에서만 생활하니까 말하는 것 조차도 다 까먹을 수 있을 것 같아요... 학년이 올라가면서 부터는 애들이 자시 스스로 안배운다고 하니까... 지금 어릴 때 미리 뭔가를 해두지 않으면 아마 여기 다른 2 세들처럼 [한국말을 못하게 될 거예요].”

“[Karen and Lauren] spend most of their time at daycare or school. So I think they may easily lose their oral skills in the Korean language... I heard it [from other immigrant families] that [their] children don't try to learn [heritage languages] anymore as getting to a higher grade [at school]... If I don't assist [learning Korean language] when [Karen and Lauren] are young, they will not [be able to speak Korean] just like the other second-generation Korean immigrant children here [in Canada].” (Transcript E, p.4, Line 2-3 & p.5, Line 8-10)

At home, both English and Korean were being used to communicate between the parents and their children in the Park family. Karen was able to understand and

express herself in Korean to her parents; but she could not read or write in Korean, which limited her from developing an advanced level of Korean proficiency. Sujin explained,

캐런은 어려운 단어가 있으면 물어봐요. 현재까지는 말하는 거는 괜찮은 거 같아요... 쓰기에서 애가 힘들다고... 제가 동화책은 읽어줬지만 쓰는 거는 안하고... 애를 너무 봐줬구나 싶어요. 쪽 연결됐으면 괜찮을 텐데. 애가 언어를 킵하려고 하면 내가 그걸 좀 했었어야 하는데. 한 몇 년 그게 너무 정신이 없어서 못했어요.

Karen asks about Korean words if she doesn't know. So far, I think her speaking is OK... But she has difficulties in writing... I read Korean books for her but I didn't help her to learn how to write Korean... It would have been better if I taught her [both reading and writing]. For her to maintain the [Korean] language, I should have helped her [learning Korean alphabets]. In the last couple years, I was very busy [with work and school] so I just didn't have time to help her learning [Korean alphabets]. (Transcript E, p.4, Line 6-9 & 18-21)

Lauren, on the other hand, was not able to communicate in Korean and only used English with her parents. Sujin tried speaking Korean to Lauren to improve her oral skills; however, Lauren got confused and did not respond so Sujin ended up repeating in English.

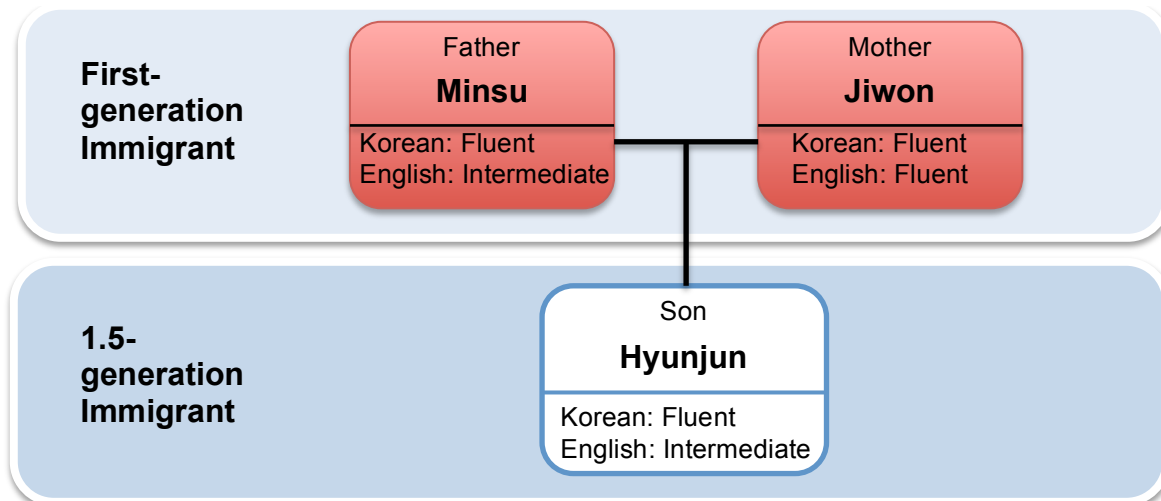
The first-generation Korean immigrant parents in the Park family encouraged speaking Korean to their children; unfortunately, they perceived that using English was necessary for their second-generation Korean immigrant children to have smooth conversations with their parents. Sujin described,

“우리는 애들이 영어로 하면 영어로 받아주고 또 한국말을 가르쳐줘요. 둘째 같은 경우는 한국말을 전혀 알 수가 없으니까 영어로 이야기를 해요... 강압하거나 그런건 아니지만 ‘한국말. 한국말을 쓰면 좋을텐데 [그렇게 말하죠].’”

“When my children speak English to me, I respond in English as well. And then I teach them [how to say that] in Korean. Younger kid [Lauren] doesn't know Korean at all so she only understands English... I do not force or give pressure [on learning Korean] but I [sometimes] tell them like “[Use] Korean please. It would be nice if you guys use Korean”.” (Transcript E, p. 3, Line 4-8)

Story of the Lee family: a Gireogi family (1.5-generation Korean immigrant family)

Figure 3. Overview of the Lee family relations



Minsu and Jiwon are in their early 40s and their son, Hyunjun, at the time of the interview, was in Grade 4 in Canada. Minsu was a gireogi father who was living alone in Korea, while his wife and son were living in Canada. Minsu was an elementary school teacher for 14 years and stayed in Korea to financially support the family.

In the beginning, Jiwon and Hyunjun expected to return to Korea after a couple of years. After living in Canada for one year, Jiwon thought that Canadian society offers better opportunities for education and work, compared to Korea. The Lee family decided to stay as a gireogi family for a longer period of time. Jiwon described,

[캐나다에서는] 하고 싶은 것, 그 다음에 뭐 되고 싶은 것, 이런 것들에 대해서 제약이 좀 덜하다는 생각이 들었어요. 우리 나라랑 비교했을 때 캐나다는 시스템이 조금 더 사람 중심인 것 같아요. 물론 교육도 포함되구요... 한국 교육은 너무 불필요한 경쟁을 유발시키는 것 같아요. 사람은 각자 가진 재능이 있고 관심사가 있는 건데 그런게 존중 받는게 아니라 목살당한다고 해야 하나 조금 그런 것들이 있어요... [캐나다에서는] 애가 다른 아이들하고 불필요한 경쟁을 하지 않고 자기가 하고자 하는 일을 하는데 조금 더 수월하겠다.

[In the Canadian society], there are less social restrictions on what you want to do or what you want to become. Compared to Korea, the Canadian system is more focused on individuals. Of course including education... The Korean education system triggers unnecessary competition. Everyone has his or her personal interests and talents but I think those are ignored and not respected [in the Korean society]... But [in Canada], I think my kid doesn't need to have unnecessary competition with other kids and it would be easier for him to do what he wants to do. (Transcript I, p.1, Line 38-44)

However, being apart as a gireogi family led to negative consequences in the Lee family. The Lee family reported that due to language issues, Hyunjun did not get along with other friends at school and because Minsu lived in another country he

had difficulties helping Hyunjun. After four years apart, the relationship between Minsu and Hyunjun was strained and Minsu eventually decided the best solution was to permanently move to Canada with his family. Minsu explained,

애가 상당히 힘들어 했죠. 말은 안 통하는데 애들하고는 친하게 지내고 싶으니까 실리한 행동을 한거예요. 그러면 애들이 관심있게 봐주니까. 근데 애들이 놀리고 하니까 싸우고... 아이 때문에 고민을 많이 했죠... 사실은 기러기를 계속하고 왔다 갔다 하면서 지낼 수가 있는 상황이었거든요. 저 같은 경우는 6-7년 정도 일을 더하면 연금을 받을 수 있는 상황이기 때문에... 그랬으면 경제적으로도 훨씬 더 지금 보다도 더 탄탄할 수도 있고 안정될 수도 있었겠죠. 그럼에도 불구하고 왔던 이유중의 하나는 아빠가 필요한 시기라는 것. 평생에 걸쳐서 계속 필요한게 아니고 특정한 시기에 아빠의 존재가 훨씬 중요한 시기가 있잖아요... 특히나 아이가 힘들어했으니까 정서적으로 내가 필요하겠다... 아빠라는 존재자체가 주는 든든함이 있잖아요... 그게 제가 이민와야겠다라고 생각한 결정적인 이유가 됐죠.

[Hyunjun] was having a hard time [at school]. He couldn't speak [English] but wanted to be friends with classmates. To get attention from the classmates, he decided to act silly. But then they teased him for being silly and he got into fights [at school]... I was very worried about him... I could have stayed longer as a gireogi father [in Korea] and occasionally visit them [Jiwon and Hyunjun in Canada]. If I worked for another 6-7 years [in Korea], I was eligible to get my pension [at work]... Then [my family] would have been financially more stable and secure than now. Nevertheless I [gave up the pension plan] and came [to Canada] because [Hyunjun] needed a father. [I believe] there is a critical period of time when kids need their father more than

anytime in life... Especially, [Hyunjun] was going through difficulties [at school] so I thought I should be there [for him] for his emotional support...

The presence of father can reassure confident to a child... That was the decisive reason why I decided to immigrate to Canada. (Transcript G, p.5, Line 20-23 & Transcript H, p.7, Line 17-25)

At the time of the interview, Minsu spent most of his time in Canada learning English and planning his new career. Jiwon, on the other hand, graduated from college in Canada and was working as a massage therapist. Jiwon herself was well adjusted in the Canadian work place and community. Jiwon expressed that “이제 많이 적응됐어요. 한 1 년반 이상 일했거든요. 주로 다 백인이고... 처음에는 그래서 제가 낯설어 하는건지 그 사람들이 저를 낯설어 하는 건지는 모르겠지만 (웃음). 낯선게 있었는데 지금은 많이 극복한것 같아요. [직장에서 일하는 건] 재미있어요.” “Now I got used to [working in Canada]. I have been working [as a massage therapist] over a year and half. [At work], most of [my co-workers] are Caucasians... When I first started working... I am not sure if it was only me feeling awkward or they [the Caucasian co-workers] were feeling unfamiliar [with me] (laughs). Anyway, it used to be a little bit awkward at work. But now I overcame [and cope well with my co-workers at work]. I enjoy working [in Canada]” (Transcript I, p.1, Line 8-10)

At home, Korean was the dominant language being used in the Lee family. Hyunjun attended a preschool and a few months of Grade 1 at elementary school in Korea so he was fluent in Korean. At the time of the interview, the participants reported that Hyunjun mostly spoke Korean with his parents so he had strong communication skills in Korean including reading and writing. Minsu and Jiwon

believed that Hyunjun is not likely to lose his Korean proficiency, considering his current level of Korean language and his age. Jiwon described that

지금은 애가 한국어를 자기 나이 수준에서 잘하는 편이니까요... 저는 애가 한국말을 잘 지켜서 바이링구얼이 될꺼라고 저는 확신을 하는게. 일단 저희가 집에서 한국말을 쓰고 교회생활도 한국말로 하고 또 어머니도 이민 오실 계획이 있기 때문에. 그러면은 한국말을 잊을 가능성은 별로 없다고 생각해요.
[Hyunjun] speaks Korean well enough for his age now... I believe that my kid will maintain his Korean language and become a bilingual. We use Korean at home and go to Korean church and have a plan to invite his grandmother to immigrate [to Canada and live with us]. So the possibility for him to lose his Korean language proficiency is pretty low. (Transcript I, p.5, Line 1-5)

In contrast with the Kim and Park families, Minsu and Jiwon, at that point, were more concerned about how to advance Hyunjun's Korean language ability rather than Korean language loss, especially in terms of vocabulary. Minsu noticed that Hyunjun's vocabulary has not developed since Grade 1, the time he left Korea. At school, Hyunjun continuously learnt new vocabulary in English, in accordance with his grade, whereas his Korean vocabulary did not progress. To the Lee family, the concern was how to raise their 1.5-generation Korean immigrant child to become a proper plurilingual speaker in both Korean and English in Canada.

Discussion

All the relevant data, collected from the participants for this study, were grouped together under a broader theme. Similar topics were selected for discussion and categorized under four conceptual themes: 1) internal influences in

the family, 2) external influences within school and community, 3) maintaining family ties, and 4) negotiating cultural identity. Research findings, developed from stories of each family, were compared and contrasted under the emerged themes with the researcher's interpretation. Furthermore, relevant literatures on each theme were discussed to strengthen the research results.

Direct quotations from data collection were used to enrich the quality of the research. The quotations were included to describe the participants' thoughts and to convey expressions through their own voices. For the purpose of accuracy, the original data collected in Korean from the participants was presented in Korean as well as its English translation by the researcher, which was followed after. By using transcription conventions (see Appendix D), the researcher inserted additional words and phrases to clarify meanings and indicated omissions in the context.

Internal influences in heritage language maintenance. In the following context, related factors in maintaining Korean language at home are examined through the perspectives of the participants. Challenges perceived from the participants regarding Korean language maintenance are defined as the internal influences in this research.

Immigrant parents' attitude. As an immigrant parent living in Canada, every aspect of daily life may have been a challenge. On top of the normal responsibilities of raising children, immigrant parents also needed to overcome the daunting task of learning a new language, finding stable employment in an unfamiliar job market to support their family, and adapting to the Canadian culture and system. In order to

successfully settle in Canada, numerous life challenges and adjustments awaited the Korean immigrant parents in this study.

According to the participants, the primary concern, during the settlement in Canada, was to establish a stable income to support the family. Minsu in the Lee family described that

“저 같은 경우는 제가 아직 자리를 잡은 상황이 아니니까. 조금 안정되게 포지션이 안정됐으면 좋겠다. 이게 좀 우선시 하는 거죠... 자리를 잡기 전까지는 한 3-4 년동안에는 한국에 방문할 계획이 없어요.”

“In my case, I am not settled in yet. I hope to find a secure job and have a stable income. That is my priority. Until I get settled in [financially], we don't have a plan to visit Korea at least for 3-4 years.” (Transcript H, p.1, Line 8-10)

Also, Dahee in the Kim family expressed that

“밥 벌어먹고 사느냐고 우리는 정신없이 [일했어요]. 그거밖에 할 수가 없었어요... 내가 움직이지 않으면 그지가 되겠고... 날고 뛰고 했지”

“I focused on working hard to feed my family for living. That was all I could think of doing ... If I didn't work, my family was going to be hungry. I worked day and night [to support the family].” (Transcript A, p.5, Line 5 & p.7, Line 30-32)

First-generation Korean immigrant parents of the Kim family managed to acquire and operate several grocery stores and restaurants that occupied most of their time. Dahee described that they worked 7 days a week for at least 10-12 hours per day. Dahee was dedicated to working hard to support the family. By the time she came home from work, her son Roger was already asleep, which did not leave enough time for social interaction at home. Roger commented that, “[because] my parents were working a lot... I didn't really have that kind of feeling to talk to my mom about problems [at school] or things like that. I felt kind of not sharing a lot with

my mom or dad” (Transcript C, p.4, Line 1-6). In Fillmore’s (2000) study, the immigrant parents needed to work for long hours to make a living in the new society so that they did not have time to teach their heritage language to their children. In this case, the participant Dahee was too busy working to consider helping Roger to learn Korean.

By the time the Kim family immigrated to Canada, about 40 years ago, Dahee did not acknowledge the importance of Korean language maintenance at home.

Dahee explained,

처음에 우리나라 라는 자긍심이 없어서 한국말을 가르칠 생각을 못했어요...
 예전에는 한국이 가난한 나라다 싶어서 동정심을 가지고 도와주고 바라보고...
 지금은 우리나라가 세계위상으로 올라갔으니까 자긍심이 생겼지. 그때만 해도 자긍심이 없으니까 우리나라 말을 가르쳐야지 이런 마인드가 없었던거예요.

Before, I didn’t feel proud of my country [Korea] so I didn’t think about teaching Korean [to my children]... Korea was known as a poor country that people [in Canada] wanted to help and sympathized with [Korean immigrants]... Now, Korea is a developed country that I feel proud [of Korea]. But at that time, I did not feel proud [of Korea] so the idea of teaching Korean did not come to my mind. (Transcript A, p.1, Line 6-16)

As a result, Roger quickly started losing his proficiency of Korean language after solely learning English at school (Jeon, 2008; Lee, & Shin, 2008; Shin & Milroy). In Grade 4, Roger stopped speaking Korean at home; since then, his dominant language switched from Korean to English. Roger described,

I don’t know how that happened... When I went into Grade 1, there weren’t any other Koreans. It’s not like I was speaking Korean in the classroom or

anything. I was just trying to learn English. But I don't know how it became to be that I stopped speaking Korean. I don't know. It's just because I am in Canada, I felt like English is the language I speak. (Transcript D, p. 6, Line 26-30)

Similarly, the results of the Park family reveals that active interaction in Korean language at home could be an important factor in maintaining the Korean language. Karen and Lauren, who were raised in the same household, showed different levels of Korean language proficiency. Karen was able to communicate in Korean with her first-generation immigrant parents. Although Karen often switched between English and Korean, she mainly spoke Korean at home and mostly understood what her parents said to her in Korean. Lauren, on the other hand, did not fully develop her proficiency of Korean language and did not use Korean at home. At the interview, Sujin indicated that the exposure of Korean language use caused the differences between Karen and Lauren. Sujin explained,

카렌은 5 살 전까지는 제가 혼자 집에서 데리고 있었거든요. 저랑 집에 있었기 때문에 한국말을 잘해요... 로렌은 2 살반때부터 데이케어에 가서 2 살반이면 아직 참 많이 어린데... 그때 한 8-7 시간을 데이케어에 있다 보니까 [집에서 함께 보내는 시간이 적었어요].

Karen stayed with me at home until she was 5 years old. She speaks good Korean because she spent [a lot of] time practicing Korean with me at home... But Lauren went to daycare when she was only two and half years old [because I had to work full time]. [She was] still very young... Lauren stayed at daycare for 7-8 hours everyday so we didn't spend much time [on using or learning Korean] at home, [compared to Karen]. (Transcript F, p.1, Line 19-21)

Depending on how much interaction in Korean Karen and Lauren had at home, it may have affected their possibility of developing Korean language proficiency at a younger age.

Sujin acknowledged the importance of maintaining heritage language, but she expressed that it was challenging to motivate using Korean and finding spare time for helping them to learn Korean when her children were primarily exposed to the English speaking society. Sujin mentioned,

“우리가 집에서 쓰고 엄마가 쓰지만 아이들이 노출된 사회는 영어사회니까...

애들한테 더 편한 언어는 사실적으로 영어고 모국어는 영어가 아닐까 생각이 들어요.”

“Korean is being used at home and I speak Korean. But my children are exposed to the English speaking society... Speaking English is more natural for them. Honestly, I think English is their first language and it should be their first language.” (Transcript F, p.8, Line 24-26)

In this study, the Korean immigrant children from the Kim and Park families fitted into Valdés (2001)'s patterns of heritage language loss. The progression of Korean language loss was accelerated after entering English schools (Jeon, 2008; Lee & Shin, 2008; Shin & Milroy, 1999), which quickly replaced their primary language from Korean to English.

According to Fillmore (1991), learning a second language should not come at the expense of losing a primary language. However, the Korean immigrant parents in this study expressed that it was difficult to embrace the importance of learning Korean at home as their children were mostly exposed to the English speaking society. Their immigrant children naturally adopted English as their primary language at school and used English to communicate in the larger society. Also, the Korean immigrant parents in the Kim and Park families were busy working to adjust

into the Canadian society so that the participants and their children tended to have less interaction in Korean at home. Consequently, the immigrant children in the Kim and Park families only maintained a basic level of Korean proficiency in order to communicate with the participants in this study.

The Lee family, on the other hand, had different opinions and approaches to maintaining Korean language in Canada. Hyunjun, a 1.5-generation Korean immigrant, had been educated at the Canadian school from Grade 1; at the time of the interview, he was in Grade 4 and still in the process of learning English. The participants in the Lee family described that Hyunjun primarily used Korean at home and his Korean proficiency was strong enough for his age in terms of writing, reading, and speaking. So far, Hyunjun was able to maintain Korean language as his first language.

Minsu and Jiwon, the parents of Hyunjun, reported that Hyunjun felt more comfortable using Korean than English because his English was not fluent yet and the Lee family always have been using Korean as their primary language at home. On a daily basis, Hyunjun was able to practice Korean at home with his immigrant parents. Minsu indicated that Hyunjun sometimes used English words and short phrases in English when he did not know how to explain it in Korean; however, the participants in the Lee family perceived it as a minor issue in communicating with Hyunjun in Korean. Minsu explained,

가정에서 한국어를 사용을 하니까 [현준이는 한국말을 잘하죠]... 현준이 같은 경우는 한국어 발음도 정확하고 영어도 한국어 하듯이 해요 (웃음). 한국어 액센트가 남아있죠... 가끔 영어를 쓰는데 문장 단위로 구성하지는 않고. 낱말 단위로... 학교에서 있었던 일을 이야기 할때 자기도 모르게 불쑥 불쑥 영어가 튀어나온다던지 아니면 여기서 새롭게 배운 어휘들 있잖아요... 그래도 그게

아직은 한국말도 대화를 할 수 있고 큰 문제가 아니라고요 [걱정할 단계는 아니에요].

We use Korean at home [so Hyunjun speaks Korean with us]... Hyunjun's Korean pronunciation is accurate. He even speaks English like he is speaking Korean. (laughs) [Hyunjun] still has a Korean accent... He sometimes uses English [at home] but he doesn't make a full sentence [in English]. He only uses English words or phrases... When he is explaining what happened at school [to us in Korean], without noticing, he sometimes uses new words in English that he learned here [in Canada]... But [we are not concerned] because we can still communicate [mostly] in Korean [with Hyunjun] so it is not too serious to worry about [Hyunjun's Korean proficiency] yet. (Transcript G, p.4, Line 15-21 & Transcript H, p.5, Line 20-21)

Therefore, at the time of the interview, the Lee family paid more attention to learning English rather than maintaining the Korean language. Minsu expressed that Hyunjun needed to practice English more to be fluent like a native English speaker. To improve Hyunjun's English skills, Minsu borrowed English books from the school library and Jiwon helped Hyunjun to advance his reading skills and vocabularies in English. Due to the pressure to improve English skills, the Lee family hesitated in helping Hyunjun's Korean development. Minsu described,

“아직은 제가 한국어를 푸쉬할 정도로 영어가 완벽한 상태가 아니니까. 지금은 사실 영어 배우는게 더 중요하거든요. 아직 영어 때문에 어려움을 겪고 있는 상태니까 영어쪽에 비중을 조금 더 두고 있어요.”

“[his] English skills are not strong enough yet for me to push him to studying Korean. Right now, learning English is more important [for him]. Because [Hyunjun] still

experiences difficulties in learning English [at school] so [we] focus on [his] English education more [than Korean] ” (Transcript H, p.2, Line 5-6)

At the interview, the participants in the Lee family were also concerned about improving their own English skills. In order to have more opportunities to practice English, Jiwon and Minsu tried speaking English between themselves and wanted to help each other to advance their English skills. Jiwon mentioned,

저나 현준 아빠는 사실 영어를 좀 써야 되거든요... 저도 영어에 대한 스트레스가 꽤 있는 편이에요. 현준 아빠도요 (웃음)... 그래서 영어를 좀 더 써야 되는데... 부부끼리 영어로 대화를 여러 번 했죠. 시도를 여러 번 해봤어요... 현준이는 참여하지 않는데. 발음이 틀리거나 그러면 이거는 이렇게 읽는건데 그러면서 조금 지적하는 편이에요

Minsu and I should practice speaking English more... I often get stressed because of English. So does Minsu (laughs)... We should practice English more... Between husband and wife, we tried having English conversations. [We] tried several times... Hyunjun doesn't participate [in having English conversations] but he helps to correct my pronunciation if he hears me saying something wrong. (Transcript J, p. 4, Line 1-6 & 16-17)

As Arriagada (2007) and Hinton (2008) pointed out, the first-generation Korean immigrant parents, Jiwon and Minsu, expressed the pressure of learning English to better adapt to the mainstream language and society. Learning English was already challenging for the Lee family so that it may have influenced the little attention to maintaining Korean language at home (Lee & Shin, 2008; Park & Sarkar, 2007).

Supportive attitudes towards learning the heritage language at home from the immigrant parents should improve their children's proficiency in the heritage language. Lao (2004) and Park and Sarkar (2007) considered the parents' attitudes as an importance factor in maintaining heritage languages and examined how it influenced their children's heritage language maintenance at home. The results of the studies by Lao (2004) and Park and Sarkar (2007) suggested that the parents' positive attitudes led their children to supportive environments in learning heritage languages at home, which was an important factor in determining whether the heritage language will be maintained over the next generation or not. In particular, Lao (2004) highlighted that immigrant parents should encourage using heritage languages at home to gain conversational fluency. According to Lao's study, the Chinese immigrant parents should provide a variety of reading materials and expose their immigrant children to conversational Chinese as much as possible at home. She indicated that immigrant parents' commitment and support are very important elements in maintaining heritage languages. However, the results of the interviews show that the participants tended to focus more on learning English rather than maintaining Korean language at home due to the pressure of adapting to the Canadian society. The Korean immigrant parents in the study wanted to make sure that their children could speak English well in order to fit into the mainstream. Therefore, the participants supported learning English at home prior to maintaining Korean. As a consequence, the pressure of learning English may have influenced the participants' attitude and the possibility of maintaining Korean language in the participants' children.

Priority of learning English. At the time of the research, Hyunjun was in Grade 4 and his language development was ongoing, with rapid development of new English vocabulary at school. Minsu, father of Hyunjun, recognized that Hyunjun's vocabulary in Korean had not progressed or passed a basic Grade 1 level, which was when he left Korea. Given the family's understandable desire for Hyunjun to succeed in Canada, the participants in the Lee family prioritized Hyunjun's English more than Korean language at the time of the research. The Korean language was only used for the purpose of communication at home so the participants in the Lee family were hesitant to fully support Hyunjun's improvement in reading and vocabulary skills in Korean on a regular basis. Minsu described that

“지금은 자연스럽게 접하는 한국어 수준으로 충분하다고 생각하고 있거든요. 굳이 한국어 교육을 위해서 시간을 할애하거나 거기다가 시간을 투자하거나 그렇지 않고 있는데... 일단 저랑 말이 안통하면 (웃음) [본격적으로 시작해야겠다].”

“[I think Hyunjun] is exposed to enough Korean [at home] in a natural setting. [We don't] spare or invest time on helping him to improve his Korean yet... Once it becomes difficult to communicate with [Hyunjun in Korean], then I will start [consider helping him to improve his Korean language].” (Transcript H, p.5, Line 11-12 & Line 14-15)

At the time of the interview, the Lee family reported that Hyunjun sometimes struggled to understand Korean readings in Grade 4 because it contained more vocabularies for a higher level of comprehension. Less support in improving Korean language at home may have discouraged Hyunjun's development in the Korean vocabulary, which stayed at Grade 1 level. However, with his parents' help of explaining the meanings of the Korean words, Hyunjun still enjoyed reading Korean

books so the participants were not too concerned about his Korean proficiency.

Minsu explained,

책을 읽다가 자꾸 막히니까 물어봐요. 이게 무슨 뜻이냐고 물어보죠. 지금은 책 자체가 재미있으면 애가 모르는 낱말 때문에 책을 덮지는 않는단 말이에요... 지금 어느 시점부터 한국어 교육을 본격적으로 시작할 것인가 하는 시기를 보고 있는 거예요... 그럼 [거부 하는] 그 시점 바로 직전에 시작을 해야겠다고 생각을 하고 있죠.

He asks me about the meanings of the Korean words when he doesn't understand while reading Korean books. He asks me in Korean "what does this mean?" But, for now, he still enjoy reading Korean books if it is an interesting story regardless of the Korean words that he doesn't know... I am waiting for the right timing to decide when is good to start teaching Korean... At one point, he might refuse reading [Korean] because it has too many words that he doesn't know... Before he reaches that point [of rejecting to reading Korean books], I will help him to improve his Korean. (Transcript H, p.5, Line 22-33)

In the Lee family, the timing of learning English may have influenced the motivation for maintaining the Korean language. Fillmore (1991) indicated that the immigrant children are more likely to lose their heritage languages if their immigrant parents overly concentrate on learning English before the heritage language is fully developed in their children. Minsu acknowledged the delay in Korean language development in Hyunjun, whereas Hyunjun was advancing his English skills. However, a lack of Korean vocabulary did not affect Hyunjun's school performance

or daily communication at home; so that Minsu may have not motivated helping Hyunjun to learn or improve his Korean language.

Similarly, a lack of motivation for learning Korean was also found in the Kim family. After realizing the importance of maintaining Korean language, Dahee sent Roger to a Korean language school and Korean church for him to practice Korean. By that time, however, Roger had already lost his interests in learning Korean and used English as his first language. Roger described, "My parents wanted me to speak Korean... My parents wanted me to go to Korean church... But it was more like they forced me... I just didn't feel like trying so much." (Transcript C, p.2, Line 1-3). Roger was not self-motivated in learning Korean and it was more challenging for his immigrant parent, Dahee.

In addition, the participant in the Park family experienced difficulties in finding time for helping her children to learn Korean alphabets at home. Learning Korean alphabets requires repetitive practices but she had to spend most of her time at work to support the family. Sujin mentioned,

글자 익히는게 어려운 것 같아요... 한국에서는 학교에서 받아쓰기 시험도 많이 보고 계속 반복을 하는데. [여기에서는] 그거 자체가 집에서만 해야되고. 사실 여기 이민하시거나 우리처럼 계신분들이 다들 직장에 가시거나. 집에 계시는 분이 없는 편이고. 집에 계시면 아기들이 많이 어리고 조금 크면 또 일하러 가시니까. 공부 시기를 본인이 그렇게 특별하게 내지 않으면 그냥 쪽 흘러가버리는 것 같아요

[For my children], getting familiar with [Korean] alphabets is difficult... In Korea, kids repeatedly practice writing Korean alphabets at school and teachers give them a number of tests and homework [to learn Korean alphabets]. But here [in Canada], it is solely left on me at home. Most of

Korean immigrant parents go to work like us. They don't stay at home. Some [Korean immigrant mothers] may stay at home if the kids are too young but as they get a little bit older, they usually go back to work. Unless you particularly plan to spare time for teaching Korean [alphabets to your kids], you will not have time or a chance [for your children to learn Korean] (Transcript F, p.3, Line 13-18)

The results of the Park family suggest that maintaining Korean language largely remained as the participant's responsibility in order to promote learning Korean, starting at an early age, and encourage Korean language use at home. Heritage language programs were mostly offered for a few hours a week within the community (Babae, 2014; Lee & Shin, 2008). Therefore, the Korean immigrant families in this study had limited opportunities to develop their children's Korean language in the community and tended to rely on their own resources at home.

A number of researchers have indicated that maintaining heritage languages should enhance literacy and academic skills in immigrant children (Cummins, 1986; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tse, 1995). However, the Korean immigrant parents in this study expressed that it was difficult to dedicate time for helping their children to learn or improve Korean language due to work and the pressure of adaptation to the Canadian society. Shin's (2005) study suggested that maintaining Korean language did not directly influence the children's school performance so their Korean immigrant parents showed more concerns about developing English. Fillmore (1991) suggested that to maintain heritage languages, parents should allow enough time and support for both languages to develop properly. However, the pressure of

learning English to better adjust in the society may have been important internal influences at home in the Korean language maintenance.

External influences within school and community. In the following context, the external influences, perceived by the Korean immigrant parents in this study, are investigated in relation to Korean language maintenance. Besides interaction with the Korean immigrant parents at home, the children of the participants extended their social groups within school and community. Through diverse interactions in the society, the children of the Korean immigrants in this study experienced challenges in maintaining Korean language. The external influences within school and community are examined below.

Peer pressure. Outside of the family, when the children of the participants were young, they spent most of their time at school. As the 1.5-generation/second-generation Korean immigrants in this study were exposed to the mainstream language and culture at school, they noticed differences between the mainstream culture and their Korean heritage background. Roger, in particular, had negative conflicts between the two cultures with the mainstream peer group. Peer pressure at school may have influenced Roger to reject his Korean heritage background and learning Korean. Roger described,

I graduated from high school in 1986. So back in those days, people were not so comfortable... [with] the influx of immigrants. I think there was a feeling that there are just too many [immigrants] from Hong Kong... When I was in elementary school, people would call Asians derogatory names... It's more like teasing or bullying type thing. Kids would not want to play with [me]...

That kind of made me little bit unsure about my identity and where I fit in...

That was an important aspect of my growing up. I wasn't really too comfortable with myself. (Transcript C, p.3, Line 9-12 & 29-31)

Roger's negative experiences with peer group and internal conflicts made him feel different from other students in the mainstream. As Li (2009) pointed out, a fear of being mocked for Korean language and cultural idiosyncrasies at school may have influenced his attitude towards the Korean language and culture (Campbell, 2000; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Giguère, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010; Hinton, 2008). Dahee shared an incident of how Roger initially started rejecting his Korean heritage language and culture at school. She described,

학교 갔다와서 물어보는게 더미라는 소리가 무슨소리냐네요. 그때 우리가 그거에 대해서 굉장히 마음이 아프더라구... 애들이 “알 유 덤? 알 유 덤?” 그리고 놀렸잖아. 거기에 애가 상처를 받은거야. 왜 자기를 여기에 데려왔냐고. 한국으로 도로 가자는거를 우리가 설명도 제대로 못한거야. 5살짜리한테 설명하기가 어려우니까. 우리가 더 잘 살고 싶어서 왔어. 우리나라에서 더 큰나라로. 이런식으로만 얘기를 했지. 그 이상으로 가르쳐줄 수도 없는 수준이었어.

One day, after coming back from school, [Roger] asked me what “dummy” means. It really broke my heart... Kids at school teased him [because he did not speak English well] and said, “Are you dumb? Are you dumb?” His feelings were seriously hurt. He complained and said, “Why did you bring me here? I want to go back to Korea.” I couldn't explain it well to him. He was only five years old. It was too difficult for him to understand [why we

immigrated to Canada]. I just told him, “We brought you here to have a better life.” I couldn’t teach him better. (Transcript A, p.1, Line 24-29)

Getting older, Roger refused to identify himself as a Korean immigrant and stopped participating in the Korean community, such as Korean language school and Korean church. Being mocked from the peer group at school, due to having a different culture and language, may have been a negative effect on Roger’s Korean language development and he conformed his behaviors in order to fit in the mainstream in Canada. In Grade 5, Roger even constantly called his mother, Dahee, a dummy because she did not speak English well. Dahee expressed, “혼냈죠. 엄마한테 그런소리 하냐고 했지만... 내가 아무리 한국말을 아무리 해도 애는 귀를 막고 안 듣고. 한국이라는게 싫은데 자꾸 한국말만 하니까 더 싫어지는 거예요. 너무 힘들었죠.”

“I scolded him. I disciplined him not to say such a thing to mom... No matter how many times I tell him [that in Korean]. He covered his ears and didn’t listen to me. He hated Korea but then I kept talking to him in Korean. So he hated Korea more. It was so devastating.” (Transcript A, p.2, Line13-14 & 24-26)

Due to the overwhelming peer pressure and bullying from school, Roger disassociated himself from Korean language and culture that Korean language maintenance became more challenging for the Kim family. Dahee described, “이미 상처를 받아서 한국사람이라는 거 자체를 싫어하는거예요. 한국문화라는거는 아예 가지를 앓어. 한국 사람이라면은 아주 원수같이 취급을 하고”

“[Roger] was hurt [from the peer group at school] so he disliked being Korean. He didn’t participate in anything if it was related to Korean culture. He looked down on Korean people and almost treated them as his enemy” (Transcript A, p.2, Line 20-23)

Growing up as a child of Mexican immigrant parents in the U.S., Rodriguez (1983) shared his similar experiences of rejecting his own heritage background and assimilation to become a dominant English language speaker at school. In his autobiographical essay, Rodriguez (1983) described himself “as a socially disadvantaged child” (p.18) because teachers in classroom did not treat his fluent Spanish language skills as a valuable asset and imposed “to learn the language of the public society” (p.18), which is English. Rodriguez (1983) recognized the difference of importance between English and Spanish in classroom that he progressively disconnected with the heritage language at home. In addition, similar to Roger, Rodriguez (1983) expressed that he felt uncomfortable with his different appearance from other Anglo Saxon students; and this discomfort might negatively influence immigrant children’s attitude towards their heritage language and culture.

Similarly, the Lee family experienced difficulties due to peer pressure and bullying at school. Hyunjun had a hard time adapting to the mainstream in class.

Minsu explained,

“애가 맨처음에 들어와서 영어를 전혀 못하는 상태니까. 학교에 ESL 같은 코스가 있는 것도 아니고 ... 애들이 텃세 부리는 것에 대해서 다툼이 있었죠... 그 과정에서 애들이랑 다툼도 있고 그런거죠.”

“[Hyunjun] couldn’t speak English at all in the beginning. His school didn’t have an ESL program either... Other students were being mean to him [because he didn’t speak English]. They mocked and bothered Hyunjun... He even got into fights”

(Transcript G, p.5, Line 15-16 & 21-22)

Hyunjun was the only Korean student at his school. He was often excluded from the mainstream peer group when there were social activities such as playing soccer. Minsu expressed that teachers did not actively help Hyunjun to adjust into

the mainstream that Hyunjun further had negative attitudes towards the teachers at school. Minsu described,

“애들이 먼저 건들여도 자기가 늘 가해자가 되는거예요... 언어가 충분치 않으니깐. 선생님이 뭘 물어보면 상황 설명을 할 수가 없잖아요. 그러니까 애 입장에서는 선생님도 불신을 하는거죠... 나중에는 선생님도 언폐어하다라고 느끼면서.”

“Even though other kids bothered Hyunjun first, he always became the troublemaker... because he couldn't explain the situation well in English when the teacher asked what happened. After [experiencing the similar situation several times], he didn't trust the teacher. Hyunjun felt that the teacher was being unfair.”

(Transcript G, p.6, Line 7-12)

As Goldstein (2003) and Li (2009) indicated, educators should understand and accommodate the linguistic diversity at school. Heritage languages are more likely to be maintained when it is perceived to be valuable and accepted by others in schools and society (Hinton, 2008; Wang & Garcœa, 2002). However, the participants in the Lee family expressed that Hyunjun did not get support or positive experiences from teachers and peers in classroom. Minsu felt that teachers often avoided or simply neglected the challenges and conflicts that his immigrant child faced at school. As a result, peer pressure and negative experiences from teachers and other children at school may have discouraged the Korean immigrant children in the Kim and Lee families from valuing or taking pride in their Korean heritage, which in turn may deter their motivation for developing Korean language.

In a multilingual society like Canada, Goldstein (2003) suggested teachers should accept student's heritage languages in multilingual classrooms. Fillmore (1991), however, pointed out that the linguistic diversity was often not valued in the States and Canada. In addition, younger immigrant children were more likely to be

influenced by the social pressure of learning English in the classroom, as they had not completely developed their heritage languages (Fillmore, 1991). In order to support maintaining heritage languages, it is important for teachers and classmates to not overly emphasize English only in classroom and to be open and tolerant towards multilingualism (Campbell, 2000; Piccardo, 2013; Taylor & Snoddon, 2013). Cummins (2014) further suggested that more collaborative activities that allow students to use their heritage languages in the classroom may contribute to immigrant children having more positive experiences in maintaining heritage languages.

Resources for Korean language education. Korean language school was one of the teaching resources that the Korean immigrant parents in this study could access outside of their home. The participants in this study had different perspectives and expectations from Korean language schools in Canada. Based on the participants' experiences, the effectiveness of Korean language school and teaching materials are examined in relation to improving Korean language in the children of the participants.

As Sujin in the Park family could not dedicate spare time for helping her children to learn Korean at home, she decided to send Karen to the Korean language school for the first time this year. Karen was in the beginner's class with other classmates ages 5-7. Sujin expected Karen to learn Korean language more systematically at the Korean language school.

Korean language school provided opportunities for Karen to socialize with other students, who had the same heritage background. She enjoyed going to Korean school and meeting new Korean friends. Karen always had a positive

attitude towards Korean language and culture until she watched a video of the Korean War at the Korean language school. Sujin noticed Karen's first rejection of Korea and was concerned about its influences on Karen's motivation for learning Korean. Sujin expressed,

이번에 한글학교에서 한국전쟁이런걸 보고 한국에 대한 부정적인게 생겨버렸어요. “엄마, 나 한국 안갈꺼야. 한국인 너무 위험한 곳이고... 나는 한국에 절대 가고 싶지 않다”. 아직 역사에 대한 이해가 없으니까... 자꾸 설명을 해줘도... 그게 예전에 거라고 생각을 안하고 지금 현재 그게 있다고 생각하고... 그래서 나는 캐나다만 좋아한다고. 이렇게 얘기하더라구요. 한국에 대한 거부반응이 없었는데 그게 한국에 대해서 처음 나타난 거부반응이었어요. 그래서 내가 한글학교를 안보내야 되겠다. (웃음)

After watching the video of the Korean War, she has negative images about Korea. “Mom, I’m not going to Korea. Korea is too dangerous... I will never go to Korea”. [Karen] doesn’t have a full understanding of the history yet. I explained it to her over and over... But she doesn’t believe that [the Korean War happened in the past]. She imagines current Korea would look like as the video she watched... She said she only likes Canada from now on. That was the first time she showed a negative reaction to Korea. I thought I shouldn’t send her to Korean language school anymore. (laugh) (Transcript E, p.7, Line 20-25 & 31-34)

Li and Duff (2008) pointed out that at the time of the research, teaching materials and textbooks were limited for heritage language students in Canada. In Karen's case, the graphic video of the Korean War, at the Korean language school,

may not be an appropriate material for the students' age 5-7 in classroom; and the lack of explanation of the content in the video could have negatively influenced Karen. Sujin believed that it discouraged Karen in terms of her cultural connection to Korea. The results of the Park family suggest that negative attitude towards Korean culture and the nation itself may deteriorate the possibility of maintaining Korean language for Korean immigrant children. In the same way, Dahee also experienced Roger's resistance to Korean culture, through the old Korean history books from Korean language school. The book contained graphic pictures of Korea right after the Korean War that influenced Roger to have negative images and low self-esteem regarding Korea. The experiences of the Kim and Park families indicate that Korean language school should employ up to date teaching materials that are appropriate for the respective maturity level of the students.

On the other hand, the Lee family faced difficulties in finding an advanced level of teaching materials for their 1.5-generation immigrant child, Hyunjun. The participants explained that 1.5-generation immigrants like Hyunjun had already developed a basic level of linguistic grammar and vocabularies and required a more advanced level of literacy materials (Li & Duff, 2008). Jiwon mentioned that the Korean language school in their jurisdiction did not offer higher level of Korean literacy classes for 1.5-generation Korean immigrants like Hyunjun, who already had strong oral skills in Korean. The Lee family indicated that teaching materials and methodologies employed should be different from the beginner's level of Korean classes. Minsu explained,

한글학교에서 가르치는 교재가 대부분 문자나 기본적인 말하기에 집중되어
있잖아요. 근데 저희는 입장이 틀린게 저희 아이는 기본적으로 말하기는
되는데 말하기, 듣기, 읽기, 쓰기가 평형이 레벨이 안 맞는 거잖아요. 이런

애들한테 그 교재는 적합하지 않다는거죠. 그 한글 교재는 기본적으로 아이들이 유치원때 맨처음에 문자교육을 접하거나 아니면 외국인들이 외국어로써 한국어를 배울때에는 접근하기에는 좋은 교재예요.

Teaching materials used at Korean language school are mostly focused on basic conversation or letters. But our situation is different. [Hyunjun] can speak [Korean] but his speaking, listening, reading and writing are not equally developed. For him, these kinds of textbooks and teaching materials are not appropriate. Textbooks used at Korean language school are only good for kindergarteners or foreigners, who just started learning Korean from the basic alphabets. (Transcript H, p.11, Line 28-33)

Therefore, the participants in the Lee family excluded Korean language schools for teaching resources because their immigrant child could not benefit or advance his Korean language proficiency from the program. The first-generation Korean immigrant parents in this study revealed that teaching resources and materials were limited in the community, considering ages and intellectual levels. Especially, the Lee family expressed that there were not enough teaching materials for advanced level of Korean language, particularly for overseas Korean children. As Li and Duff (2008) and Shin (2005) pointed out, a lack of relevant materials and instructions may have challenged the Korean immigrant parents in this study for their children's Korean language maintenance. Also, as Babae (2014) indicated, in most Canadian provinces, heritage languages are taught in community-based heritage language school; therefore, heritage language teachers were often not certified teachers. Babae's study (2014) pointed out the lack of heritage language schools,

as they did not offer the same caliber teachers as those in the Canadian public school system.

Maintaining family ties. Reflecting on their time living in Canada, the participants observed that the dominant language, which was being used at home, was slowly shifting from Korean to English. The participants expressed that Korean language loss may have caused a dysfunctional relationship between family members (Cho, 2000; Choi et.al., 2013). Struggles and barriers caused from Korean language loss, which were perceived by the participants, and the purpose of maintaining Korean language are investigated through the Korean immigrant parents' point of view.

Communication issues. Due to Korean language loss, Dahee reported experiencing communication issues with Roger. Dahee could not fully express herself in English to Roger and therefore she often felt frustrated. Roger, on the other hand, did not share much about his school or friends with Dahee due to language barriers. Roger had to use simpler English words to communicate with his first-generation Korean immigrant parent, Dahee (Shin, 2005). As a result, Dahee had a hard time of understanding and building an emotional connection with Roger. As Dahee described,

나는 너무 답답하죠... 학교에서도 문제가 생기고 그러면 딱 용건만
 얘기하잖아요. 근데 용건이 아니고 감정적으로 애들하고 친구하고 어떻게
 놀았어. 어떻게 대화를 하고... 이렇게 물어봤을때. 개가 뭐라고 얘기를 해도
 전혀 내가 거기에 대해서 단어를 모를 뿐더러. 정서적으로 감동이 안오니까...
 내 수준이 그 수준이 아니니까. 딱 결론만 이야기하고 과정은 얘기를 하나도

안하니까. 내가 표현하고 싶은 걸 표현 못하니까 그냥 거기서 끝내는거지. 그게 얼마나 답답한거예요.

I felt so frustrated... When something happened at school, Roger only told me the conclusion. But I wanted to know all the details like how he played with his friends or what they talked about etc. Even if Roger explains it to me because I asked him for the details, I didn't understand some of the English words he used. I couldn't be connected emotionally [to his stories]... Roger knew that my English was not so good. So Roger skipped all the details and just only delivered the conclusion. I couldn't say what I wanted to say in English so I just stopped [the conversation] there. It was very frustrating.

(Transcript A, p.5, Line 11-17)

As a parent, Dahee wanted to have the words to teach Roger; however, most of the conversations between Dahee and Roger were basic Korean and simple commands such as "did you eat?" or "where are you going?". Roger understood daily communication in Korean; but as an adult, Dahee wanted to have a deep conversation with Roger that at the time of the interview, it caused more frustration for Dahee, compared to the time when Roger was a young child. Interestingly, Roger did not report any issues of communicating with Dahee because he was able to say what he wanted to say in English.

Insights from the Kim family suggest that from the Korean immigrant parent's point of view, the parent felt inadequate in the family relationship with her children due to a lack of communication and reported it as the consequences of Korean language loss. Korean language loss may have disturbed the relationship between Dahee and her children from having a meaningful conversation (Cho et al., 2013;

Shin, 2005). However, from the immigrant child's point of view, the lack of Korean language was not an issue in terms of family bonding and communication with his Korean immigrant parents. The immigrant child, Roger, did not necessarily feel the need to have a deep conversation with his parents; but he felt there was nothing lacking in his family relationship. Therefore, according to Roger's case, Korean language loss may not influence family bond or cause a lack of communication between the parents and their children. It is possible that the lack of communication could be related to individuals' personality or generation gap rather than the lack of Korean language.

In the Park family, Sujin did not experience difficult issues in communicating with Karen in Korean yet, but she reported Karen's behavior of ignoring her Korean instructions and responding in English when being scolded. Sujin described,

내가 야단칠 때 애가 약간 이용하느게 있더라구요. 피 쓰는건데... 다 그냥 한국말로 했는데 분명히 한국어를 알아요. 항상 쓰던 말인데도 자기 야단 맞았을 때 기분 나쁘면. 자기 혼잣말로 막 기분 나쁜걸 영어로 해요. “너 그거 엄마가 하지 말라고 했는데 왜 그랬어?” 라고 얘기하면 못 알아듣는거 처럼 영어로 말해요. “엄마 야단치는데 너 지금 왜 영어써?” 그러면 갑자기 썩듯하게 영어를 써요. “엄마는 왜 저러는지 모르겠어. 엄마는 나를 이해를 못해”...그러면서 “뭐? 엄마가 뭐라 하는지 모르겠어.” 그걸 이용하는거예요. 그 상황을 넘어가려고.

Karen takes advantage of [speaking English] when I scold her. She uses this trick. We were speaking in Korean before and I know that Karen understands. But when I discipline her and say, “I told you not to do that. Why did you do that?” Then, she pretends she doesn't understand [Korean] and responds in

English. [Then I say] “I am scolding you now. Why are you speaking English?” All of sudden, Karen mumbles and complains in English. [Karen says] “I don’t know why my mom is doing that. She doesn’t understand me” and she goes on and say, “what? I don’t know what you are saying.” She takes advantage to avoid the situation. (Transcript E, p.10, Line 9-20)

Sujin disciplined Karen’s behavior and taught her not to pretend like she did not understand Korean when she was in trouble. The situation made Sujin upset and she was worried that Karen may become less respectful to her parents growing up in Canada (Cho et al.). However, as Li (2009) reports, imposing traditional discipline with top-down parenting may cause negative emotional attitudes towards maintaining Korean language (Giguère et al., 2010; Lalonde & Giguère, 2008) that Sujin tried to adopt Canadian parenting and balance between traditional and western values. Sujin explained,

아이한테 자꾸 강조하듯이 “너 이거 빨리해. 하고 나와. 빨리 끝내” 이렇게 명령조로 하다보면 한국문화 자체를 거부하는 그런 일이 생길까. 다른 친구들 보니까 부모가 그렇게 얘기하는 게 싫어서 한국문화도 싫고. 부모가 뭐 하지마. 나가지마. 슬립오버 하지마. 이런거 때문에 부모도 싫고 한국도 싫고 한국말도 싫고 그런 경우들을 봤어요... 제 주위에 캐나다 친구들을 보면 여긴 뭘 해도 부드럽게 뭘해도 이걸 했으면 좋겠다. 이렇게 해줄 수 있니? 이렇게 많이 아이를 존중하더라구요... 저건 좀 배워야되겠다 이렇게 하는데 실제 시킬때는 그게 잘 안되죠. (웃음)

I think children might reject Korean culture if I keep speaking to them in commanding tone like “Do this quickly. Come out after [you are done]. Finish

it quick.” Some of my Korean-Canadian friends told me that they didn’t like Korean culture because of the way their parents talked to them. Korean parents kept telling them, “Don’t do that. Don’t go out. Don’t sleepover at friend’s.” So they didn’t like Korean parents’ [command] parenting... Eventually they also disliked Korean language and Korea [because of Korean parenting]... But then I see my Canadian friends treat their children with respect... They talk in a gentle manner like, “I would want you to do this. Could you do this please?”... I should learn Canadian parenting. But it’s hard to actually do that for me though. (laughs) (Transcript E, p.8, Line 7-18)

The results of the Kim and Park families suggest that a lack of Korean language development may cause emotional frustration and conflicts in communication, especially for the first-generation immigrant parents. Fillmore (1991) supported that due to the heritage language loss, immigrant parents often experienced difficulties in imparting their personal values and beliefs on their children. Not being able to share everyday interactions restricted the immigrant families from developing close family relationships between the parents and their children (Fillmore, 1991).

On the other hand, the mother in the Park family tried to avoid forcing Korean traditional parenting because it may influence her immigrant children to have a negative attitude towards Korean culture and the relationship with their parents. For example, Li’s (2009) study showed that Chinese immigrant students disliked their parents’ top-down parenting or the parental authority at home, which caused frequent conflicts with their parents. When the Korean language is maintained, it may help the participants to share and better understand cultural values and

traditions in their family. However, a lack of heritage languages did not support or improve communication issues in the participants' family.

Strengthening family relationships. The participants in this study indicated that a major reason for maintaining Korean language was to strengthen their family relationships in the household, including grandparents in Korea. To maintain family ties, the Lee and Park families encouraged their children to keep in touch regularly with their grandparents in Korea via Skype. In particular, the Lee family was a gireogi family for four years that the gireogi father, Minsu and his family, Jiwon and Hyunjun, communicated through phone calls and Minsu visited Canada several times to meet his family. The participants reported that maintaining continuous contact with grandparents reminded their Korean immigrant children to acknowledge the importance of communication skills in Korean for the family and relatives.

In the Park family, Sujin set up a video chat for her children to communicate with their grandparents in Korea. The family talked on Skype once a week for about 2-3 hours each time. The Korean immigrant children in the Park family could build a cultural connection with their grandparents that Karen felt closer to her heritage background. Sujin also helped Karen to use proper Korean words and respectful forms to her grandparent, which advanced Karen's communication skills. As Cho (2000) explained, immigrant children with a strong proficiency in their heritage language tend to have a closer relationship with their heritage group. Therefore, Sujin expected that maintaining family ties with grandparents would motivate her children to learn Korean language and to build a positive connection to the Korean language. Sujin mentioned,

우리가 나중에 할머니, 할아버지랑 만나면 말을 해야된다... 자주 못보고 정말 몇년만에 한번씩 보니까... 안 통하면 안되니까 계속 하자고. 그래서 만났을 때 편하게 하자고. 스카이프를 하면 항상 할머니, 할아버지가 되게 뼈해주시니까. 한국에 있는 가족들을 되게 좋아해요. 스카이프는 계속하니까 애가 그런 생각을 하는거 같아요. 내가 할머니, 할아버지 영어 못배운다고 그러면 애가 약간 동기는 있는거 같아요.

I tell Karen that we should speak Korean when we meet grandparents [in person] later... We can only meet every a few years... I encourage Karen to keep practicing Korean so that she can comfortably have a conversation with her grandparents. On Skype, her grandparents are always nice to Karen and adore her that she loves her family in Korea. I told Karen that grandparents couldn't learn English [so she needs to learn Korean to communicate]. I can see that it motivates Karen to study Korean. (Transcript E, p.3, Line 11-17)

Similarly, the Lee family emphasized the importance of maintaining Korean for the communication with grandparents to Hyunjun. At the time of the interview, they had a tentative plan to invite Hyunjun's grandmother to immigrate to Canada in a few years. Jiwon explained,

“일단은 저희 어머니가 혼자 계시고 저도 어머니랑 지내는게 좋고 마음이 일단 안심이 되니까요. 상황이 그렇게 되면 저나 지민이 아빠는 주로 밖에서 일하거나 할 거 아니에요... 애랑 의사소통을 못하면 (한숨). 그건 좀 아니다 싶구요.”

“My mother-in-law lives alone [in Korea]. I would feel more relieved if she lives with us [in Canada]. If that happens, Minsu and I would be working most of the time...[and grandmother would stay at home with Hyunjun]. (She is afraid that)

Hyunjun and his grandmother won't be able to communicate [if Hyunjun can't speak Korean well]. (sigh) I don't think that is right." (Transcript, J, p.2, 30-34)

The Park and Lee families demonstrated concern that Korean language loss among their children may cause negative influences on their family relationships. Therefore, the participants stressed the importance of maintaining family ties and hoped that their children may be self-motivated to learn Korean language and form a meaningful connection to their immediate and extended family members.

In addition, the Lee family shared their experiences of the time when they were a gireogi family. Minsu was a teacher in Korea so he was able to visit the family during the summer and winter breaks at school. However, as the Lee family was being separated longer, Minsu noticed the lack of family relationship with his son, Hyunjun. Minsu described,

가끔씩 물론 엄청나게 보고 싶을 때가 있고 명절때나 아플때나... [떨어져 지내면서] 아이가 불안하고 좀 심리적으로 보호 받고 싶은데. 아직은 어리니까... 아빠가 영어를 못할지라도 있는 것 자체라도 든든함을 느끼는 거죠. 저는 [기러기 가족 생활 하는게] 별로인거 같아요... 아이한테 [정서적으로] 그렇게 좋은 거 같진 않아요

Sometimes, I desperately missed them. For example, on holidays or when feeling sick... [As living apart], Hyunjun felt insecure and wanted to be protected [by his father] emotionally. Because he was still very young... Even if a father doesn't speak English well, just being there for him will make him feel more secured... I think [being a gireogi family] is not a good idea... especially for the kids' emotional comfort." (Transcript G, p.7, Line 27-28 & Transcript H, p.9, Line 15-17)

The Lee family reported that in order to strengthen their family bond, the gireogi family decided to reunite. Sharing daily life with Korean language at home, the participants in the Lee family described that they could become more supportive to each other.

On the other hand, Roger noticed how the relationship between his mother Dahee and his son Jacob had improved since Jacob started going to Korean language school. Roger reported,

Generally, my mom and Jacob get along pretty well. Especially, the last visit... They've got closer together because he's gone to Korean language school... Jacob calls her a professional Korean speaker (laughs). It has been really good for him to learn Korean and to know... [that] there is another language and another culture out there. That's a part of who I am. (Transcript D, p.1, Line 13-23)

At the time of the interview, Roger's family and Dahee lived in different provinces in Canada so that they were only able to see each other about 7-8 weeks each year. Since Jacob started learning Korean, Roger asked Dahee to speak Korean as much as possible to Jacob at home. Getting more mature and visiting Korea in Grade 11, Roger appreciated his parents' decision to immigrate to Canada and their dedication to support the family. Roger started realizing how important it is to understand his parents' heritage background so he also wanted to help his children, the third-generation Korean immigrants, to build a connection to Korean language and culture. Dahee was excited that Roger supported learning Korean in his own family. Dahee explained,

만약에 한국어를 열심히 배워서 한국문화를 배운다면 아마 많이 바뀔 거예요... 언어차이. 문화를 모르면 이해를 못하는 부분들... 내 문화랑 걔네들 문화가 차이가 나서 내가 기르는 방식을 나는 아무것도 아닌게 한 얘기를 서운해 했구나... [문화를 알면] 아무것도 아닌 문제 같아요... [한국말을 배우고] 이런 문화를 조금 알면 서로가 더 이해하는 쪽이 편해지겠다.

If [Roger's family] works hard to study Korean language and learn Korean culture, it will bring a lot of changes [in my family.]... Due to the language differences, [there were] certain things [they] couldn't understand and [also because of their lack of knowledge in the Korean culture... Because of the cultural differences between my [Korean] culture and their [Canadian] culture, I noticed that they [sometimes] felt a little bit displeased with my [Korean] way of disciplining [Jacob.]... [If they understand the Korean culture], it is not an issue at all... [By learning Korean language, I hope Roger's family] gain knowledge about the [Korean] culture and it would help us to have a better understanding of each other. (Transcript B, p.1, Line 22 & p.2, Line 22-30)

The results of the Kim family show that developing Korean language helped the third-generation Korean immigrant, Jacob, to feel closer to his grandmother. The participants in the Kim family expected that improving Korean language would enhance better understanding of the parents' heritage background that it might create a cultural bonding with their Korean immigrant parents. The results of this study suggested that maintaining Korean language would allow the participants to share the same heritage culture with their children and it might help to strengthen their family ties between family members.

Negotiating cultural identity. Language represents social and cultural identities of the individuals (Norris, 1998). In this study, the use of Korean language connected the participants to the Korean culture and the community, which in turn may have influenced their cultural identity. According to Cho (2000), immigrants who maintain their heritage language are more likely to have a strong sense of cultural identity and a better understanding of their heritage culture; therefore, this study examined how Korean language maintenance was related to the development of a cultural identity in the participants and their immigrant children.

Name change in cultural adaptation. Names contain many aspects of individuals that symbolize their cultural identities (Bodenhorn & Bruck, 2006; Maalouf, 2001). In particular, choosing a name for their immigrant children reflected how the participants perceived the value of maintaining heritage traits in Canada. Research shows that a number of immigrants in North America adopt an English name for the purpose of assimilation into the mainstream (Watkins-Goffman, 2001; see Liao, 2011, for studies on Chinese immigrants in Vancouver; see Kim. T., 2007, for studies on Korean immigrants in Toronto). In this study, the participants chose their children's names for them that it constantly represented their cultural identities through social interactions in the society. As a result, a cultural identity of the children of the participants may be related to their parents' beliefs and perspectives whether they adopted an English name or not (Kim. J., 2009; Kim. T., 2007; Kim & Lee, 2011).

The participants in this study demonstrated different attitudes and expectations towards adopting an English name for their children. The Kim and Park families chose to use English names for their children. The Lee family, on the other hand, decided to keep their Korean names.

In the Kim family, Roger kept and used his Korean name until entering a school in Canada. On the first day at school, the principal at Roger's school showed Dahee a list of English names for boys and suggested her to pick an English name for Roger. Dahee randomly chose the name Roger, which became an official name for her immigrant child since then. Roger's Korean name was no longer used and only the English name represented Roger in the society. Dahee explained,

이름 바꾸면서도 일단은 여기 와서 사는데. 여기 사람들이 편하게 부를 수 있는 이름을 가져야 누구든지 아무데서나 불러주지... 한국 이름을 말하면 “아들 이름이 뭐라고?” 라고 자꾸 이렇게 물어보니까. 매번 대답하기도 불편하고. 편한 이름을 줘야 애도 편하겠다 싶었지... 우리는 한국사람이니까 내 이름 낱해야지 이런 마인드가 없었다니까.

We are living here [in Canada]. It's better to have a name that people in Canada can easily pronounce. For anywhere and anyone... When I say Roger's Korean name, people kept asking, “What is your son's name, again?” It was a hassle to repeat his name every time. And I thought giving an English name would make Roger feel more comfortable. I didn't think that we should keep Korean name because we are Korean. (Transcript A, p.8, Line 1-5)

On the other side, Roger reported that he did not like his English name when he was growing up. The name, Roger, was a popular name for older generations and at that time he did not feel comfortable having older man's name. Dahee, however, was not familiar with the Canadian culture to acknowledge the trend or image of English names. She only assumed that adopting an English name would make Roger more recognized in the Canadian society. During the family's process

of cultural adaptation, preserving Korean identity through maintaining their Korean names was not considered valuable for the Kim family.

Similarly, Sujin experienced that people, at school and work, could not pronounce her Korean name properly. She mentioned,

이름이 어려워서 기억하기 힘들어하더라구요. 꼭 클래스에 제 선생님이거나 친구들이 제 이름만 따로 불러봐요. 이거 발음 어떻게 하나요. 그래서 아, 이게 이사람들이 발음하기에 어렵구나... 이름 자체가 어려우면 그 사람 이름을 부를때도 이사람들도 머뭇거리야되고... 지금까지 그래요. 그래서 아 이거 이름을 바꿔야 되겠다. 그래서 올해 시민권 신청할 때 이름을 바꿀까 생각 중이에요.

Canadians don't remember my [Korean] name very well... In class, teachers or classmates always ask me "how do you pronounce your name?" and I thought 'Ah, my name is so difficult for them to pronounce'... If the name is difficult to pronounce, people hesitate to call the person... It always has been that way, even until now. So I am thinking about changing my name [to an English name] when I apply for a Canadian citizenship this year. (Transcript F, p.5, Line 27-31; p.6, Line 15-17)

Difficulties of addressing a Korean name in the Canadian society discouraged Sujin to keep her Korean name; furthermore, she decided to give English names to her second-generation immigrant children instead.

In addition, Sujin indicated that using a Korean name may disadvantage their children in employment in Canada. Sujin expressed,

이력서 내면 사람들이 읽어보지 않고 넘어갈 수 있는 경우가 있는 것 같아요. 한 자리에 어플라이할 때 정말 몇백명씩 몇 십명씩 어플라이 하다보면 그건 그냥

옆으로 치우게 되는 것 같아요... 펄스트 네임이 민수 이렇게 되다 보면 애는 캐나다 애는 아닌가 보다. 캐나다 사람이 아니면 영어가 부족할 거 같고요. 똑같은 경력 가지고 제니퍼, 김벌리 뭐 이런 사람 많은데 굳이 한국적인 이름의 사람을 킵 한다는 거는... 법적으로는 이 사람이 캐네디언이 아니기 때문에 제외시키는 걸 못하게 되어있어요... 그래도 불이익은 있을 수 있겠다.

[Canadian employers] may not even take a look at the resumes [which show Korean names]. When there are hundreds of applicants for one job opening, [the employers] would just put them away [without a glance]... If the applicant's first name is Minsu, [the employer will think] 'Ah, he is not Canadian'. If he is not Canadian, his English may not be good. There are so many people out there with equivalent work experiences, whose name is Jennifer or Kimberly etc. Why would [the employer] want to hire someone with a Korean name?... Legally, you can't discriminate applicants because they are not Canadian... But I think there can be disadvantages [of having Korean names]. (Transcript F, p.5, Line 8-17)

Canada accepts a great number of immigrants for the “expansion of the economy” and “the needs for the labor market” (Reitz, 2013, p.149). As of 2011, nearly 6.8 million foreign-born immigrants were living in Canada that it represents one out of five residents in Canada's population (Statistics Canada, 2013). Among the recent immigrants between 2006 and 2011, 78% of the immigrants who arrived in Canada identified themselves as visible minorities¹⁹. Although Canada is becoming more and more culturally diverse, the visible minority immigrants like Sujin in the Park

¹⁹ People who are not Caucasian are defined as visible minorities in Canada, under the Employment Equity Act (Statistics Canada, 2013).

family may be concerned about employment discrimination due to misperceptions of not speaking English well.

As the study by Cheryan and Monin (2005) showed that Chinese and other Asian Americans were more likely to be perceived as less American than European Americans. The researchers found that Asian Americans in the study often got questions such as “Where are you really from? or Do you speak English?” (Cheryan & Monin 2005, p.721), nearly five times more than White Americans, that it challenged their social identity to be seen as American. In the same way, the participant in the Park family wanted to avoid any possible disadvantages to her immigrant children in Canadian society; therefore, she decided to adopt an English name instead of a Korean name.

According to the results of the Kim and Park families, the Korean immigrant parents, Dahee and Sujin, believed that adopting an English name was more likely to help their children to successfully adapt to the mainstream at school and attract more employment opportunities. Using an English name creates “an English speaking identity” (Liao, 2011, p.104) for the Korean immigrant children of the participants that may make it easier for them to be identified in social interactions and adjust to the host society (Kim & Lee, 2011; Liao, 2011; Suoto-Manning, 2007). For example, Liao (2011)’s study showed that the Chinese immigrants in Vancouver felt more secure and self-assured as a part of the society after adopting an English name; and it was more convenient in employment because they could avoid being misidentified or repeatedly correcting other people’s mispronunciation of their Chinese name.

On the other hand, the Lee family contended to keep the Korean name for Hyunjun. Jiwon also experienced that her co-workers could not remember her name or pronounce it properly; but instead of adopting an English name, she shortened her

name for the convenience of other people, such as addressing herself Ji instead of Jiwon. Jiwon expressed that using an English name did not match her Korean appearance and cultural identity so she wanted to keep the Korean name. Jiwon explained,

한국 이름 쓰는 게 좋다고 생각해요... 새로운 영어이름을 갖는 것 보다는... 제가 사실 [영어 이름을] 되게 낫설어 해요... [제 생각에는] 현준이라는 이름이 훨씬 좋은 이름 같아요... 여기는 캐나다잖아요... 캐나다는 각 국가 각 민족의 고유한 문화를 지키고 그 지킨 문화들끼리 어울려져서 있는 게 캐나다라고 생각해요... 현준이가 우리문화를 잘 지키고 있는 것이 결국에는 현준이랑 캐나다 사회에 도움이 되는 일인 것 같아요. [현준이의 한국이름을 유지하는게 문화적으로] 다양성[과 개성을] 더 확실하게 줄 수 있고... 여기는 그게 아니라... 훨씬 자기 정체성을 지키기가 쉽고 그렇기 때문에 지킬 수 있는데 지키지 않을 이유는 없는 것 같아요.

I think it is good to keep the Korean name... Rather than using an English name... To be honest, using an English name is a little awkward to me [as I am not a native English speaker]... I think Hyunjun is a better name [than any other English names]... This is Canada... [I think] Canada is where all different cultures and heritages can be maintained and they are well harmonized together... I think that is Canada... [If Hyunjun] maintains [his] Korean [heritage] culture, it would be beneficial for him and also for the Canadian society. [I think] keeping a Korean name [as a part of the Korean culture] could enrich [Hyunjun's] cultural diversity and [characteristics]... [I think] people [in Canada] are more likely to tolerate cultural diversity so that it

makes it easier to maintain my own cultural identity. (Transcript J, p.1, Line 15-16 & p.2, Line 40-41 & p.3, Line 4-5)

As Liao (2011) pointed out, discordance between cultural identity and using English names may generate identity confusion in the children of the participants. Therefore, Jiwon emphasized maintaining a Korean name and the Korean culture so that it would help Hyunjun to develop and maintain his Korean cultural identity. The results of the Lee family show that building a strong sense of cultural identity was seen as a valuable asset so the participants wanted to support their immigrant child to have a cultural connection to his Korean heritage background. Furthermore, Kim (2009) supported that maintaining a Korean name would provide membership in the Korean community to Korean immigrant children.

Strategies in maintaining cultural identity. Learning a language involves understanding social and cultural practices of the society. The process of language learning requires inclusive knowledge of culture and linguistic proficiency that both of them are influential to each other in order to maintain heritage languages (Duff, 2007). The participants in this study attempted to facilitate their children's cultural and social connections to the Korean culture. Through social and cultural interactions within the Korean culture, the participants hoped that getting familiar with the Korean culture might help their children to learning Korean language.

In the following section, the strategies in maintaining cultural identity, which implemented by the participants, are examined in relation to Korean language maintenance.

The Kim family reported that an effective strategy for maintaining Korean for their family was a trip to Korea. Up to Grade 9, Roger apparently did not have much interest in Korean culture and refused to learn the Korean language. Dahee felt frustrated with his resistance and rebellious attitudes towards Korean culture. Fortunately, the scholarship for Korean immigrant students in North America, sponsored by the Korean embassy, brought a dramatic change to Roger's attitudes in Korean language maintenance. Dahee explained,

한인 신문을 보니까 그게 있더라구요. 교포들 장학생. 그래서 내가
영사관에다가 편지를 썼어... 한국에 대한 자긍심이 없고 반발심이 너무 심해서.
여기 이런 아이가 꼭 가서 한국이라는걸 알아가지고 와야되겠습니다. 그러니까
애는 꼭 좀 추천해주세요. 이렇게 썼어요. 그랬더니 진짜 애가 가게끔 된거예요.

I saw the advertisement in the Korean community newspaper. [It was a] scholarship specifically for Korean immigrant students. So I wrote a letter to the Korean embassy. In my letter, I said, "my son doesn't have pride for Korea and is so rebellious [towards Korean heritage]. So please recommend him for the scholarship. Please give him an opportunity to learn about Korea." And he was actually picked to go to Korea. (Transcript A, p.2, Line 29-34)

The scholarship program was a workshop in Korea for two weeks for the purpose of educating and informing children about Korea to Korean immigrant students. By that time, Korea as a country had made significant advances compared to the old Korean history book that Roger envisioned Korea would look like. After the program, Roger stayed with his relatives for another month and half in Korea. During that time, Roger learnt about the Korean history and cultures and regained his pride for Korea. Roger described "I became more interested in the [Korean]

culture once I saw what Korea was like... I felt proud of being Korean. Somewhat, [I] felt more comfortable being in Korea because people look similar” (Transcript C, p.2, Line 26-28).

After visiting Korea, Roger had a better understanding of his parents and his heritage identity as a Korean. Roger felt that his cultural connection to the Korean society made him feel more comfortable to be Korean-Canadian. Furthermore, Roger regretted his Korean language loss at younger age. He expressed,

I felt like I was raised in Canada... So English is something I have to learn. But I didn't feel like I had to learn Korean. But [now I think Korean is] something that I probably should have learned. When I went back to Korea (pause), I felt like I needed to learn more. Just try to be able to communicate with my family and my relatives in Korea. (Transcript C, p.2, Line 44-48)

Through his experiences in Korea, Roger tried to relearn Korean in high school after a while and also took a Korean language class at the University. The trip to Korea provided him with a reason and motivation to learn Korean and stay culturally connected to the Korean society. Visiting Korea influenced the development of Roger's cultural identity, which encouraged him to maintain Korean language; moreover, it made him feel comfortable to know who he is as a Korean immigrant in Canada.

Interestingly, at the time of the interview, Roger was positive about his Korean heritage and he wanted to support Korean language learning in his own family. In particular, Roger tried to share Korean culture and language with his son Jacob, who is a third-generation Korean immigrant. Roger revealed,

[From] my experience... I realized that it's important to have a good self-concept about who you are. And then I realized that when I was younger, I didn't have that until I went to Korea and started to learn more about the culture. For Jacob, for him being mixed, I think it's important to understand where his dad's side came from... So I wanted to make sure he started off with a good foundation where he feels like he can know about... [his] Korean culture. (Transcript C, p.6, Line 4-10)

Roger tried to expose Jacob to Korean culture and language at home. Roger casually put Korean videos or audio for kids' song at home and sometimes played a Korean traditional game, *yuknoli*, with Jacob. Roger explained that he did not want to push Jacob too much into Korean culture and language but engaged him enough to be interested in learning more. In natural settings, Roger expected that Jacob could learn simple Korean words or how to count numbers in Korean by playing the Korean game. Roger also pointed out Korean culture that surrounded Jacob. Roger described,

If there is something Korean... Like *gangnam style*²⁰ (laughs). We try to help him realize "oh, this is Korean." And try to help him know something that he can connect to... We may ask him "how do you say this in Korean?" or "can you say this in Korean?" something like that... We don't really force him. We are more casual at this point... We have some posters and Korean alphabets in his room. We try to expose him to the Korean culture and language... But it's not like we are trying to drill it into him... If he shows interests in learning

²⁰ Gangnam style is a Korean song, which became popular in North America.

more, I would definitely be able to help him with that (Transcript C, p.6, Line 29-38 & p.7, Line 2-3)

Similarly, the participant in the Park family believed that both Korean and Canadian cultural identities should be negotiated and developed at younger age.

Sujin mentioned,

난 애가 두 개 다 있어야 된다고 생각해요. 근데 우리는 한국에서 성장해서 왔기 때문에 내가 한국에 대한 마음이 더 있는게 사실이고. 아이도 좀 그런게 있었으면 좋겠고. 그게 커서는 안생길것 같아요. 지금부터 자라면서. 그게 갑자기 생기거나 그러지는 않을 것 같아요.

I think Karen should have both [Korean and Canadian cultural identities]. But I grew up in Korea so I feel more attached to the Korean culture. So I hope Karen can build her Korean cultural identity. It can't just happen all of sudden when she gets older. So from now on growing up she should build [her Korean cultural identity along with her Canadian cultural identity] (Transcript E, p.8, Line 23-25).

In order to maintain Korean cultural identity, Sujin practiced Korean traditions at home and engaged her second-generation Korean immigrant children with aspects of Korean culture. The Park family celebrated Korean holidays in Canada and cooked Korean food together at home. On New Year's Day, for example, Koreans have *ddukguk*, rice cake soup, for wishing a good luck as a tradition that they had *ddukguk* and Sujin explained the reason to her children. Also, Sujin made Karen wear Korean traditional clothes, *Hanbok*, on special days. Sujin explained,

특별한 날에 한복도 집에서 입히는거 같아요... 한복 입고 절하는 것도 알려주고 할머니 할아버지한테 절하고 보여주려고 (웃음). 그러면 애들이 그게 또 특별한 날에 입는 걸 아니까 좋아라 또 입고 나와요.

Karen wears hanbok on special days at home... I teach her how to bow in hanbok and she bows to her grandparents on Skype (laughs). Karen is always excited to wear hanbok because she knows that hanbok is for special days. (Transcript E, p.10, Line 1-6).

Sujin tried to develop positive images of Korean culture to Karen so that she could naturally build a positive attitude toward being Korean and learning Korean language.

Knowledge of heritage culture and social practices is an important factor to develop a heritage language (Duff, 2003; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002) that Roger and Sujin employed their own ways to embrace Korean culture at home. The participants in this study expected that their children might be able to connect themselves to Korean culture that it eventually would lead their children to build a strong sense of identity.

Considering Hyunjun's Korean proficiency, on the other hand, the Lee family attempted different approaches to maintaining Korean culture and identity. Jiwon emphasized having pride and knowledge about Korea so that she encouraged Hyunjun to research his homework as it related to Korea. She also sent Hyunjun to take *Taekwondo* classes, which is Korean martial art. Jiwon explained,

숙제를 만약에 락 인포메이션 에 대해서 조사를 해와라 그러면 굳이 록키 마운틴 이런거 안하고 그냥 한국에서 찾아요. 직접 가기는 너무 어려우니까 주로 책이나 인터넷으로 찾아서 해설을 해주고... 태권도를 하니까 자긍심이

있는 것 같아요. 왜냐면은 우리나라 무술이다 하는게 있어서 되게 좋은거
같아요. 간단한 것들은 한국말로 숫자 세고 뭐 이런거 하고. 주변사람들이
현준이한테 한국말로 하는 거 물어보고 하니까 애도 자부심을 느끼고 해서
태권도 같은 것도 좋은것 같아요. 한국사람인거에 대해서 부끄러워하지 않고
자랑스럽게 생각해요.

If his homework is to research about rock formations, then we research about mountains in Korea, instead of the Rocky Mountains. [We] cannot visit there so we use the Internet and books [for his homework] and I explain [it to Hyunjun]... Taekwondo class helps him to be proud of being Korean. In Taekwondo class, [the instructor] uses Korean for numbers and simple words. Other people in the class often ask Hyunjun about how to say things in Korean so he feels proud [to be able to speak Korean]. For extracurricular activity, I think Taekwondo is great. Hyunjun is not ashamed but is very proud of being Korean. (Transcript J, p.2, Line 2-11)

Through school and extracurricular activities, Jiwon hoped that Hyunjun could continue his interests in Korean culture and be proud of his cultural background. In addition, the Lee family regularly attended Korean church in the community. Through social interactions with other Korean immigrant families, the Lee family maintained a sense of belonging to the Korean community in Canada and Hyunjun was able to extend his Korean usage outside of home.

After immigrating to Canada, the participants in this study all had to adjust their behaviors and attitudes (Berry, 2005) between Korean and Canadian culture. During the process of cultural adaptation, each participant adjusted to the new Canadian culture in different ways and each employed different strategies for their

children. Overall, one view that the participants shared, to some degree, was that maintaining a heritage language may support building a strong sense of cultural identity (Cho, 2000). Each participant attempted to develop positive attitudes towards Korean culture in their immigrant children. The results suggest that a positive cultural identity is more likely to encourage the development of Korean language maintenance.

Conclusion

This chapter presented a description of the participants and the research findings under four themes: 1) internal influences in the heritage maintenance, 2) external influences within school and community, 3) maintaining family ties, and 4) negotiating cultural identity. The research findings were compared and contrasted from each participant and with the relevant literature on heritage language loss and maintenance. Chapter five will present a summary of the research findings, responses to the research questions, and recommendations of the study.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

In this chapter, I summarize the research findings in response to the initial research questions and suggest recommendations. Through the experiences of five Korean immigrant parents, this study investigated and discussed the factors that may have influenced Korean language maintenance in the participants' families. The results show that the participants experienced both internal and external challenges in helping their children maintain Korean language and culture in Canada. The Korean immigrant parents in this study also discussed their own strategies for motivating their Korean immigrant children to be interested in learning Korean language.

This thesis aimed to answer the following questions:

- 1) How do Korean immigrant parents perceive heritage language maintenance and loss in relation to a) cultural adaptation, b) social interactions, c) cultural identity, and d) family relationships?
- 2) What successes and challenges in maintaining heritage language do Korean parents and children face?

Factors in Heritage Language Maintenance

Cultural adaptation. This research demonstrated that the participants and their family members all showed different degrees of cultural adaptation in Canada and that it influenced the level of Korean language maintenance in their families.

The participants described that the first-generation Korean immigrant parents, Dahee, Sujin, Minsu, and Jiwon, maintained, to a certain degree, their cultural connections and belonging to Korean heritage and the Korean community. The first-generation Korean immigrant parents in this study felt closer to their Korean heritage

culture and used Korean on a daily basis with their spouses; however, they wanted their 1.5-generation/second-generation immigrant children to fit in more with the mainstream Canadian society.

Based on their experiences, the participants were concerned about the possible disadvantages of being immigrants in Canada so they tended to emphasize the importance of learning English and the Canadian culture in order to be accepted into the mainstream. Dahee and Sujin in the Kim and Park families wanted their children to be perceived as Canadian and chose an English name. In consequence, Roger, Karen, and Lauren, the 1.5-generation/second-generation Korean immigrant children in the Kim and Park families, quickly adopted English as their first language and identified less with Korean culture.

Similarly, Minsu and Jiwon in the Lee family stressed the importance of their son, Hyunjun, learning English more than Korean. Even though the Lee family primarily used Korean as the dominant language at home, Hyunjun did not develop his Korean language skills further because learning English and cultural adaptation were seen as more important to the Lee family. As a result, Hyunjun's Korean proficiency had stayed at the same level as when he came to Canada while his English proficiency developed in step with his academic progression.

The results of this study suggest that due to the pressure of cultural adaptation, the Korean immigrant parents in this study emphasized learning English at home and hoped that their children could be successfully adapted to the mainstream. As a result, the children of the participants may have not acknowledged the value of maintaining their heritage language and culture in the Canadian society as English was a dominant language being used. In conclusion,

this study indicates that the pressure of learning English may have influenced Korean language maintenance in the participants' immigrant families.

Social interactions. Each of the participant and their immigrant children demonstrated different degrees of Korean language usage depending on their social interactions and social groups in Canada. On arrival in Canada, the first-generation immigrant parents in this study established social groups with other Korean immigrants and used Korean regularly in their social interactions outside of the home. Unlike their parents, the 1.5-generation/second-generation children in the study did not foster the same connections to Korean social groups and therefore had little opportunity to use Korean in their social interactions outside the home. The children of the participants became a part of mainstream Canadian social groups at school and after school activities so were primarily exposed to social interactions in English.

For example, after entering the Canadian school system, Roger and Hyunjun, the 1.5-generation Korean immigrant children in the Kim and Lee families, respectively, experienced social and peer pressure at school. Other children at school made fun of Roger and Hyunjun for not speaking English well, which may have influenced their attitudes towards maintaining their Korean language and culture. In particular, Roger felt he was negatively impacted by being perceived as different from the mainstream and as a result attempted to disassociate himself from his Korean identity. Roger wanted to focus on being fluent in English and fitting in with his peer group at school. Dahee, Roger's mother, tried to get Roger involved in Korean social groups at the Korean language school and Korean church, however Roger refused to participate. The peer pressure Roger experienced at school and

his refusal to participate in Korean social groups may have contributed to his lack of motivation for maintaining the Korean language.

Hyunjun also had difficulties fitting in at school because of his limited ability to communicate in English. Like Roger, this encouraged Hyunjun to learn English to fit in and succeed at school. However, unlike Roger, Hyunjun participated in Korean social groups outside of the home and school that allowed him to have social interactions in Korean. For example, at the Korean church, Hyunjun was able to practice by speaking in Korean with the other Korean immigrant children, which may have re-enforced his sense of belonging within the Korean community. Another example was at his Taekwondo class, where Hyunjun recognized the benefits of being a plurilingual speaker by explaining Korean words used in the class to the Canadian students, which made him feel that knowing the Korean language was important. In Hyunjun's case, the Korean social groups he established outside of the school and home encouraged him to maintain his Korean language. However, it may have been easier for Hyunjun as he lived in Korea longer than any of the other children of the participants in this study making it easier for him to build social interactions within the Korean community. The positive results of the Lee family indicates that providing the opportunities for speaking Korean and forming Korean social groups outside of the home could promote Korean language maintenance in Korean immigrant children.

Karen, the second-generation immigrant child in the Park family, did not experience peer pressure at school as she was born in Canada and could speak English fluently. The Park family experienced difficulties in getting Karen to learn Korean and participate in Korean social groups as she had never lived or been to Korea. Sujin, the mother of Karen, chose to enroll Karen in the Korean language

school to offer her the chance to learn Korean and socialize with other Korean immigrant children. However, at the Korean language school Karen continued to only speak English with her classmates because it was more comfortable and natural to use. This is likely because Karen and her classmates were at the beginner level and could not fully communicate in Korean. Sujin found that the two hours a week at the Korean language school were not sufficient to improve Karen's Korean language proficiency. Furthermore, Karen had a tainted view of Korea after watching a disturbing movie on the Korean War in class. Sujin thought the Korean school was not helping and decided to go over Korean alphabets and basic vocabularies with Karen at home at her own pace instead. As a result, Karen did not succeed in forming any Korean social groups outside of the home and her exposure to the Korean language and culture remained in the home.

Family relationship. Among the participants, the Kim and Park families experienced the most difficulties in communication between the parents and their children. In the Park family, the first-generation immigrant parent, Sujin, wanted to encourage her children to use Korean language at home, especially for the purpose of being able to speak with their grandparents in Korea. However, when Sujin asked them to speak Korean at home, her children, Karen and Lauren, shortened their conversations with Sujin or did not respond promptly. As Sujin was not as comfortable expressing herself in English, she was concerned about a deteriorating family relationship with her children. She was also concerned about Karen's rebellious attitude when being forced to use Korean language at home. In the end, the Park family decided to not force the children to use Korean at home and to use English at the children's convenience to have smooth daily conversations.

The experience in the Kim family showed how the lack of using the Korean language over a longer period of time might negatively influence the family relationship between the parents and their children. In the Kim family, Dahee, the first-generation immigrant parent, who did not speak English well, often mixed Korean and English to be able to express herself and communicate with her son, Roger, who would only ever responded in English. Due to the language barrier, Dahee could not fully share her thoughts and feelings with Roger so she felt frustrated and powerless, especially when it came to being involved with his development at school. Roger did not share details about his school to Dahee because he assumed that Dahee would not understand his English. Roger, also, did not want to make efforts to speak Korean so that the conversations between Roger and Dahee were limited and not meaningful. As a result, the Kim family reported having cultural conflicts, possibly stemming from lack of communication that resulted in emotional distance between Dahee and Roger.

The Lee family, on the other hand, maintained use of Korean at home to communicate. Unlike the other immigrant children of the participants in this study, Hyunjun felt more comfortable to speak Korean than English so it was natural for the Lee family to communicate in Korean. Even though Hyunjun, the 1.5-generation immigrant child, had room to improve his Korean language, his oral skills were strong enough to have a meaningful conversation at home. In particular, when Hyunjun underwent difficulties at school due to peer pressure and lack of English, he was able to freely express his feelings and thoughts to his immigrant parents. By maintaining Korean language at home, the Lee family was more likely to be able to share more with each other and formed stronger family relationships.

Cultural identity. The findings suggest that depending on the formation of cultural identity, the Korean immigrant children of the participants showed different levels of interests and motivation in maintaining Korean language. In addition, the participants' attitude towards maintaining Korean heritage in their families may have shaped their cultural identity.

The first-generation immigrant parents, Dahee and Sujin, in the Kim and Park families, tended to expect their children to be recognized as "mainstream" Canadians rather than maintaining their children's Korean cultural identity in the Canadian society. In the Kim family, Dahee tended to emphasize learning English to her children in order to succeed in Canadian schools and fit in the mainstream. In addition, due to the peer pressure and bullying from classmates at school, Roger refused to identify himself as a Korean immigrant, which may have further discouraged him from maintaining the Korean language.

In the same way, the Park family did not overly emphasize the necessity of maintaining a cultural identity on their children, Karen and Lauren, in the Canadian society. Sujin was concerned about the possible disadvantages in employment so she gave her children Canadian names and motivated them to use English as their primary language, not Korean. Sujin expected her children to identify themselves with the mainstream Canadian culture and language rather than with their Korean heritage. The results of the Kim and Park families suggest that building a Korean cultural identity for the children of the participants involved the parents' attitudes and also many complex factors in the wider society.

On the other hand, the Lee family indicated that helping their immigrant child, Hyunjun, to build a strong cultural identity may have contributed to his self-motivation for learning Korean language. The parents in the Lee family encouraged Hyunjun to

have a cultural connection to Korean culture and language through researching his school assignment on Korea and keeping his Korean name. With the parents' positive attitude, Hyunjun had opportunities to learn more about his heritage background that it may have reinforced his sense of self as a Korean immigrant. As a result, Hyunjun tended to be more interested in learning about Korean culture, which would be helpful to support his cultural identity. In the Lee family, the parents' positive attitudes toward Korean cultural identity may have led Hyunjun to recognize the importance of Korean language maintenance for the sake of his sense of self.

Similarly, through negative experiences, Roger in the Kim family wanted to make sure that his children, the third-generation Korean immigrants, built a strong sense of cultural identity for the sake of their emotional comfort and sense of self. When growing up, Roger himself did not have a strong cultural identity so that he felt insecure about his identity during adolescence. Roger's Korean appearance fitted in Korean heritage background; however, his Korean language loss did not support Roger to have a sense of belonging to the Korean heritage. Later on in his life, Roger recognized the benefits of building a cultural identity so that he tried to expose his children to Korean culture and sent Jacob to the Korean language school at an early age. The results of the Kim family suggest that building a cultural identity may be useful for their third-generation Korean immigrant children to have confidence in their heritage background. Furthermore, the experiences of Roger positively indicate that in order to support a cultural identity, the equivalent level of Korean language proficiency should be followed to support their sense of belonging to Korean heritage.

In conclusion, the participants' support and positive attitude towards cultural identity may encourage their children to have a strong sense of self and learning Korean as a part of understanding their heritage backgrounds.

Successes and Challenges in Heritage Language Maintenance

Strategies to maintain Korean language. In the following section, the strategies employed by the participants that helped them to motivate Korean language maintenance in their families are discussed for the benefit of other immigrant families. The results of this study indicate that travelling to Korea and frequent contact with families and relatives in Korea were a helpful way to engage the children of the participants to be interested in learning Korean language.

The participants in the Kim family suggested that living in Korea for two months provided a valuable opportunity for Roger to learn about the actual Korean history and culture. While staying in Korea, Roger felt relief and developed his cultural connection with Korean heritage. Also, Roger was primarily exposed to Korean language; and through interactions with his relatives in Korea, he realized the importance of maintaining Korean language for the purpose of communication. After visiting Korea, Roger was motivated to regain his Korean language proficiency and appreciated his Korean heritage culture and language. The Korea trip influenced Roger to have a positive attitude towards Korean heritage and Korean language maintenance.

On the other hand, the Korean immigrant parents in the Park and Lee families encouraged their children to have regular contact with their grandparents in Korea. In particular, the second-generation immigrant children in the Park family did not have much of a cultural connection or knowledge about Korea, as they had not been to Korea. Therefore, the parents in the Park family tried to involve their children in having interactions with their grandparents and expected them to build the family bond. While living apart, the Korean immigrant parents in the Park and Lee families used Skype to remind their children of the importance of communication skills to be

able to speak to their grandparents in Korean. The participants in this study suggested that immigrant children might not realize the necessity of maintaining Korean language because English was what they needed to use in daily life in Canada. Thus, through a video chat and phone call, the Korean immigrant parents in this study wanted their children to maintain family relationships with other family members in Korea.

In conclusion, visiting the origin country where immigrant parents were from may be helpful to their immigrant children as they can experience and learn the actual heritage culture and language. In addition, frequent contact with grandparents and relatives from the origin country would help their immigrant children to build a strong family bonding, which may encourage self-motivation for maintaining communication skills. In the end, the Korean immigrant children in this study with self-motivation were more likely to find it easier to have a cultural connection to their heritage background and made effort in maintaining their heritage language.

Challenges in lack of resources and teaching materials. In this study, the Korean immigrant families faced various challenges in maintaining Korean language such as the peer pressure at school and their children's lack of motivation. However, from the Korean immigrant parents' point of view, the participants expressed that the most challenging factor in Korean language maintenance was lack of resources and teaching materials.

In terms of resources, the participants indicated that their immigrant children had a limited opportunity to learn Korean language within the Korean community. As most of schools did not offer a credit or bilingual program in Korean language, the participants in the Kim and Park families chose the Korean language school on

Saturdays to get support in their children's Korean language education. However, the participant in the Lee family, explained that the curriculum at Korean language school was not widely developed for different levels and ages for the students; as a result, not every Korean immigrant children could benefit from the program and fitted in its curriculum. In addition, the Korean language school was an extracurricular activity for the Korean immigrant children of the participants and only offered a couple of hours a week class; therefore, the participant in the Park family reported that she did not experience effective improvement of Korean language proficiency in her child.

The participants in the Park and Lee families, who did not have positive results or expectations from the Korean language school, decided not to send their children to the Korean language school, which was the only teaching resource available in the community.

The participants in this study reported that they had difficulties in finding adequate textbooks exclusively designed for teaching the immigrant children abroad. The concerns about the textbooks from the participants are discussed below.

Firstly, most textbooks for Korean language education in Canada focused on basic language skills, which would be appropriate only for the beginners' level. In particular, the Lee family experienced troubles with the limited textbooks in order to advance Korean language skills, for their 1.5-generation Korean immigrant child, who already developed a basic foundation of Korean language skills.

Secondly, the first-generation Korean immigrant parents in the Kim and Park families explained that textbooks often did not include sufficient description of the Korean culture and history for their children to fully develop their Korean language proficiency. The participants searched for appropriate materials to advance their

children's knowledge about heritage culture, which was equivalent for their intellectual levels of Korean language. However, a lack of teaching materials for Korean history and cultures may have created a gap in their immigrant children's Korean language education.

In the end, the lack of resources and teaching materials within the community may have decreased opportunities for the immigrant children of the participants to learn their heritage language and culture.

Recommendations

This study examined what difficulties and influences Korean immigrant parents experienced in maintaining Korean language in Canada. In order to encourage heritage language maintenance, recommendations of this study are suggested for immigrant parents, mainstream educators, and policy makers.

Recommendation for immigrant parents. Immigrant parents tend to have a strong influence in maintaining heritage languages at home. Guardado's (2002) study demonstrated that when Spanish immigrant parents in Vancouver employed entertaining methods and positive attitudes towards heritage language, their immigrant children were more likely to use Spanish at home and maintained their heritage language. Depending on the parents' attitude and the decision of language use at home, their immigrant children may be more or less exposed to the heritage language and culture. Therefore, immigrant parents should encourage the use of heritage language at home and promote positive experiences of learning heritage languages for their children.

In order to improve oral skills, immigrant parents should encourage their children to use heritage languages at conversational level as much as possible at home. Also, maintaining frequent contact with other family members from the origin of country or visiting the country may be helpful for the immigrant children to be motivated in learning heritage languages. To improve written skills, Lao (2004) suggested immigrant parents to provide a variety of reading materials that may be interesting or easy to access for their children. For example, the reading materials may be practical from a restaurant menu to storybooks or newspaper. Immigrant parents also can introduce children's songs or videos materials in heritage languages from the Internet. When immigrant parents encourage the use of heritage language at home and help their children to have positive experiences of learning heritage languages, the immigrant children are more likely to be motivated in maintaining heritage languages and find it meaningful.

Recommendation for mainstream teachers. The participants expressed the challenges involved in motivating their immigrant children to learn the heritage language in a dominant English speaking society. Their immigrant children did not have opportunities to use heritage languages at school and only focused on improving their English proficiency. As Cummins (2014) described, educators at the mainstream schools should share the "educational responsibility" (p.1) to support the value of heritage language skills as the human capital. In particular, he suggested several multilingual projects in classroom that showed how the educators could help heritage language students to expand the use of their heritage language and become a plurilingual speaker. For example, Schechter and Cummins (2003) demonstrated a dual-language writing project, which suggested heritage language

students to write the same stories in both English and their heritage languages. It provided an opportunity for immigrant parents and their children to improve the language skills as well as literacy development in both English and their heritage languages (Cummins, 2014). The activities for multilingual projects brought attention to the use of heritage students' knowledge of language and culture. However, it is still challenging to promote continuous engagement in the English dominant classroom. According to Marshall and Toohey (2010), activities for multilingual projects were not actively pursued because it was not seen as a real schooling but as "something special" (p.237). In order to facilitate feasible multi-literacy projects, continuous cooperation and support are required from teachers, heritage language students, and parents.

Therefore, instead of emphasizing the importance of using English, teachers should allow and support heritage language students to contribute their linguistic and cultural knowledge to the classroom. If educators at mainstream schools treat heritage languages as a valuable resource and employ multi-literacy projects in the classroom, it will help immigrant children to recognize the benefit of maintaining heritage languages and feel more able to share their heritage languages in the mainstream classrooms. As a result, embracing cultural and linguistic awareness at school will help immigrant children to maintain their heritage languages.

Recommendation for policy makers. Given the fact that a number of immigrants represent 20% of the total population in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013), policy makers should reflect the linguistic diversity in classrooms and develop resources for heritage language students.

Heritage language bilingual programs are being offered at public schools in Canada; however, it is only available in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba (Babae, 2014). Opportunities for learning heritage languages at public schools are limited to a few languages such as Spanish, German, Ukrainian, Hebrew, Arabic, and Russian. As a consequence, a small number of heritage language students have access to programs in public schools in Canada.

As Korean was not taught at public schools, the participants in this study only had access to the community-based Korean language school for a few hours on Saturdays. In addition, as teaching materials were not sufficient or appropriate for higher intellectual levels (Li & Duff, 2008), heritage language students had limited access and support in the community. Therefore, providing more opportunities to learn heritage languages at mainstream school will help immigrant children to maintain their heritage languages. Mainstream schools should consider offering heritage language classes or awarding credit for taking courses at heritage language schools.

By including heritage languages as a subject or awarding credit, immigrant families would be supported by the wider system in maintaining heritage languages. Furthermore, other students who are not heritage language speakers also may benefit from having resources and opportunities and become multilingual speakers. Therefore, developing resources and policies for heritage language education can respond to the linguistic diversity within communities and improve the maintenance of heritage languages for immigrant families in Canada.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

Interview Questions #1

1. Please describe you and your family.

본인과 자신의 가족에 대해 설명해주세요.

2. Please tell me about your process of adapting to Canada.

캐나다에 적응하게 된 과정에 대해서 이야기해주세요.

3. What language(s) do you speak with each family member?

각 가족 구성원들과 어떤 언어를 사용하시나요?

4. What language(s) do you prefer to use normally? When do you use Korean at home?

일상생활에서 어떤 언어를 사용하는 것이 편한가요? 집에서 한국어는 언제 사용하나요?

5. Have you noticed any Korean language loss in your children?

자녀의 한국어 실력이 저하되었다고 생각하시나요?

6. How do you feel about your children losing the ability to speak Korean?

자녀가 한국어를 잃어가는 것에 대해서 어떻게 생각하시나요?

7. What is your attitude towards teaching Korean to your children?

자녀에게 한국어를 가르치는 것에 대해서 어떤 태도를 가지고 계신가요?

8. What resources do you use to teach the Korean language and culture to your children?

자녀에게 한국어와 한국문화를 가르치기 위해서 어떠한 자료들을 사용하시나요?

9. Have you experienced any issues with your children in the Canadian education system?

If you have, how have you handled it?

캐나다 교육의 다른 점으로 인해 자녀와 어려움을 겪은 적이 있나요? 있다면 어떻게

대처하셨나요?

10. How do you feel about your children at school in terms of academics, social interactions, and adaptation to the Canadian society?

학교에서 학업과 사교활동 그리고 캐나다 사회내에서 자녀의 적응도는 어떠하다고

생각하시나요?

Interview Questions #2

1. How are/were you engaged with the school as a parent?

부모로써 학교에서의 참여도는 어떠하십니까?

2. In terms of importance, how do you compare learning Korean language to other subjects or skills for your children? Please explain why.

다른 과목이나 능력들과 비교하여 자녀가 한국어를 배우는 것에 대한 중요도는 어떠한가요?

이유와 함께 설명해주세요.

3. How have your children reacted to your guidance in teaching Korean language and culture?

한국 언어와 문화를 가르치려는 부모의 지도에 자녀의 반응은 어떠하였나요?

4. What are things that influence your children in learning Korean?

자녀가 한국어를 배우는데 있어서 영향을 끼친 것들은 무엇인가요?

5. Have you visited Korea with your children? If you have not, are you considering visiting in the future? What is the purpose of those visits?

자녀와 한국 방문은 하신 적이 있나요? 없다면, 향후에 방문 계획이 있으신가요?

방문 목적은 무엇인가요?

6. What do you hope for your children for the future in terms of their connection to Korea and the Korean language?

한국 나라와 한국어에 대해서 자녀가 미래에 어떤 생각을 갖기를 원하시나요?

7. What cultural influences do your children identify with?

자녀가 어떤 문화의 영향을 많이 받고 스스로가 속한다고 생각하나요?

8. Would you like to add anything else?

마지막으로 추가하고 싶은 점이 있으신가요?

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Research Project Title: Heritage Language Loss, Maintenance, and Cultural Adaptation among Korean Immigrant Families.

리서치 주제: 한국 이민 가족내의 언어 손실, 유지와 문화 적응

Principal Investigator: Minji Kim

Phone number: 204-***-****

Email address: umkim298@umymanitoba.ca

리서치 연구자: 김민지

Research Supervisor: Dr. Clea Schmidt, Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba

Phone number: 204-474-9314

Email address: Clea.Schmidtc@umanitoba.ca

리서치 지도교수: 클리 슈미츠 박사, 매니토바 대학교 교육학과 부교수

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.

본 동의서는 리서치 참여에 대한 동의를 얻기 위한 절차이며 본인의 기록과 참고를 위해 사본을 받을 수 있습니다. 동의서를 통해서 이 연구에 대한 기본적인 이해와 어떠한 참여가 필요로 할지 설명되어 있습니다. 동의서에 언급된 내용들 혹은 언급되지 않은 부분에 관해서 더 자세한 내용을 알고 싶으시다면 문의하실 수 있습니다. 이 동의서에 첨부된 정보를 주의 깊게 읽고 숙지하십시오.

Minji Kim is conducting this research as part of her Master's thesis at the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba, under the supervision of Dr. Clea Schmidt. The purpose of the study is to investigate perspectives of Korean immigrant grandparent/parents relating to maintaining Korean language in their family within the contexts of cultural adaptation, social interactions, cultural identity, and family relationships.

김민지는 매니토바 대학교 교육학과 석사과정의 논문으로써 클리 슈미츠 박사의 감독아래 이 리서치를 진행합니다. 이 연구의 목적은 한국 이민자 조부모/부모의 경험과 관점을 통하여

한국어를 유지하는게 문화 적응, 사교 활동, 문화적인 자아, 그리고 가족 관계에 어떠한 영향이 있는지 알아보기를 위해서 입니다.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You will be involved to have two semi-structured interviews and to share one episode of Korean language use. Each interview will last for approximately 45-60 minutes; it will be audiotaped to ensure the accuracy of the data and to keep a record of the conversation. The episode of Korean language use is for you to document one of positive or negative experiences of using Korean in Canada. It should be written within one page and can be handed in person, by email or oral narrative at your convenience time.

리서치는 자발적인 참여로 이루어집니다. 리서치에 참여하시게 되면 두 번의 인터뷰와 한국어 사용에 관한 에피소드를 공유하는 것이 포함됩니다. 각 인터뷰는 약 45~60 분 동안 진행되며 자료의 정확도와 기록을 유지하기 위하여 음성 녹음 될 것 입니다. 한국어 사용 관련 에피소드는 캐나다에서 한국어 사용과 관련되어 본인이 겪은 긍정적 또는 부정적인 경험에 대해서 문서화하는 절차입니다. 한 장 내의 분량으로 작성하며 직접 제출하거나 이메일 또는 구두로 서술하여 제출할 수 있습니다.

You have the right not to answer any question and can withdraw from the participation at any time with no penalty, simply by notifying me orally or in writing. After data collection, a summary of interview transcripts will be sent to you to confirm their accuracy; you may omit any parts you do not want included in the study.

본인은 인터뷰 질문에 대답하지 않을 권리가 있고 리서치 참여를 원하지 않으신다면 언제든지 연구자에게 통보하여 철회하실 수 있습니다. 자료 수집이 끝난 후에 정보의 정확성을 확인하는 절차로 인터뷰 요약본을 받아볼 수 있습니다. 연구에 포함되지 않기를 원하는 부분은 생략하실 수 있습니다.

Please be assured that your confidentiality will be maintained at all times. Your name will be replaced under a pseudonyms and any closely identifying information will not be included in any documents generated from this study. Data collected from the research will be kept confidential in my personal password protected laptop and back-up hard drive. I will permanently destroy all the data files after the completion of my thesis.

본인의 개인정보는 공유되지 않습니다. 본인의 이름은 가명으로 대체되며 본인임을 식별할 수 있는 개인 정보들은 본 연구에서 작성되는 어느 문서에도 포함되지 않습니다. 수집된 자료들은 암호화가 된 연구자의 개인 노트북과 하드 드라이브에 저장될 것 입니다. 최종 논문이 완성 된 후에는 모든 관련된 자료들은 영구적으로 삭제 될 것 입니다.

The findings of this research will be disseminated in the form of a Master's thesis, which may be presented in academic conferences or published in scholarly journals. If you would like to receive a summary of the final report, it will be sent to you via email or in hard copy.

본 연구의 결과는 석사 논문의 형태로 보급될 것이며 학술 컨퍼런스나 학술 저널에 발표될 수도 있습니다. 최종 완성본의 요약 보고서를 받아보시길 원한다면 이메일 또는 인쇄물로 받아볼 수 있습니다.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact me at umkim298@umymanitoba.ca or 204-***-****.

본 연구에 관련하여 궁금한 점이나 문의 사항이 있으시면 umkim298@umymanitoba.ca 또는 204-***-**** 로 문의하시기 바랍니다.

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.

본 동의서의 서명은 연구 프로젝트에 대한 정보를 이해하고 참여하기로 동의함을 나타냅니다. 또한 연구자, 후원자 또는 관련 기관에게 법적으로 어떠한 책임도 묻을 권리가 없음을 명시합니다. 본인은 연구에 참여하는 것을 언제든지 철회할 수 있으며 질문을 거부, 생략 할 수 있습니다. 지속적 참여가 필요한 경우에는 처음의 동의서와 같은 절차가 본인에게 요구되기에 새로운 정보에 관하여 문의하실 수 있습니다.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

매니토바 대학교에서는 연구가 안전하고 적절한 방법으로 이루어졌는지를 알아보기 위하여 연구 기록을 검토할 수도 있습니다.

This research has been approved by the Education and Nursing Research Ethics Board in the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at

474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

본 연구는 매니토바 대학의 교육 및 간호 연구 윤리위원회에 의해 승인되었습니다.

프로젝트에 대한 우려나 불만 사항이 있으시다면 위에 언급된 사람 또는 윤리위원회 담당자 (HEC)에게 474-7122 로 연락하실 수 있습니다. 본 동의서의 사본은 기록 및 참조를 위하여 본인에게 남겨질 것입니다.

After the two interviews,

인터뷰 후에

___ I prefer to receive a summary of the interview transcript via e-mail.

인터뷰 요약본을 이메일로 받기를 원합니다.

___ I prefer to receive a summary of the interview transcript in hard copy.

인터뷰 요약본을 인쇄본으로 받기를 원합니다.

After the thesis is completed,

논문 완성후에

___ I prefer to receive a summary of the final report via e-mail.

논문 요약본을 이메일로 받기를 원합니다.

___ I prefer to receive a summary of the final report in hard copy.

논문 요약본을 인쇄본으로 받기를 원합니다.

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

참가자 서명

날짜

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: _____

연구자 서명

날짜

Appendix C: Guideline for the Episode of Korean Language use

Please describe one of the positive or negative experiences relating to Korean language and culture in Canada. You can include a description of your observations, impressions and reactions to what happened. The episode of Korean language use should be written within one page and can be handed in person, by email or oral narrative at participants' convenience time.

한국어와 한국 문화에 관련되어 캐나다에서 겪은 긍정적 또는 부정적인 경험에 대해서 서술하세요. 자신이 겪었던 경험에 대해서 느낀 관찰, 감정, 반응을 포함하여 설명하세요. 한 장 내로 작성하여 직접 제출하거나 이메일, 또는 말로 서술하여 제출할 수 있습니다.

1. Setting: Please describe the event, issue or situation.

1. 배경: 상황에 대해서 설명하세요
 - a. What happened?
 - a. 무슨 일이 있었나요?
 - b. Who was involved?
 - b. 관련된 사람은 누구인가요?

2. Action: Describe your actions related to the event, issue or situation.

2. 행동: 그 상황과 관련된 자신의 행동에 대해서 설명하세요.
 - a. What did you do?
 - a. 어떤 행동을 했나요?
 - b. Why did you do this?
 - b. 왜 그런 행동을 했나요?

3. Reflections: Identify consequences of the event and reflect on your thoughts.

3. 반영: 그 상황의 결과를 알아보고 자신의 생각을 반영하세요.
 - a. What was the positive or negative consequence of the action?
 - a. 그 행동에 대한 긍정적, 부정적 결과는 무엇인가요?
 - b. Did this experience change your thoughts/attitudes toward Korean language and culture?
 - b. 이 경험을 통해서 한국어와 한국 문화에 대한 당신의 생각과 태도가 바뀌었나요?
 - c. Do you think you would do differently in a similar situation next time?
 - c. 다음 번에 비슷한 경험을 하게 된다면 다른 행동을 하실 건가요?

Appendix D: Transcription Conventions

The following transcription conventions are used, in order to transcribe the transcripts in this study.

Word : Uttered in English in the Korean data.

() : Shows non-linguistic behavior on the interaction.

[] : Enclose the researcher's addition of the words, which were omitted in the context.

... : Indicates an omission of a few words or sentences.