

**Becoming, Othering, and Mothering: Korean Immigrant Women's Life Stories in their
Intercultural Families and Canadian Society**

by

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Abstract

The life history research reported here, explores Becoming, Othering, and Mothering experiences of Korean immigrant women with White dominant culture English speaking Canadian-born spouses, and is guided by the research questions: (1) How do the Korean immigrant women who have White dominant culture English speaking Canadian-born spouses describe their linguistic and cultural integration into their intercultural families and Canadian society? (2) How do they negotiate and reconstruct their identities? (3) How do they describe their strengths and challenges as foreign wives and immigrant mothers in intercultural families and as immigrants in Canadian society? and (4) How do they deal with their children's dual languages, cultures and identities? Multiple life history interviews were conducted with seven participants; additionally, the researcher's autoethnography was included. The data were examined through reflexive analysis—within-case analysis, and across-case analysis—and interpreted through an interpretivist perspective (Crotty, 1998; Mack, 2010). Emergent themes in three main categories include—becoming, othering and mothering—each of which is discussed in terms of language socialization, linguistic and cultural power relations, and the impact of linguistic and cultural integration and power relations on participants' identities. This research brings to attention the circumstances of linguistically, culturally, and racially marginalized minority people in Canada. When the intercultural family is viewed as a microcosm of Canada's multicultural society, this research provides to both dominant-culture Canadians and minority group people, awareness of how linguistic, cultural, and racial hegemony marginalizes minority people in Canada.

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Dedication

교육의 가치를 가르쳐 주시고 교육의 기회를 주신 나의 부모님과
나의 꿈을 향한 이 교육 과정을 마무리 할 수 있도록 도와준 나의 남편과
어머니가 됨으로써 더 가치로운 것을 깨닫고 배우게 한 나의 아들에게
이 연구와 논문을 바칩니다.

To my parents, Byounggu Kim and Soonyi Kim, who taught me the value of education and
provided me opportunities to learn,

To my husband, Brian Buettner, who has helped me to complete my education,

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Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Dedication	v
Table of Contents	vi
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Preface	1
Globalization	1
Statement of Topic	3
Rationale.....	4
The Purpose of the Study	9
Chapter Two: Literature Review	10
Intercultural Marriage	10
Defining intercultural marriages.....	10
Challenges of intercultural marriage.	11
Internal challenges.	11
External challenges	13
Solutions to challenges of intercultural marriages.....	14
Language Choice in Intercultural Families	15
Defining language.....	15
Language choice in intercultural couples.	18
Factors of language choice in intercultural couples.....	18
Code-switching and code-mixing in intercultural couples.	20
Children’s language in intercultural families.	21
Factors of heritage language maintenance in intercultural families	23
Benefits of heritage language maintenance in intercultural families.....	26
Acculturation in Intercultural Families	28

Defining culture.....	28
Acculturation.....	29
Definition of acculturation.....	30
Acculturation in intercultural couples.....	31
Identity Construction and Negotiation in the Intercultural Family.....	34
Defining identity.....	34
Cultural identity.....	36
Social identity.....	37
Ethnic identity.....	38
Racial identity.....	38
The factors that affect hybrid identity construction and negotiation.....	39
Physical appearance.....	40
Language.....	41
Culture.....	41
Location.....	42
Social perception.....	43
Concluding thoughts.....	44
Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework.....	46
Language Socialization.....	46
Habitus.....	51
Cultural capital.....	53
Imagined communities.....	55
Berry's Acculturation Strategy.....	57
Hybridity.....	60
Hybrid identity.....	60
Third Space.....	62
Chapter Four: Methodology.....	64
Ontological and Epistemological Frameworks.....	64
Interpretivism.....	64

Research Method.....	67
Positionality as a Researcher.....	69
Recruitment.....	71
Participants.....	72
Data Collection.....	73
Unstructured life history interviews.....	73
Researcher's journal.....	76
Data Analysis and Interpretation.....	76
Reflexive analysis.....	77
Within case analysis.....	78
Across case analysis.....	78
Ethical Considerations.....	79
Chapter Five: Life Histories of the Korean Immigrant Women.....	82
Seyoung.....	83
Interview Story.....	83
Seyoung's Story: Hovering Between Canada and Korea.....	86
Subin.....	95
Interview Story.....	95
Subin's Story: Discovering My Other Self.....	98
Eunsung.....	105
Interview Story.....	105
Eunsung's Story: Growing as a Canadian.....	108
Mijin.....	116
Interview Story.....	116
Mijin's Story: Living a Double-Edged Life.....	120
Hyerim.....	127
Interview Story.....	127
Hyerim's Story: Dwelling in the Third Space.....	130
Inja.....	140
Interview Story.....	140

Inja's Story: Standing at a Crossroad in Life	145
Ran	154
Interview Story	154
Ran's Story: Seeking Balance	158
Conclusion.....	166
Chapter Six: Autoethnography	167
Reflecting on Myself as a Participant	167
Becoming, Othering, and Mothering.....	168
Unexpectedness.	168
Bittersweet.	169
Being different to fit in.	170
Starting all over again.....	171
Home.	174
Becoming more Korean in Canada.....	175
Struggling Mom.....	175
"Ignorant" Mom.	178
Conclusion.....	179
Chapter Seven: Discussions.....	180
Becoming	180
Language.	182
English as manifestation of socialization and/or power relations.....	182
Mutual language assimilation: code-switching and code-mixing.....	188
Culture.	192
Acculturation through assimilation and integration.....	192
Mutual acculturation	196
Identity.....	198
Ethnic and national identity.	198
Othering.....	203
Language.	205

Language as a divider	205
A loss of voice	208
Marginalized Korean language	209
Culture.	213
Acculturation through separation and marginalization.....	213
A lack of cultural capital.....	217
Culture's in-between.....	221
Identity.....	224
Social identity	224
Racial identity	230
Mothering.....	232
Language.	233
Korean and/or English?.....	233
Double-edged language socialization for heritage language maintenance	236
Heritage language maintenance as a bridge of Korean root and two worlds.....	242
Culture.	246
The impact of heritage language on heritage culture.....	246
Responsibility to pass down heritage culture.....	247
Hybrid children's Third Space.....	248
Identity.....	250
Hybrid children's racial identity	250
Hybrid children's hybrid identity.....	254
Chapter Eight: Conclusion.....	258
Summary	258
Implications.....	268
For intercultural couples.....	270
For minority parents in intercultural families.....	270
For Korean community.....	271
For Korean heritage language school	272
For mainstream society.....	272

For education.	273
For further research	273
References	276
Appendix A: Interview Frames.....	303
Appendix B: Recruitment Poster	306
Appendix C: Letter of Informed Consent	308
Table 1: Overview of participants.....	73

Chapter One: Introduction

Preface

Globalization. The world is getting smaller. Boundaries between countries are becoming indefinite as migrants cross borders for work, education, travel, and family, resulting in more multicultural countries such as Canada. According to the National Household Survey published by Statistics Canada in 2011, more than 200 different ethnic origins were reported in Canada, with the total population of immigrants reaching 6,775,800. In the 2011 census, 20.6% of the population was born outside of Canada, indicating a dramatic increase in immigrants from Asia during the past five years. It is projected that the diversity of the population in Canada will continue to increase over the next two decades. Extrapolating from past statistics, Statistics Canada (2006) estimates between 25% and 28% of the population could be born outside Canada by 2031, and the racialized minority population would be 29% to 32% of the total by 2031.

Korea is one Asian country contributing to Canada's immigration numbers. Since the outset of a small number of Koreans immigrating to Canada in 1967, the growth of the Korean immigrant population has significantly increased in recent years. A Citizenship and Immigration Canada report (2014) indicates that an average of 5,500 Koreans have immigrated to Canada every year over the past decade. As of 2014, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2015) in Korea reports that 224,054 people of Korean-descent reside in Canada, where the social fabric is considerably different than in Korea. While diversity and multiculturalism were not relevant to Korean society until a few decades ago, the word 'homogenous' no longer accurately describes Korea either due to the influx of foreigners (Kim, 2009). Some move to Korea to teach English or study. Some emigrate there for a better labour market than that of their own countries. Some

even settle down in Korea after marriage. As a result, the Korean government is now focused on diversity and multiculturalism, reflected in a policy for multicultural families (Lee, 2008).

The continuous growth of the immigrant population has also affected the linguistic landscape in Canada. The 2011 National Household Survey estimates there are more than 200 mother tongue languages for Canadian residents apart from English and French. The survey also shows that 12,032,665 people speak more than one language in Canada, which is 36.6% of the total population. Moreover, 72.8% of the immigrant population reports a mother tongue other than English or French. Despite an increase in different mother tongues being reported, 60% of the second generation and 90% of the third generation have lost their heritage languages¹ (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Amongst many other significant consequences, globalization has also ushered in changes in marriage patterns, with more international, intercultural, and bilingual couples marrying in Canada than ever before. According to the 2011 National Household Survey (Statistics Canada, 2011), Canada has 360,045 racially mixed couples consisting of one person who belongs to a racialized (e.g. visible) minority group² and the other who is not a racialized minority (cf. Caucasian). Particularly, the census indicates that 22.5% of Korean couples in Canada are in mixed unions. The census also indicates that 49.2% of the mixed unions in Canada involve partners who were born in different countries, with one spouse or partner born in Canada and the other born outside Canada. In addition, in 54.6 % of the mixed unions, the spouses have different mother tongues.

¹ Depending on language, the percentage is different. However, these percentages are average percentages of intergeneration immigrant language transmission based on 11 most commonly spoken immigrant languages. (e.g., German, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Hungarian, Punjabi, Chinese).

² According to the Employment Equity Act, visible minorities are defined as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” The visible minority population is comprised mainly of the following groups: South Asia, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese (Statics Canada, 2011, p.3). In this research, I used racialized instead of visible to signify all of the linguistic, cultural, and racial biases they face.

More importantly, the Canadian census shows the percentage of mixed relationships grew rapidly over a 20 year period (Statistics Canada, 2011). This rapid growth of mixed unions creates an intercultural and bi/multiracial population as these couples start families (Ahnallen, Suyemoto, & Carter, 2006; Luke, 2003). Statistics Canada (2011) reports that 45.5% of Canadian-born children of immigrants claim multiple ethnic origin. Although the census does not specify the proportion of the bi/multiracial population in Canada (including Korean-Canadian biracial population), it indicates that many people are bi/multicultural, bi/multilingual, or bi/multiracial. However, it is regrettable that little empirical data regarding intercultural couples' language choices, the roles of their different cultures, and their children's identities is available. Therefore, this research project is intended to fill that gap.

Statement of Topic

This research documents the life histories of Korean women married to Canadian men, who immigrated to Canada and became mothers of racially- and culturally- mixed child(ren). Before I introduce specific topics, I have to indicate what is meant by a Canadian man/husband and a Korean wife/mother in this research. In this particular research, "Canadian" husbands of Korean women reference "White, dominant-culture, English-speaking, Canadian-born men (WDCESCBM)"; I will therefore refer to Canadian husbands/spouses with this acronym throughout the dissertation³. Also, "Korean" wives/mothers in this research indicate Korean women who prioritize their husbands and children and sacrifice their lives for their families, being main caregivers of their children and supporting their husbands' careers, which is a more traditional concept of Korean wives and mothers. Although the traditional gender role has been

³The letter, M in this acronym means both the plural and singular and I do not use this acronym in the participants' life histories for authenticity of the stories.

changed a lot in modern Korean society, this image of wives/mothers is still pervasive in Korean society.

Keeping the particular definitions in mind, this research attempts to look into three parts of Korean immigrant women's life experiences in their intercultural families and Canadian society. First, it examines Korean women's experiences of acculturation after meeting their WDCESCBM. Second, it examines whether Korean women are "othered"⁴ in their intercultural families and in their new country, and if so, how. Finally, this research explores how Korean women in intercultural marriages mother their biracial and bicultural children with regard to their languages, cultures, and identities.

Rationale

My interest in this research was not built in a single day. My various life experiences made me curious about the impact of language on culture and identity and vice versa. I have been a motivated English learner since I was in middle school. As I spent my childhood in a little fishing village in South Korea, I did not have much access to English. My only opportunity to learn English was during English classes in middle school. I was fascinated when English was introduced to me for the first time. The fact that I could understand a different language and communicate with foreigners gave me hope to access different worlds, and the thoughts and hearts of others. I tried my best to learn English. One of my efforts was to immerse myself in western culture; learning about it by watching Hollywood movies and listening to English pop

⁴ The general concept of othering is to compare ourselves to other people, distinguish, and even distance ourselves from them (Palfreyman, 2005). Boreus (2006) claims othering always exists in our societies, as distinctions between groups are always made and there are ongoing processes of othering in resulting groups. However, it is usually used as a negative term as the other in othering is usually modified with the words, 'inferior', 'marginalized', and 'discriminated' (Jensen, 2009). Furthermore, the axis of othering can be any factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, language, culture, power, ideology, socio-economic status, or geography (Boreus, 2006; Palfreyman, 2005; Spivak, 1985).

songs. Another effort was to adopt an English identity by taking an English name, Rose. I thought somehow it made me acquire English more effectively and efficiently.

After I graduated from middle school, I left my hometown and moved to a big city for a better education. In the big city, I met a variety of friends. One of my special friends was a Korean-American who had lived in the United States for a long time. She was able to understand and speak Korean, but her English was better than her Korean. She usually spoke English to her mother, although her mother always spoke Korean to her. As a motivated English learner, I made her my heroine because she spoke English fluently, had lived in the United States for a long time, and had an English name. It was particularly interesting to see her switch from Korean to English back and forth, and mix the two languages when she talked to me. Later in my life, I had more opportunities to see Korean-Americans engage in dialogue. I found that it was very common for them to mix Korean and English and to talk to their parents in English. These observations led me to look more carefully into how bilinguals make language choices and in what circumstances.

After I obtained my master's degree in Korea, I became a full-time English teacher. In my classrooms, I saw my old self who wanted to have an English identity. Most of my students were interested in North American culture and lifestyle. They loved having English names, and they loved talking about English pop songs, American sitcoms, and Hollywood movies. They also seemed to think that visiting English-speaking countries was like going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. When they communicated with me in English, they tended to open up about their concerns and private affairs more easily, as if they were talking about other people's stories. They talked to me about their family problems, relationship issues, and secrets, even though they did not have an intimate relationship with me; English seemed to create a safe space. I wondered

whether speaking a different language gave them a different identity allowing them to open up more easily.

In 2005, I married a WDCESCBM who was my long-time English pen pal. More questions came along with my everyday life experiences of living, interacting, and communicating with my husband. I found myself mixing Korean and English and switching between those two languages when I conversed with him. We made, and continue to make, our own language by integrating Korean and English, calling it our secret language. We did not so much unite the Korean and Canadian cultures as create a different culture, much like the “Third Space” described by Bhabha (1994).

I found myself wondering how other intercultural couples dealt with two different languages and cultures in their everyday lives. However, it was not until 2008, the fourth year of my marriage, that I gave serious thought to investigating the issues of language, culture, and identity in intercultural relationships for my doctoral research. With this thought, I conducted a pilot study on the topic through a qualitative research course in 2009. I learned that other Korean women with WDCESCBM were concerned about Korean language education, bringing up children within two cultures, and developing dual identities, even before they had children.

When I became pregnant in 2011, I imagined becoming a mother who raised her child to be an intercultural and bilingual person. I wanted to help my son build a positive hybrid identity embracing both racial/cultural/ethnic identities despite all of the challenges that would present. I was not going to be like one of my Korean friends who told me she was forced to give up making efforts to pass down the Korean language to her children because of the linguistically-dominant English environment. She said she did not want to give up at first, however, she had to

reconsider when they showed clear signs of stress about learning and speaking the Korean language the moment they started going to English language pre-school.

Other influences came from mixed parentage friends. For example, my Korean-American friend, who has a Korean mother and an American father, told me he always thought he was proud of being Korean. However, when he visited Korea, he was regarded as American and felt that he did not belong in Korean society at all. Similarly, he did not feel a part of American society in the United States. I worried that his story could also be my son's story in the future, and I am determined that it will not be.

Now that I am a mother of a racially and culturally mixed child, I want my son to be able to speak both Korean and English, embrace both Korean and Canadian cultures, and have both Korean and Canadian identities as he grows up. Although it will be difficult, I believe it can be done. Therefore, I wanted to learn how other Korean women deal with their hybrid children's language, culture, and identity development, and to share my findings with women who are in the same or similar situation as me.

Likewise, I have developed my research topic through the knowledge I have gained of being an English learner, an English teacher, a linguistically, culturally, and racially intermarried woman, and a mother to a biracial and bicultural child. That is, my personal life experiences have made me a collector of Korean women's stories. Consequently, life history case studies, a theoretical and methodological research frame drawing on life experiences (Cole & Knowles, 2001; Frank, 1979; Gramling & Carr, 2004; Kouritzin, 2000b; Witherall & Noddings, 1991) seemed appropriate to my research. Although life history methodology has been criticized by positivist scholars for its lack of objectivity and value-neutrality (Dhunpath, 2000), I have benefitted from reflecting on my own experiences and believe that others will also.

The other rationale for studying Korean immigrant women's experiences in their intercultural families is the growing number of Korean-Canadian intercultural couples both in Canada and Korea. Statistics Canada (2011) indicates that the percentage of Korean-Canadian intercultural couples has increased from 19.5% to 22.5% in 2011. According to Statistics Korea (2014), the number of Korean-Canadian couples who married has increased from 227 in 2004 to 475 in 2014. Despite the increasing population of Korean-Canadian couples, there is little research focusing on Korean-Canadian couples' linguistic and cultural negotiations, or on the challenges of mothering racially mixed children. Therefore, I believe it is necessary to explore their experiences of becoming, othering, and mothering in order to fill the research gap. By conducting this research, Korean immigrant women with a WDCESCBM will gain empathy and insight into how to assimilate into a Canadian family and society, help to manage their challenges, and mother their racially and culturally hybrid children. WDCESCBM who have Korean wives will also gain a better understanding of their wives' challenges in assimilating into Canadian society, and raising their children bilingual and bicultural in Canada. Furthermore, other women in intercultural relationships can use this research to better understand their own diverse experiences of becoming, othering, and mothering in Canada

My insider status contributed to my decision to study exclusively Korean-Canadian intercultural couples. I believe my insider status provided more profound insights into participant experiences and provided richer data and more reflexive knowledge through the ability to communicate with the participants in their native language and interpret their experiences through the lens of our native culture. Knowing that I also have a WDCESCBM and a bi-racial child enables us to find common ground, to understand one another's behaviors and decisions,

and makes me vulnerable to them also in the research process. Therefore, I did not include other intercultural couples outside of the Korean-Canadian group in my research.

The Purpose of the Study

The following overarching questions guide this research: (1) How do the Korean immigrant women who have WDCESCBM describe their linguistic and cultural integration into their intercultural families and Canadian society? (2) How do they negotiate and reconstruct their identities? (3) How do they describe their strengths and challenges as foreign wives and immigrant mothers in intercultural families and as immigrants in Canadian society? and (4) How do they deal with their children's dual languages, cultures and identities?

While research on intercultural couples is not a new research area, to date, most studies were conducted for clinical reasons, focusing on conflicts and marital challenges resulting from language barriers and differing cultures (Cottrell, 1990; Hong, 1982; Hsu, 1977; Sullivan & Cottone, 2006). This research tries to explore linguistic and cultural power relations in the family and society and its impact on minority members' integration, challenges and childrearing in intercultural families and the host society, thereby making my contribution unique. Intercultural families can be seen as a microcosm of the future of Canada therefore I will shed light on concerns associated with globalization and multiculturalism. I will bring attention to the experiences of diverse ethnic groups in Canadian society and education, many of whom end up losing their native languages and cultures (Ngo, 2009; Kouritzin, 1999; Kouritzin, 2006). Finally, through the eyes of their mothers, I will provide educators with a better understanding of the mixed heritage students who are in Canadian schools.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this chapter, I review by section more specific concepts and theories related to: (a) definitions of intercultural marriages, language, culture, and identity, (b) a summary of assumptions and research findings on language choice, acculturation, and identity in general, (c) descriptions of the challenges of intercultural marriage and the solutions to the challenges, (d) specific linguistic choices in intercultural couples, (e) acculturation in intercultural couples, and (f) hybrid children's identity construction and development.

Intercultural Marriage

Defining intercultural marriages. With increasing exogamy, various terms for exogamous marriages have emerged, including “intermarriage” (Lee & Boyd, 2007; Waters, 2000), “intercultural marriage” (McFadden & Moore, 2001; Molina, Estrada, & Burnett, 2004; Shute & Spitzberg, 2003), “interracial marriage” (Aldridge, 1978; Foeman & Nance, 2002), “interethnic marriage” (Qian, Blair, & Ruf, 2001), “interfaith marriage” (Crohn, 1995), “cross-national marriage” (Seto & Cavallaro, 2007), “international marriage” (Hong, 1982), “linguistic intermarriage” (Piller, 2001a), and “mixed marriage” (David, 2008; Garcia, 2006). Among these terms, “intercultural marriage” is the most commonly used term. Falicov (1986) uses the term “intercultural marriage” to “encompass those marriages between partners of diverse ethnicity, religion, social class, race or nationality” (p. 429), while Hutter (1990) similarly defines “intercultural marriage” as the union of two individuals who have different cultural values, backgrounds and behaviours rooted in racial, ethnic, and religious differences. In keeping with these researchers, I use “intercultural marriage” acknowledging that one's culture cannot be defined or described without reference to race, ethnicity, language, religion, and nationality; culture subsumes many markers of one's identity.

Challenges of intercultural marriage. Many couples find intercultural marriage to become progressively more challenging (Hong, 1982; Molina et al., 2004; Romano, 1988). At the beginning of the relationship, they do not see their differences as obstacles, and in fact, they are likely to be attracted to the differences. However, differences in life rules, worldviews, values, habits, lifestyles and styles of communication and problem-solving (Cools, 2006; Hong, 1982; Molina et al., 2004; Taweekuakulkit, 2005) may lead to marital conflict over time.

Internal challenges. Falicov (1986) claims that frequently-occurring conflicts in intercultural marriages result from: (a) conflicts in cultural code, (b) cultural differences and permission to marry, and (c) cultural stereotypes and severe stress (p. 433). Most internal challenges result from miscommunication and cultural dissonance (Cools, 2006; Crippen, 2011; Molina et al., 2004; Seto & Cavallaro, 2007). Crippen (2011) suggests that an individual in an intercultural marriage frequently experiences culture shock and a loss of culture, feeling like an outsider in the marriage because of cultural dissonance with his or her partner. While many people think miscommunication in intercultural relationships occurs because of a lack of language skills, the major cause of miscommunication is actually the inability to interpret messages arising from the partner's culture (Seto & Cavallaro, 2007). Crippen (2011) contends that cultural dissonance results in miscommunication since the act of communication is based on one's cultural code.

However, that does not mean that linguistic differences have nothing to do with an intercultural couple's internal challenges. Most intercultural couples have different mother tongues, hence they usually choose one language for communication, either one of the partners' mother tongue or a third language. As a consequence, at least one person in an intercultural

couple does not communicate in his/her first language, which could result in miscommunication, marital conflict, and even marriage failure (Piller, 2000).

Power relationships between husbands and wives in intercultural marriages also contribute to marital conflict. In society, common triggers of coercive power dynamics in intercultural marriages are race, gender, culture, and language (Cools, 2006; Kouritzin, in press; Molina et al., 2004; Seto & Cavallaro, 2007). When spouses lose power because of a change in geographical location, and become part of the minority demographic in a new country, power relationships can become prominent in the marriage (Killian, 2003; Kim, 1998). While trailing spouses have to exert effort to acquire the dominant language, they may lose career opportunities, may become lonely and isolated, and could become marginalized from mainstream society (Breger & Hill, 1998; Kouritzin, in press; Qian, 1999). In some cases, foreign spouses gradually lose their native cultures, leaving them to interact only within and against the dominant language, culture, ethnicity, values, and beliefs (Breger & Hill, 1998).

These power dynamics also affect child-rearing (Biever, Bobele, & North, 1998; Nabeshima, 2005; Romano, 1988). Intercultural couples tend to have more conflicts over how to raise and educate their children because they have different views on parenting roles, parent-child relationships, discipline, and education (Romano, 1988). Each spouse may wish to raise and educate children according to his or her own cultural norms, leading to conflict. Even after decisions are made about which language children will speak and in which culture children will be raised, one of the parents will always worry about their children's inability to connect with his or her cultural origin and communicate with his or her family back home (Buettner, 2009).

Falicov (1986) suggests that couples are required to be flexible and welcoming to both cultures

and to keep a balance of recognition of both cultural differences and similarities in order to reduce conflicts.

External challenges. One of the most significant external challenges for couples results when extended families are pitted against their intercultural marriages (Biever et al., 1998; Crippen, 2011; Kouritzin, in press; Molina, Estrada, & Burnett., 2004). Family opposition to the marriage can rupture the relationship, impact an individual's mental health and potentially end the relationship (Chan & Wethington, 1998). Furthermore, increases in conflicts related to traditional celebrations and rituals, such as holiday customs, cultural ceremonies, and religious rituals may arise (McGoldrick, Giordano, & Pearce, 1996), regardless of the families' acceptance of the marriage (Molina et al., 2004; Shute & Spitzberg, 2003). One spouse may have to give up observing his or her own cultural ceremonies because his or her spouse's family does not approve of them. Cultural differences may play a greater role in creating conflicts with in-laws than with spouses because couples negotiate their cultural differences in their everyday lives, while relationships with extended families are more distant.

External challenges are also caused by deviating societal norms related to intercultural marriage. They are historically subject to political and social policies, negative stereotypes, and ethnocentrism. Historically, Jim Crow laws⁵ and anti-miscegenation laws⁶ prohibited interracial marriages not long ago in the United States, and to a lesser degree in Canada (Kouritzin, in press; Oh, 2005; Thompson, 2009). Although Canada did not enact the same racial segregation laws, the legacy of Jim Crow laws and anti-miscegenation can be seen in social taboos, forms of the

⁵ Jim Crow laws were racial segregation state and local laws in southern United States enforced from 1890 to 1965. One of the fundamental aspects of Jim Crow laws is the social and legal prohibition of interracial relationships and marriages (Oh, 2005).

⁶ Anti-miscegenation laws enforced racial segregation in the United States and it was abolished through *Loving v. Virginia* in 1967.

one drop rule,⁷ and such legislation as the Indian Act⁸ (Kouritzin, in press; Thompson, 2009; Walker, 2000). Stereotypes and stigma can still continue, even after abolition of supporting legislation (Kouritzin, in press).

In Korean society, marriages between White men⁹ and Korean women have been viewed negatively because of the influence of colonialism and imperialism historically. Korean women who had American military husbands were not welcomed by Korean society because the American military exerted overt power over the financially- and politically- powerless South Korea during and after the Korean War (Hong, 1982). Consequently, the image of “colonial or war bride marriages” (Cottrell, 1990, p. 153) is hard to discard completely, even some 50 years later. Although the negative prejudice against marriages between White men and Korean women has changed over time, negative stereotypes still exist and affect not only the couples, but also their mixed-race children. Negative perceptions and stereotypes are expressed through public harassment such as staring, spitting, or mumbling at the “offenders” (Datzman & Gardner, 2000; Kouritzin, in press; Molina et al., 2004; Shute & Spitzberg, 2003).

Solutions to challenges of intercultural marriages. Some studies suggest solutions to these challenges. Markoff (1977) suggests that there are two solutions for internal challenges, one asymmetric and the other symmetric. The asymmetric solution relies on one member of a couple giving up his or her culture and adopting that of the other. The symmetric solution is when a couple creates a synthetic new culture, known as Bhabha’s (1990, 1994) Third Space, by combining or transforming their own cultures. Symmetric solutions are recommended in order to

⁷ One drop rule means one drop of non-white blood in biracial individuals determines their racial identities as a racial minority regardless of their self-identification.

⁸ Indian Act is a regulation that Aboriginal women had to deny their Indian legal status when they got married to non-Aboriginal men while non-Aboriginal women gained Indian legal status when they got married to Aboriginal men.

⁹ Many Korean people tend to think of White people who speak English as Americans.

avoid adverse power relationships. The literature, however, does not say how this might be achieved.

Language Choice in Intercultural Families

Defining language. In a broad and primary point of view, language is defined as mental faculty (Pinker, 1994), a formal system of signs governed by grammatical rules (Chomsky, 1976), and/or a tool for communication (Foley & Van Valin, 1984). Brown (2000) expanded these definitions, adding characteristics such as: (a) language is systematic, (b) language is a set of arbitrary symbols, (c) those symbols are primarily vocal, but may also be visual, (d) these symbols have conventionalised meanings to which they refer, (e) language is used for communication, (f) language operates in a speech community or culture, (g) language is essentially human, although possibly not limited to humans, (h) language is acquired by all people in much the same way; language and language learning both have universal characteristics (p. 5).

Although Brown (2000) suggests a more comprehensive description of language, his eight points are not sufficient to embrace all qualities since language is constantly evolving. Moreover, language must be seen as intimately attached to one's culture and identity, which are significant elements of creating a human being and human living. In this regard, Kouritzin (1997) defines language "as a constantly-metamorphosing intersection between linguistic elements, identity, culture, history, reality, information and communication" (p. 35). As Kouritzin (1999) later queries:

Is language not a purveyor of culture? A representation of the real? A vehicle for communication and information? A means for exerting power and control? A means for resisting power and control? A constitution of a social reality? A homeland? Something

invoked to break silence? A marker of identity and culture? A playful and evocative allegorical force? A linguistic system? Are dialects not languages? Creoles? Pidgins? Patois? Ideolects? Slangs? Interlanguages? Are languages not all of the above? (p. 19).

Language and culture together produce one's cultural identity (Giles & Coupland, 1991; Lee, 2002; Schecter & Bayley, 1997), that is, "a language is a part of culture and a culture is a part of language; the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture" (Brown, 2000, p. 177)¹⁰. According to Schecter and Bayley (1997), if an individual loses a language, there is a great possibility that the culture and cultural identity will also be lost, and vice versa. Wong Fillmore (1991) argues that the first language is the means by which immigrant parents impart their cultures, mores, values and beliefs in their children, since communication is a "crucial link" (p. 343) between parents and children (see also Lee, 2002; Schecter & Bayley, 1997).

Language also conveys one's ethnicity, culture, nationality, educational and social status, and ideology. Bakhtin (1984) believes identity is related to dialogue. He says, "I am conscious of myself and become myself only while revealing myself for another, through another, and with the help of another" (p. 287). Liddicoat, Papademetre, Scarino, and Kohler (2003) also indicate that "one manifests one's identity through one's language and a change of language represents a change of the identity the speaker is presenting to the world" (p. 44).

This notion further leads to the argument that language is not only an embodiment and representation of identity, but also a salient factor in identity formation, negotiation, and shift (Gee, 1996; Jabri, 2004; Miller, 2000; Norton, 1995, 1997). Many studies reveal that language

¹⁰ This is an idea seldom contested in second language studies; however, in Indigenous studies, there are significant critiques.

learners go through identity shift and reconstruction while learning a new language (Buettner, 2009; McNamara, 1997; Norton, 1995). Immigrants also negotiate and reconstruct their social identities because they lack the new language (McNamara, 1997; Norton, 1995). McNamara (1997) suggests that immigrant students' experiences consist of "a complex renegotiation of their social identities in the new society, a process that has profound implications for their attitudes to their own languages and the learning of the majority group's language" (p. 561). Norton (1995) contends that immigrants' social identity changes over time because they learn how to negotiate their social identities as they become more fluent in English. These statements illuminate a fundamental cause of identity shift and reconstruction through language learning and use. In sum, language is "the most salient way we have of establishing and advertising our social identities" (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 5).

Finally, language has a profound impact on one's life history and present reality. Language learning, use, choice, maintenance and loss are socially constructed through power relations between languages, language speakers, and geopolitical locations. Fairclough (2001) indicates that language is a part of society--a social process and a socially-conditioned process; hence, it cannot be detached from administration, politics, and economy. Within this view, Fairclough (1999) further argues that it is necessary to examine power relations in everyday discourse by raising critical awareness of language, specifically "how discourse figures within social practices, works ideologically in social relations of power, and works within social practices that people can come to question and look beyond existing discourses, or existing relations of dominance and marginalization between discourses" (p. 74-75). Likewise, Crystal (1997) contends that languages become international languages for one chief reason--the power of its speakers, and especially their political, military, and economic power. Once the speakers of

a language gain power and make it a dominant language, the language itself enacts power over speakers of less powerful languages. Consequently, people who speak a minority language become oppressed and marginalized solely because of their language use (Crystal, 1997; Fairclough, 2001; Ngo, 2009). In many cases, the result can be language loss and language extinction (Kouritzin, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Language choice in intercultural couples. Intercultural couples may speak different mother tongues, and at least one spouse speaks his or her partner's language for communication (Cools, 2006). In some cases, they have a communication language that is neither partner's language, particularly in European countries where many languages exist together or countries where immigrants bring new languages into the society (Takahashi, 2010). The most unusual case is the ideal case, when both partners use both native languages. Regardless of how intercultural couples communicate however, the important fact is they cannot avoid intercultural communication that requires them to "step outside normal frames of reference and try to understand other worldviews" (Cools, 2006, p. 264).

Factors of language choice in intercultural couples. Language choices are not arbitrary. There are several reasons why intercultural couples select one language over the other, code-switch, code-mix, or create a private language. In David's (2008) study on language choice of Sino-Indian mixed marriages in Malaysia, she indicates that whether her Sino-Indian participants choose Tamil or Cantonese or Hokkien (Chinese dialects) depends on such reasons as: (a) exposure to "intensive interactions" with maternal grandmothers and cousins, (b) practices of cultural accommodation, (c) being spoken to by the parents in these vernacular languages, and (d) consistent and ongoing interactions with friends of different language backgrounds (p. 220-221). In short, social networks can be influential in language choice in intercultural marriages and

families (Buettner, 2009; David, 2008). It is also strongly connected with the location of communication; many intercultural couples choose their communication languages based on where they live (Buettner, 2009; Cools, 2006; David, 2008).

Piller (2001b) suggests two other influential factors of language choice-- habit and compensation. In her study on English-German intercultural couples' language choice, she found that the location of communication is not the most influential factor. Rather, couples' habitual language plays the most important role in their language choices. For instance, English-German intercultural couples who live in Germany did not choose German because German is the language of the domain, or English because English is a prestigious language in the world. Instead, they chose whichever language they used out of habit.

Piller (2001b) also argues that couples choose a language to compensate for the sacrifice that one partner had to make, migrating in order to live with their spouses. Some English-German couples chose English over German in Germany because it empowers American partners who had to give up living in their country and moving to Germany. In this way, she suggests, couples can have "more egalitarian distribution of power in a relationship" (p. 216), by mitigating the legal, economic, linguistic, and social disadvantage that comes with migration (Bourdieu, 1992; Crystal, 1997; David, 2008; Fairclough, 2001; Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004; Ngo, 2009).

Finally, a couple's plans for their children's language education can influence language choice in intercultural couples (Kouritzin, 2000a; Piller, 2001b). In Canada, Kouritzin (2000a), for example, discusses the experience of mothering her children in her second language, Japanese, in an effort to make them balanced Japanese/ English bilinguals. In order to provide ample linguistic input, she spoke Japanese to both her children and husband. Familiar with the

literature on raising bilingual children, she tried not to expose her children to any English environments until they started school, but found it challenging.

Code-switching and code-mixing¹¹ in intercultural couples. The common and interesting language phenomenon in intercultural couples' communication is code-switching and code-mixing in their conversations. As their first language is different, they tend to switch between two languages and/or mix these two languages (Piller, 2000). My pilot study (2009) reports that some Korean women code-switch and code-mix when they speak to their WDCESCBM because they think code-mixing allows them to describe certain events and express their feelings more explicitly and accurately (Fishman, 1965; Grosjean, 1982). Also, some couples code-mix simply because it is interesting, and it can be a tool for practicing a partner's language if he or she is learning.

Moreover, code-switching and code-mixing can also be a medium of reconciliation in intercultural relationships. Takahashi (2010) discusses that her Polish husband saying, "I am sorry" in Japanese to her often appeases her anger toward him, resulting in reconciling their occurring conflicts. In this regard, Takahashi (2010) indicates that code-switching and code-mixing in intercultural relationships can be a "make-up language" (p. 205). More importantly, code-switching and code-mixing can lead couples to create their own third languages called 'private language' or 'secret language', which can be decoded only by the couple (Buettner, 2009).

Intercultural couples often use their mother tongues in code-switching and code-mixing simply because it is "the language of the heart" (Kouritzin, 2000a, p. 314) and a "manifestation of one's culture, thoughts, attitude, and behaviours" (Eckstein, Juarez-Torres & Perez-Gabriel,

¹¹ Code-switching is an alternational type of sentence mixing that should be reserved for the rapid succession of more than two languages in a single speech event. Code-mixing is defined as all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence (Muysken, 2000).

2006, p. 408). According to Kouritzin (2000a), she encountered challenges communicating emotion to her children in her second language, Japanese. In particular, her expression of love to her children in Japanese was not the same as that of native Japanese-speaking mothers.

Children's language in intercultural families. Intercultural couples' language choice has a critical impact on their children's language development and use, because it is likely to determine whether the children grow up monolingual or bilingual. Most intercultural couples may think about whether they should raise their children monolingual or bilingual. The most popular strategy of raising bilingual children in intercultural marriages has been the 'one parent one language' approach, which is when each parent speaks their mother tongues to their children from birth (Baker; 2001; Döpke, 1992; Hamers & Blanc, 2000). The other popular strategy is the 'minority language at home' approach (e.g., hot house approach), which is for both parents to speak a minority language of the community to their children at home (Fantini, 1985; Kouritzin, 2000a; Pan 1995).

The 'one parent one language' approach has the advantage of more feasibility than the 'minority language at home' approach because both parents do not have to know both existing languages in their families. However, it has been criticized that this approach does not guarantee children's balanced bilingual development (Baker, 2000; Romaine, 1995). Romaine (1995) indicates that children who grow up with the 'one parent one language' approach usually understand both languages but they only speak the language of the community because the input of the minority language they receive from one of their parents is not sufficient. For this reason, the 'minority language at home' approach can be more effective to raise children bilingual, but the feasibility of this approach can be an issue because it requires that both parents speak both languages (Baker, 2001). Even if both parents speak the minority language and apply the

‘minority language at home’ approach to their children, there can still be conflicting issues because the minority language is not a mother tongue to the parent of the dominant language. Kouritzin’s (2000a) article, *A Mother’s Tongue*, describes challenges that the parent of the dominant language confronts when an intercultural family adopts the ‘minority language at home’ approach. She mentions her feeling of being distant from her daughter when her daughter called her Mama or ka-chan instead of Mommy, her concern about whether she used proper Japanese expressions to her daughter, and her guilt in isolating her daughter from the dominant English environment.

Likewise, there can be a general assumption that children of intercultural marriages easily become bilingual because they are naturally exposed to two languages. However, many research studies have indicated the difficulties and challenges of raising bilingual children in intercultural families without any special effort (Fishman, 1991; Kondo-Brown, 2006; Kouritzin, 2000a; Peyton, Ranard & McGinnis, 2001; Saunders, 1988; Shin, 2010). Particularly, it is challenging to pass down the minority language of the family to children in a dominant language speaking environment because minority language speaking spouses usually feel obligated to linguistically and culturally assimilate into the society that they live in. As a result, the dominant language often becomes a default language of the family (Shin, 2010). Social and political power in the community can also cause challenges (Campbell & Christian, 2003). For example, many intercultural families who live in an English speaking environment tend to choose to speak English over a minority language because English is a prestigious language in many countries (Lee, 2005; Shin, 2010). In addition, a lack of access to a minority language speaking community, and a lack of tangible resources also prove challenging in raising their children

bilingually in a dominant language speaking environment (Kondo-Brown, 2006; Peyton, Ranrd & McGinnis, 2001).

Factors of heritage language maintenance in intercultural families. The term “heritage language” has been synonymously used with other terms like immigrant, indigenous or ancestral language (Wiley, 2005), immigrants’ first language (Babae, 2014), immigrant children’s home language (Wong Fillmore, 1991), ‘all languages except for English’ in the North American context (Cummins, 2005, p. 586), and a minority language spoken by an immigrant parent in an intercultural family (Shin, 2010). Although Shin (2010) uses heritage language in the context of intercultural family, this term is not usually perceived as a minority language of an intercultural family in applied linguistics. There has been little research focusing on heritage language maintenance of children in intercultural families. Instead, there are many research studies on how to raise bilingual children in intercultural families (Baker, 2000 & 2001; Döpke, 1992; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Fishman, 1991; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Kondo-Brown, 2006; Kouritzin, 2000a; Peyton, Ranard & McGinnis, 2001; 2010; Romaine, 1995; Saunders, 1988; Shin, 2010). Even if some research studies discuss heritage language maintenance of mixed heritage individuals, most studies include it as a part of larger and more homogenous heritage language communities. Therefore, few studies focus solely on heritage language maintenance of mixed heritage children (Shin, 2010). Nevertheless, I attempt to explore the literature of heritage language maintenance of children in intercultural families, and connect that to the literature of heritage language maintenance.

In the broad context, crucial factors of heritage language maintenance include family (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Kouritzin, 1997; Lee, 2008), language ideology (Jeon, 2008; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008), identity (Lee, 2002; Norton, 2000), heritage language

community (Guardado, 2010), school (Cummins, 2005), peers (Kouritzin, 1997), and heritage language schools or programs (Babae, 2014; Chen, 2010). The aforementioned factors can also be factors in intercultural families, however, there are a few different factors such as couples' bilinguality as many intercultural couples tend to choose a dominant language of the community as a default language, whereas many immigrant couples from the homogenous culture still use their first languages at home (Shin, 2010). Hence, children of intercultural couples usually do not receive the same amount of the minority language input as children of immigrants do (Romaine, 1995).

Notwithstanding, intercultural couples' bilinguality is not the most critical factor. Even if a couple can speak both existing languages, they may not choose to speak the minority language at home. Therefore, it is not too much to say that language ideology is the most important factor of heritage language maintenance in intercultural families (De Houwer, 1999; Jeon, 2008; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Kouritzin, 2000a). Language ideology is "a set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived structure and use" (Siverstein, 1979, p. 173) and it is also a means of legitimizing linguistic power in social relations (Fairclough, 2001). In this research context, it is intercultural couples' beliefs and attitudes toward the dominant language and the minority language (e.g., heritage language). King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry (2008) argue that parental language ideologies play a critical role in determining children's language outcomes because language ideologies are enacted in language practices. In De Houwer's (1999) model, which demonstrates the relationship between beliefs, practices, and outcomes in childhood bilingualism, De Houwer also argues that parental beliefs and attitudes toward a language determines a child's linguistic choices, interaction strategies and language development.

The other important factor is family language policy, which can be understood as the explicit expression of parental language ideologies because the choice of what language parents use, how they use the language, and in what language they interact with others, are influenced by parental language ideologies (De Houwer, 1999; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). For instance, an intercultural couple who do not consider the minority language of the family important would not attempt to pass down the heritage language to their children. On the other hand, if the couple value the heritage language, they may choose to raise their children bilingual. More specifically, some couples may adopt the ‘one parent one language’ approach (Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Döpke, 1992) and some may employ the ‘a minority language at home’ approach (Fantini, 1985; Pan, 1995; Kouritzin, 2000a) if the couple is able to speak the minority language. Additionally, some may use the ‘code-switching’ approach (Lyon, 1996), which employs language mixing, although it is not as common and popular as the other two approaches. Some studies have also shown other supplemental strategies, such as employing a minority language speaking caretaker (King & Logan-Terry, 2008), or sending children to schools taught in a minority language (Swain & Lapkin, 1982).

Interestingly, the outcomes of children’s language found in each language policy of heritage language maintenance are inconsistent. The results vary widely. Some studies found the ‘one parent one language’ approach successful, while others found the other approaches more successful. Therefore, many researchers argue that rather than a type of language policy, consistency to the chosen policy is more crucial for optimal outcomes (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). Pan (1995) indicates that when parents switch to the dominant language the children are speaking, the family language often switches to that dominant language. Takeuchi (2006) also found that minority language speaking parent’s consistent use of the minority

language brings more effective outcomes than visiting the country of the minority language. In addition, Lanza (1992) suggests a ‘minimal grasp’ strategy, which is to pretend not to understand when the child speaks the non- target language. Lanza (1992) also contends that such a discursive strategy is significant in the success of children’s heritage language maintenance.

Finally, context is an important factor of heritage language maintenance (Döpke, 1992; Wong Fillmore, 1991). As people are socialized through the use of language, as well as socialized to use language (Schieffin & Ochs, 1984), context (e.g., society, environment, surrounding) is inseparable from language development. Döpke (1992) discusses challenges of continuing to develop the children’s bilinguality after they start schooling in the majority language. Kouritzin (2000a) also found that many Japanese families were struggling to maintain Japanese language in Canada because of a lack of Japanese language-speaking communities. Consequently, she and her husband decided to minimize their children’s exposure to English as long as possible by choosing to use only Japanese at home. Hence, some intercultural couples make a big decision to move to the country of the heritage language (Kouritzin, in press) and/or join the local ethnic churches, mosque, or temple (Shin, 2010).

Benefits of heritage language maintenance in intercultural families. Baker and Prys Jones (1998) discuss three benefits of bilingualism including communicative, cultural, and cognitive advantages. Baker and Prys Jones (1998) explain that bilingual children may enable more intimate relationships with their parents communicating with their extended family members. They may also connect with the community of the heritage language, and bridge the gap between two linguistically different societies through transnational communication. Baker and Prys Jones (1998) indicate that bilingual individuals can have cultural and potential economic advantages since they may have more opportunities to become involved in two

cultures and have a wider portfolio of jobs available due to their bilinguality. Finally, Baker and Prys Jones (1998) mention that bilinguals may have “more fluency, flexibility, and elaboration in thinking than a monolingual” (p. 8).

Baker and Prys Jones’s (1998) list of benefits of bilingualism resonates with many research studies (e.g., heritage language maintenance). Wong Fillmore (2000) indicates that second generation immigrant children’s heritage language loss negatively affects communication between the second generation immigrant children and the first generation immigrant adults in the family. Heritage language maintenance positively affects interactions and relationships with heritage language speakers (e.g., community) (Cho, 2000). Similarly, Lee (2002) also indicates the cultural benefits of heritage language maintenance as she found the higher the Korean language proficiency, the stronger the identity was with Korean culture. In addition, Song (2010) and Cho (2000) found that many Korean immigrants and sojourners believe that speaking more than one language brings more professional opportunities. Furthermore, Bialystok and Craik (2010) discuss the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, arguing that bilinguals show more enhanced performance than monolinguals when they do non-verbal tasks requiring conflict resolution.

Among these benefits, communicative advantages appear to be one of the most advantageous and important benefits to mixed heritage individuals in intercultural families. Research by Shin (2010) on mixed heritage adults’ heritage language maintenance, indicates that the mixed heritage adults who did not maintain heritage language confessed that they could not connect with their heritage language speaking parents and extended family members on a deeper level. On the other hand, those who can speak heritage language have a deeper connection with their heritage language speaking parents and extended family members (Shin, 2010). They can

also bridge the communicative gap between two linguistically different worlds by acting as a translator, an interpreter, and a broker (Cho, 2000; Young, 2009). The benefit to mixed heritage children is to help them construct positive hybrid identities since language is deeply connected with one's cultural identity (Brown, 2000; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Lee, 2002; Schechter & Bayley, 1997), and can bring a sense of belonging to the heritage language community (Cho, 2000; Lippi-Green, 1997; Shin, 2010).

In this section, I have discussed the definition of language and explored patterns and factors of language choice in general, and in intercultural couples and children's language in intercultural family. Language is closely connected with culture, and culture is one of the significant aspects of this research. Hence, it is necessary to examine the concept of culture and how individuals assimilate into other cultures. In the following section, I first indicate various views of culture and discuss which concept of culture underpins this research. I also explain how individuals acculturate into different cultures by looking into different definitions of acculturation. Finally, I explore how intercultural couples acculturate into their partners' cultures in their intercultural relationships and families.

Acculturation in Intercultural Families

Defining culture. Many scholars from various fields of study have emphasized the complexity of culture. Liddicoat and colleagues (2003) conceptualize culture as "a complex system of concepts, attitudes, values, beliefs, conventions, behaviours, practices, rituals, and lifestyle of the people who make up a cultural group, as well as the artefacts they produce and the institutions they create" (p. 45). It is important to note that culture cannot be separate from a social community. Although every individual has his or her own original culture, culture is usually influenced by a social community to which they belong. According to Ting-Toomey

(1999), culture is “a learned meaning system that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, and symbols that are passed from one generation to the next and are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community” (p. 10).

Vontress (2003) describes five interacting and overlapping cultures: (a) universal culture, which links all humanity together (e.g., biological instincts), (b) ecological culture that involves the climate and surroundings and forces people to adjust to the natural environment of their respective geographical areas, (c) national culture that makes a particular national group unique with shared values, attitudes, and behaviours (both consciously and unconsciously), (d) regional culture which consists of the subtle forces (e.g., dialect, dress, customs), and (e) racio-ethnic culture which involves the variables (e.g., racial attitudes) that isolate and/or separate minority groups from the dominant racial groups of the country (p. 3).

As Vontress’s (2003) conceptualization of culture subsumes many concepts of culture that the participants mentioned in terms of their own acculturation processes, it seems to best resonate with experiences and understandings discussed in this research. Participants explained that their ecological, national, and regional cultures shifted once they had immigrated to Canada, in line with their residence in different geographical areas, different countries and regions. They also share their racial-ethnic cultural experiences as non-White individuals and non-English native speakers, namely as minority groups of people in Canada. Furthermore, adopting this conceptualization of culture contributes to our examination of the participants’ identities, perceptions of the world, and lifestyles in that Vontress (2003) suggests these five cultures shape one’s identity, worldview, and a way of living.

Acculturation. Acculturation has been occurring throughout human history as people have migrated to find better environments for surviving and living. While travelling, they had

contact and interacted with people from different cultures. As a result, they experienced changes in their cultures and this change has caused the creation of another culture. This process is called acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2006). Many recent studies on acculturation concentrate on how ethnocultural groups integrate with one another, while studies in the past focused on indigenous peoples, and immigrants and refugees in particular regions or countries (Berry, 2005). In short, the focus of studies on acculturation has changed and this change tends to be attributed to globalization since many countries have become more multicultural.

Definition of acculturation. There are varying perspectives on the definition of acculturation. The first well-known definition is Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits' (1936) classical definition, "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). In this simple and concise definition, acculturation is considered one aspect of cultural change through contact with different cultures. However, it focuses only on cultural changes and acculturation in groups.

To supplement this definition, Graves's (1967) concept of psychological acculturation is useful: "changes in an individual who is a participant in a cultural contact situation, being influenced both directly by the external culture, and by the changing culture of which the individual is a member" (Berry, 2005, p. 701). This concept focuses more on an individual's acculturation rather than that of certain groups. In this respect, it is termed 'psychological acculturation' whereas Redfield and colleagues' (1936) concept is cultural acculturation.

For a more comprehensive and empirical concept of acculturation, Berry (1980, 1997, 2005, 2006) synthesizes these two definitions and creates his own concept of acculturation which refers to the dual process of cultural and psychological change caused by contact and interaction

between more than two cultural groups and their individual members (Berry, 2005). Berry (1990, 2005) elaborates by arguing acculturation occurs at the group (population) level and the individual level. Acculturation at the group level has to do with changes in organizations and institutions in the society and cultural customs. At the same time, acculturation at the individual level involves changes in an individual's behaviour, identity, values, and attitudes.

Berry (1997, 2005) also revisits and develops Redfield and colleagues' (1936) argument that acculturation can be unidirectional or bidirectional. On one hand, Berry (1997) appears to argue that acculturation can be more unidirectional than interactive since he critiques Redfield and colleagues' (1936) point, indicating that in practice one group tends to experience more change than the other. However, Berry (2005) seems to maintain that acculturation is more likely to be an interactive process than a one-way process as many different forms of mutual accommodations occur that lead to long term psychological and sociocultural adaptations. In fact, his two opinions are somewhat contradictory. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that acculturation, over a short period of time, can be more unidirectional, while acculturation over a longer term can be more interactive since in his latter opinion, he mentions that mutual accommodation takes place through long term psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

Acculturation in intercultural couples. Acculturation is prone to occur in intercultural relationships. Burgoon (1995) indicates that intercultural couples usually experience acculturation throughout their married lives. Their acculturation allows them to reach an adaptive and flexible view of cultural differences and establish a new cultural code, which unites two different cultures from both a husband and a wife. Hong (1982) also claims intercultural couples tend to develop a new culture that mediates conflicts. However, most intercultural couples adopt something other than adaptation while adjusting to each other's cultures in their married lives.

Tseng (1977) discusses five types of adjustments such as one-way, alternative, simultaneous, mixing (or mid-point comprise) and creative adjustment, which are supposed to resolve conflicts caused by different cultures, specifically between intercultural couples. Although this model does not focus on acculturation in intercultural couples, it appears to fit the process of acculturation in intercultural relationships.

In order to attain a better understanding of how these five adjustments connect to acculturation in intercultural couples, each type is analyzed by reviewing, comparing, and synthesizing other literature with regard to acculturation in general and in intercultural couples. First, the one-way adjustment takes place when a member of the couple gives in to the culture of the other. This adjustment is a very common way of intercultural couples' acculturation as there is a strong assumption that intercultural marriage is the fundamental step leading to assimilation into another culture (Gordon, 1964). An important aspect of this adjustment is it usually occurs in people who move to their partners' countries to live and have more opportunities to interact with their partners' cultures (cf. culture of a majority and dominant group) than their own cultures (cf. culture of a minority group) (Roer-Strier & Ezra, 2006). It is similar to the assimilation strategy described by Berry's (1980, 1997, 2005) acculturation strategy (see Ch. 3). Berry (1997) indicates immigrants usually lose their own cultures while assimilating into the mainstream society. In an intercultural relationship, this adjustment can be a negative because the minority member experiences a loss of their own cultures (Crippen, 2011).

Second, the alternative adjustment happens when intercultural couples consciously alternate between cultures by choosing to practice Culture A in one situation and adopt Culture B in another. Furthermore, couples acknowledge they choose Culture A over Culture B and vice versa while still adopting each culture. To adopt this adjustment, each member of the couple

should respect their partners' cultures. Couples who adopt this adjustment may feel they then belong to both cultures (Crippen, 2011).

Third, the simultaneous adjustment is concerned with situations where elements of both cultures are adopted at the same time. Couples adopting this adjustment practice their own cultures at the same time. Since couples do not force their partners to adopt their own cultures, nor do they attempt to adopt their partners' culture in this adjustment, the simultaneous adjustment somewhat resonates with Berry's (1980, 1997, 2005) separation strategy among the acculturation strategies (see Ch. 3). Berry (1980, 1997, 2005) explains that the separation strategy occurs when individuals hold their heritage cultures and try to avoid the dominant culture simultaneously. A difference between the two aforementioned acculturation concepts is the simultaneous adjustment appears to be a result of couple's mutual agreement on a solution for two existing different cultures while the separation strategy is more like a unilateral way of keeping one's own culture. The simultaneous adjustment gives room to respect their partners' culture while they can keep theirs. Therefore, it is one of the important ways of adjusting to each other's culture and probably a common aspect regarding cultural adjustment in intercultural relationships.

Fourth, the mixing adjustment occurs when intercultural couples use aspects of one culture or the other within a given culture or time. That is, they combine both cultures and constantly adopt the mixed culture. In Berry's (1980, 1997, 2005) acculturation strategy, the integration strategy is comparable to this mixing adjustment because it is defined when individuals maintain their heritage cultures, as well as participate in the dominant society as a member of an ethnocultural group (see Ch.3). Likewise, the mixing adjustment can explain intercultural couples' cultural integration. This adjustment is generally perceived as the most

desirable type of acculturation in intercultural relationships since both members of the couple acculturate into each other's culture. An unhealthy power relation is less likely to be generated in the couple; the process and the consequence of integrating with each partner's culture allow them to enhance cultural competency, cultural sensitivity, and tolerance for other cultures (Crippen, 2011; Roer-Strier & Ezra, 2006). In this regard, Crippen (2011) argues that intercultural couples can gain transformative opportunities through interactive acculturation. Silva (2009) discusses transnationality and argues it "provides a healthy view of the cultural exchange necessary for healthy intercultural relationships" (p. 13) since transnational individuals assimilate into their partners' culture while they still maintain and practice their own cultures.

Finally, the creative adjustment takes place when the intercultural couple adopts elements of neither culture, but finds their "own" ways, much like Third Space (Bhabha, 1990). Through my pilot study on Korean-Canadian intercultural couples' acculturation, I found many of the participants created their own cultures with their WDCESCBM, which was neither a Korean culture nor a Canadian culture. As a result, they did not notice they were living with two cultures. Markoff (1977) also discusses a similar notion termed the "symmetric solution", which is one of the ways to resolve conflicts between the intercultural couple. Intercultural couples tend to resolve conflicts arising due to their different cultures by producing a synthetic new culture through a dialectic process of adjusting to each partner's culture. Considering the premise that the new culture can be created through a dialectic process, this adjustment is more likely to occur to old couples as they go through more dialectic processes than new couples.

Identity Construction and Negotiation in the Intercultural Family

Defining identity. Etymologically considered, identity originates from the Latin noun, *identitas* and the Latin adjective, *idem*, which means "the same". Hence, the word identity is a

relative concept as it can be determined in terms of how much sameness and oneness an individual shares with others in a particular area or on a given point (Rummens, 2001). By measuring and comparing, differences are also determined. Accordingly, identity is shaped by differences and relation to other people (Miller, 2000). In a similar vein, Norton (1997) explains identity as a relational concept by arguing it is “how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future” (p. 410).

Identity can be described as flexible and changing according to various factors such as place of birth, migration, economic status, language, race, culture, education, or religion (Rummens, 2001). Hall (1996) defines identity as the process of “becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or where we came from’ so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves” (p. 4). Identity is not necessarily always changing. In some cases, an aspect of one’s identity remains in the continuum of maintenance by dint of effort. In particular, it seems that some ethnic groups in immigrant societies may try to keep their ethnic identities. According to Phinney (1990), first generation immigrants tend to try to keep their ethnic identities and they want their children to maintain their ethnic identities in a new society. Ethier and Deaux (1994), for example, suggest that “maintaining one’s identity in a new environment is a process of re mooring the identity to the new social environment” (p. 244).

Last, the nature of identity is variable in the sense that an individual has several identities in accordance with their relations with others and the world. Fundamentally, Rummens (2001) suggests three main conceptualizations of identity: personal identity, social identity, and self-identity. Personal identity refers to the consequence of an identification of self, by self, with

regard to others. Social identity is defined as the result of an identification of self by others and it is also assigned by other social factors such as ethnicity, culture, socioeconomic status, religion, race, or education. Self-identity can be referred to as how an individual perceives or understands himself or herself in terms of his or her life experiences.

The aforementioned definitions and characteristics of identity seem to fit well with the participants' complex identities and an on-going process of negotiating and reconstructing their identities due to their linguistic and cultural integration in intercultural families and Canadian society in this research. Particularly, among Rummens' (2001) three categories of identity, most emphasis is placed on social identity in my research, specifically cultural, social, racial, and ethnic identity because the participant's hybrid children's racial identity as well as the participants' cultural, social, and ethnic identities are negotiated and reconstructed.

Cultural identity. Culture and identity are often discussed together since culture is a salient marker of identity (Clarke, 2008; Hall, 1996; Lee, 2002; Liddicoat, 2002; Pandharipande, 1992). Accordingly, every individual constructs his or her cultural identity, including cultural origins, traditions, customs, values, or life styles (Clarke, 2008), leading to a more generalized identity. Pandharipande (1992) defines cultural identity as an umbrella term that consists of numerous factors of human life, such as language, region, religion, race, and ethnicity, and these factors are manifested through a social group to which an individual belongs. By the same token, cultural identity also has a deep connection to one's relationship with others and the social world, as identity in general is relational. Woodward (1997) argues that "each culture contains its own distinctive ways of classifying the world. By means of classificatory systems, culture gives us the means by which to make sense of the social world and to construct meanings" (p. 30). Furthermore, cultural identity can always be changed in terms of this relationship with others and

the social world. An individual can go through cultural identity (re)formation and shift through relations with the social world. Lee (2002) claims cultural identity is formed when an individual configures one's awareness of own culture and recognizes the social group to which one belongs in practice. In a similar vein, Liddicoat (2002) indicates that one's cultural identity is dynamic, especially when an individual encounters other cultures.

Social identity. Social identity relates to the social world to which an individual belongs as our notion of who I am and who we are is generally based on membership in and affiliation with a variety of social groups (Hinkle & Brown, 1990). According to Tajfel (1981), social identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (p. 255). Tajfel (1981) further explains social identity theory, which is based on four main constructs with respect to social identity in an in-group context including social categorization, social identity, social comparison, and psychological group distinctiveness (p. 254). Social categorization is the process of collecting social objects or events in the same groups with regard to an individual's actions, a conception and a belief system. In this process, each individual tries to establish relevant social categories by dividing up his or her experiences of the society. Social comparison occurs when an individual attempts to clarify their social identities by comparing between in-groups and out-groups. The purpose of social comparison is to establish a positive perception of the group to which he/she belongs. Psychological group distinctiveness is developed through the process of social comparison. An individual distinguishes general social values between social groups and he/she notices the significance of the in-group, particularly related to positive stereotypical views. Tajfel (1981) also claims "the positive aspects of social identity and the reinterpretation of attributes and engagement in social

action only acquire meanings in relation to, or in comparisons with, other groups” (p. 256) since individuals live within and interact with social groups.

Ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is defined as an individual’s subjective sense of self with regard to membership in a particular ethnic group (Alba, 1990; Liebkind, 1992; Phinney, 1990). However, it is argued that ethnic identity cannot be defined in one specific way since the word ‘ethnic(ity),’ per se, is defined in many different ways (Berry & Laponce, 1994). It appears to be concerned with one’s genealogy and race. It can also be confused with nationality since the word ethnicity is originated from the Greek word, *ethnos*, which means nation. However, ethnicity at present is more like a cultural term since it is “the product of actions undertaken by ethnic groups as they shape and reshape their self-definition and culture” (Nagel, 1994, p. 152). Ethnicity is also a social construct in that it is shaped by social factors such as language, culture, religion, appearance, ancestry, or resident location. Therefore, the characteristics of ethnicity are described as fluid, changeable, and situational rather than fixed and static (Nagel, 1994). In this regard, it can be subjective. One’s ethnicity can be defined differently by others because of the impact of social factors. Based on this definition and this nature of ethnicity, ethnic identity is defined as more than labeling oneself and expressing membership in a certain ethnic group; it includes self-identification, sense of belongingness and commitment to a group, shared values, and attitudes toward one’s own ethnic group (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001, p, 496).

Racial identity. In order to define racial identity, it is critical to look closely into the concept of race. At first glance, race can be considered a biological term which is based on skin colors and physical appearances. However, race is a social construct, created by social and political power in order to exploit human labour and to allow Whites to exert power over Black

slaves (Smedley, 1999). Race is one of the factors used to classify social stratification and legitimize practices of power. Moreover, supposing that race is a biological term, one's race can vary in terms of geographical contexts and linguistically constituted contexts (Bailey, 2000). For instance, the perception of one's race can be Black in a certain geographical location and it can be brown in another location. Therefore, race is both relational and socially constructed.

Likewise, racial identity is also formed in relation to various social factors, not only physical appearance and skin color. It is constructed relatively and interactively as well as personally and subjectively, meaning that race is situational and changeable like any other type of identity. The nature of racial identity is more explicit in hybrid individuals whose parents are from different races (as a biological term) because of the two different social worlds to which they belong and in which they get involved. Rockquemore (2002) indicates racial identity for hybrid individuals is about "choosing between available options and the once-impenetrable color line is now a matter for social negotiation" (p. 486).

The factors that affect hybrid identity construction and negotiation. There are some factors that influence bi/multiracial people's hybrid identity construction. In fact, it seems that many hybrid individuals go through a moment of questioning their dualism with regard to their physical appearances, cultures, and languages even if they speak both of their heritage languages. Some may feel excluded and isolated in both locations of their parents' origins simply because they look different, lack knowledge of the shared culture, or speak a different language (Bailey, 2000; Brunnsma & Rockquemore, 2002; Khanna, 2004). Even though they have experience living in both places, know both cultures, and speak both languages, they may find themselves regarded as aliens due to differences in appearance, social perceptions, or even because of a lack of education about and policies on hybrid individuals (Brunnsma & Rockquemore, 2002;

Rockquemore, Brunnsma, & Delgado, 2009; Sanchez & Bonam, 2009). Therefore, bi/multiracial people's hybrid identity construction can be a lifelong complex process. In this section, I address some factors affecting hybrid identity construction, in order to understand how family, society, and the education system can help them to create their Third Space (Bhabha, 1990).

Physical appearance. Of all factors of hybrid identity construction and negotiation, physical appearance or phenotype is considered an influential factor. Some researchers indicate phenotype as the strongest feature affecting a hybrid individual's racial identity (Khanna, 2004; Rockquemore, 2002). Khanna (2004) discusses how Asian-White individuals identify their racial and ethnic identities, arguing that their racial identities are often assigned on the basis of their physical appearances as perceived by others. For instance, an Asian-White person who is perceived as an Asian because of his/her dominant Asian appearance tends to self-define as Asian. On the other hand, one who is perceived as a Caucasian is more likely to indicate his/her racial identity as a Caucasian. One cannot easily have a sense of belonging to a certain racial or ethnic group if he/she looks different from and feels excluded from the group members.

However, physical appearance can be problematic as a factor of hybrid identity construction since racial identity is socially constructed and relational. One's racial or ethnic identity can vary depending on geographical locations, the location of politics and culture, and the appearances of people around one. Politically, the one drop rule is an example of determining non-White racial identity on the basis of one drop of colored blood regardless of self-identification (Rockquemore, Brunnsma, & Delgado, 2009). According to Ramirez (1995), the one drop rule originated from the slave-trading society in the United States as a means to determine the race of children from White and Black interracial relationships, maximizing the number of slaves. The one drop rule still exists in some contexts (e.g., Canadian Aboriginal),

meaning that physical appearance may not be the most influential factor in hybrid identity construction.

Language. Language is also a critical factor in hybrid identity construction and negotiation. In general, language is one of the salient factors of identity formation and shift (Jabri, 2004; Miller, 2000; Pierce, 1995), providing hybrid individuals a sense of belonging to certain racial or ethnic groups when they speak and utilize the ethnic languages. Examining three memoirs of Latina/o-White hybrid authors, their hybridity and ethnic performances, Moreman (2009) demonstrates that they felt their whiteness as authors because they used English, although they could speak both Spanish and English. Bailey (2000) also argues language can be a more salient feature than phenotype as a marker for racial identification depending on certain situations, and that one's racial identity can be shifted due to linguistically constructed contexts. For example, when an Asian-American hybrid individual with a dominant White appearance cannot speak English, people may identify him/her as an Asian because he/she cannot speak English. Many people may think that hybrid identity construction and negotiation through language are possible only when the hybrid individuals can speak both languages fluently. However, Young's (2009) story about her Korean-American hybridity shows her ability to construct Korean and American identities regardless of her lack of fluency in both languages. Although her Korean mother speaks 'broken English' and Young cannot speak Korean fluently, they still form hybrid identities together.

Culture. Nagel (1994) indicates that culture and ethnic boundaries are constructed in the same way because they are formed by interactions between individuals and group members in society. According to Nagel, ethnic boundaries determine identity options and an ethnic group size and form. Culture authenticates ethnic boundaries, providing ideology, history, language,

religion, norms, values, and customs. When two or more ethnicities are embedded in bi/multiracial people, hybrid identity construction and negotiation are complex. Studying the identity of multiracial Asians, Khanna (2004) suggests that the most influential factors in hybrid identity formation are phenotype and cultural exposure, with cultural exposure (language, values, customs, religions, holidays, music, and crafts) the primary determinant. An Asian-European hybrid individual who is exposed to Asian culture more than European culture is more likely to have a stronger Asian ethnic identity than European one. Stephen (1992) explains that the reason why culture is so powerful is that both the material and nonmaterial aspects of culture provide bi/multiracial individuals a sense of belonging to the ethnic group. Arguably, therefore, it is essential for individuals to become conversant with both their heritage cultures in order to derive a hybrid identity.

Location. Identities are formed by location: birthplaces, and both previous and present residences. A location is not only a physical place, but also an indicator of language, culture, and social network, a critical milieu (Luke, 2003; Twine, 1996; Young, 2009). Young (2009), for example, indicates that living in the Midwest United States, a dominant White community encouraged her to self-identify as White, unconsciously forgetting about her Asianness. In fact, she did not engage in defining her race while she lived in that location. Twine (1996) similarly suggests that African-descent girls construct White identities when they live in suburban communities and reconstruct Black or biracial identities after they move to different residential, cultural, and ideological communities.

Why then does the location matter when it relates to one's racial and ethnic identity construction and negotiation? There are two critical reasons. First, location is the place where hybrid individuals are being compared and interact with other people in terms of their physical

appearances, languages, cultures, and attitudes. Their racial and ethnic identity construction is situated, relational and relative. An Asian-Caucasian hybrid individual can be more White in an Asian society and more Asian in a White society because they are being compared with others who are different. Second, location implies political power. As Twine (1996) indicates, it was not until African-descent women moved to a politicized community that they realized that they were also non-White. Luke (2003) also comments on the political power related to racism by arguing that “racism is always geographically and culturally situated and always in relation to dominant cultural stereotypes and historically dominant hegemonic narratives of the other” (p. 381). Therefore, it is suggested that hybrid individuals should travel between two places back and forth frequently and learn both languages and cultures in order to construct healthy hybrid identities (Luke, 2003).

Social perception. Hybrid identity construction can be influenced by social perceptions towards hybrid individuals. Some research studies show other people’s perceptions and comments about bi/multiracial people’s physical appearances or stereotypes play a significant role in their racial and ethnic identity formation (Khanna, 2004; Young, 2009). If these perceptions and comments are positive, this would facilitate positive hybrid identity construction. However, in reality, it seems that there are more negative perceptions toward hybrid individuals. According to Jackman, Wagner, and Johnson (2001), bi/multiracial people are perceived as confused, awkward, and socially isolated. Sanchez and Bonam (2009) also indicate hybrid individuals are viewed as cold and less competent compared to monoracial individuals. In short, racism can exist in biracial individuals’ everyday lives, leading to reluctance to disclose hybridity and failure to construct positive hybrid identities.

Such negative social perceptions toward hybrid individuals are the legacy of social policies and regulations such as “anti-miscegenation laws” and the “one-drop rule” (discussed above). Anti-miscegenation laws were enacted to prohibit interracial marriages in the United States in early 1900s and were abolished through *Loving v. Virginia*¹² in 1967. To be more specific, anti-miscegenation laws criminalized individuals who were in interracial relationships and had biracial children (Thompson, 2009). Although such policies and regulations have been abolished, negative social perceptions formed through the anti-miscegenation laws and the one drop rule persist (e.g., Kouritzin, in press).

Concluding thoughts. Some significant factors were discussed that emerged while reviewing the literature in each sub-section. For example, physical appearance and social perception seem to play a critical role in determining one’s racial identity. Language and culture are more likely to influence one’s ethnic identity formation. Location affects both racial and ethnic identity as they encompass other factors such as language, culture, social perceptions, and education. Hybrid individuals construct one type of racial or ethnic identity more dominantly than the other, as these are constructed and negotiated by power relations with their social surroundings. A dominant physical appearance in a given community affects hybrid individuals’ racial identity construction. The dominant language and culture in a society influence ethnic identity through language use (Gudykunst & Schmidt, 1987). And, cultural exposure is significant in ethnic identity construction (Khanna, 2004).

So far in this chapter, I have reviewed existing literature on intercultural marriages, language choice and acculturation in intercultural couples, and hybrid identity construction and negotiation in intercultural families. My intention and hope is not only that I gain deeper knowledge of aforementioned issues through existing theory and current literature, but also that

¹² *Loving v. Virginia* is the case that invalidated anti-miscegenation laws.

this chapter provides readers a better understanding of this research. To that end, in the next chapter, I demonstrate the theoretical frameworks of this research.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

The theories underpinning this research are “language socialization” theory (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984), “habitus” (Bourdieu, 1977), “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1986), “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1983), “acculturation strategy” (Berry, 1997, 2005), and “hybridity” (Kapchan & Strong, 1999; Kouritzin, in press; Young, 1996).

Language Socialization

Language socialization theory suggests that people are socialized through the use of language, as well as socialized to use language (Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984). Derived from a general concept of socialization, language socialization manifests the lifelong process of individuals acquiring the norms, knowledge, customs, ideologies, and practices enabling them to participate in society through interaction with others (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). In language socialization theory, language is viewed as a critical medium and tool to realize socialization: as Ochs (1996) argues, language is a “system of symbolic resources designed for the production and interpretation of social and intellectual activities” (p. 407). Language socialization theorists also argue that acquiring and using appropriate language is a prerequisite to gaining social competence in the community (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 2011). Therefore, language socialization is the process by which children, novices, or newcomers in a social or cultural group obtain communicative competence, membership, and legitimacy through interaction with expert members of a social group (Duff, 2007; Ochs, 1996; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1986a). Language socialization theory focuses on the role of the language in this process with two underlying premises: (a) the process of obtaining a legitimate membership

in the society deeply affects the process of acquiring language and (b) this process is realized to a great extent through language (Ochs, 1996).

At the outset, language socialization theory focused on first language socialization, exploring interactional routines or speech acts to which children were exposed from birth and were expected to acquire language and use the language appropriately in the speech community (Ochs, 1996; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1986a). However, in recent decades, much language socialization research seeks to understand the process of second language learners becoming competent members of a society through second language learning and use (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Schechter & Bayley, 1997). That is, the process of second language learners and/or bi/multilingual individuals acquiring a new language, culture, social norms, ideology is now considered (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Lam, 2004; Leung, 2001; Schechter & Bayley, 1997).

By reviewing, analyzing, and synthesizing literature of second language socialization, I came up with five significant principles. First, second language socialization affects language learners' (e.g., newcomers, novices) culture and identity (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Leung, 2001). In general, language mediates not only communication, but also language learning and other cultural knowledge (Brown, 2000; Duff, 2007; Kramsch, 1995). Moreover, the fundamental principles of language socialization theory underpin the interdependence of language, culture, and identity since both linguistic and cultural competence is required to become a competent member of the society (Leung, 2001). Therefore, through second language socialization, language learners' or bi/multilinguals' culture and identity can be shifted. The goal of language socialization is to master linguistic customs and pragmatics, to adopt appropriate identities, stances, ideologies, and/or behaviours associated with the target

group, and to follow the society's normative practices (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Schechter & Bayley, 1997; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a).

Second, second language socialization is a lifelong process (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Leung, 2001). While language socialization research focuses largely on children's first language acquisition during the early years of childhood, second language socialization research seeks to explore second language learners' lifelong learning experiences not only in language proficiency, but also in sociocultural knowledge and different discourse types (Leung, 2001). In fact, it is a lifetime process for newcomers to obtain legitimate membership in new communities of practice; as Duff (2007) suggests, "new ways of acting, communicating, and thinking are required and new codes, registers, genres, or literacies are given priority over other" (p. 311).

Third, second language socialization theory emphasizes the bi-directionality of language socialization between novices and experts (Duff, 2007; Leung, 2001; Song, 2007). One of the key principles of language socialization is to learn and use language through an "interactive process" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b, p.165). In this regard, expert members can also learn novices' language and culture through interaction. Duff (2007) also maintains that the process of second language socialization is bidirectional in a sense that novices also teach or convey to the expert members what their communicative and cultural needs are (p. 311).

Fourth, it is critical to understand second language socialization as a site for possible struggle over power relations (Lam, 2004). According to Bourdieu's (1977, 1992) theory of habitus and cultural capital, socialization causes power relations and vice versa because those who are socialized with particular linguistic and cultural dispositions have privileges by means

of the power structure of society. Similarly, Lam (2004) argues that during the process of (second) language socialization,

Language practices are governed by and used to produce configurations of power that determine the norms of conduct and the diverse affiliations or socialization experiences of the learner interact with each other to influence how the learner is socially positioned in any specific language learning contexts. (p. 46)

Lam's (2004) argument resonates with Wong Fillmore's (1991) questions about heritage language loss and regression among the second generation immigrant children, who wrote:

Consider what happens when young children find themselves in the attractive new world of the American school. What do they do when they discover that the only language that is spoken there is one that they do not know? How do they respond when they realize that the only language they know has no function or value in that new social world and that, in fact, it constitutes a barrier to their participation in the social life of the school? (p. 325)

Due to the power relations caused by linguistic, cultural, and racial differences, second language learners (e.g., newcomers, immigrants, novices) may not be accepted as "full-fledged members of society" and they rarely consider themselves as competent members of society even though they gain communicative and cultural competence (Leung, 2001, p. 9). However, they may negotiate and reconstruct their shifting identities in multiple sites and through interaction with multiple people over time in a new society (Norton, 1995, 1997; Song, 2007). Furthermore, power relations between novices and experts seem to affect the consequences of second language socialization. Duff (2007) argues that second language socialization does not always result in the reproduction of existing second language and its cultural practices, but also produce hybrid

practices, identities, and values, the incomplete or partial appropriation of the second language and status within the second language community, or rejection of target norms and practice (p. 311).

Finally, second language socialization theory emphasizes the importance of social environment where second language learners can acquire both language skills and specialized discourse types. This principle may sound conventional because socialization takes place in a social environment. However, it is important to consider “double socialization,” which refers to situations where second language learners have to be satisfied with acquiring specialized discourse types, as well as general language proficiency skills (Leung, 2001). Second language learners can acquire these skills but they may not acquire specialized discourse types and sociocultural knowledge sufficiently in the language classroom (Leung, 2001). Duff (2007) also argues that “social interaction contextualized within particular routine activities is a crucial aspect of cultivating communicative competence in language and knowledge of values, practices, identities, and stances of the target group” (p. 311). Therefore, exposure to a variety of social environments is one of the key principles of second language socialization.

With regard to this research, (second) language socialization theory may interpret the participants’ linguistic and cultural integration and their hybrid children’s Korean language maintenance and loss. As the aforementioned principles suggest, it describes the impact of linguistic integration on the participants’ and their children’s acculturation and identities. It also demonstrates bi-directionality of (second) language socialization between the participants and their husbands as their husbands were also influenced by the participants’ language and culture, albeit a difference in degree. Furthermore, the participants’ linguistic integration is not completed, but is still on the continuum. It is assumed that their linguistic integration will occur

over their lifetime. Finally, (second) language socialization interprets linguistic power relations between a minority language and a dominant language in the participants' intercultural families and Canadian society.

It is important to mention social science theories which connect with (second) language socialization in this research such as Bourdieu's (1977) theory of habitus and cultural capital and Anderson's (1983) notion of imagined communities. These theories are also adopted to frame and interpret this research, and discuss findings as additional theoretical frameworks related to (second) language socialization theory.

Habitus. Bourdieu's (1977) influential theory of habitus corresponds with (second) language socialization theory. In order to understand the concept of habitus, it is necessary to understand Bourdieu's (1977) notion of "field". Simply put, field is a social context or group where each individual belongs and their social positions are located (Bourdieu, 1984). The field is always existing and relational and requires individuals to respond to themselves and others in a particular way. Accordingly, the individuals acquire responses through their everyday experiences in the field, and they eventually create their own distinct dispositions, called 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984). Therefore, habitus is "an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 95).

According to Bourdieu (1977), habitus is an embodied phenomenon, which can also be described as an embodied form of cultural capital. Bourdieu (1977) argues that habitus is not only the way of thinking, but also the embodiment of action such as "a way of walking, a tilt of the head, facial expressions, ways of sitting and using implements, always associated with a tone of voice, a style of speech and (how could it be otherwise?) a certain subjective experience" (p.

87). Bourdieu (1977) also contends that habitus is unconsciously formed. One's habitus is the result of his/her life experiences without an attempt to learn how to obtain it. In addition, habitus is relational because it is profoundly social, being generated in specific fields (Lawler, 2004). An individual's habitus is generated through class, race, ethnicity, language, gender, sexuality and so on and consequently, differences between habitus constitute power relations and inequalities (Lawler, 2004).

Considering the definition and the nature of habitus, it is closely connected to identity formation since habitus makes an individual distinct from others and identical to others at the same time, similar to the definition of identity based on its etymology.¹³ Notwithstanding, habitus probably influences social identity formation and development the most; it cannot be defined and explained without the notion of fields (e.g., social contexts, social groups, social categories). Lawler (2004) argues that habitus is “a way of analyzing how social relations become constituted within the self, but also how the self is constitutive of social relations” (p. 111). Furthermore, the relational nature of the habitus is an important influence for social identity construction and development as social categories such as class, race, ethnicity, language, gender, sexuality and so forth are all marked within the habitus which constitutes and legitimizes power relations and social inequality. To elaborate, Lawler (2004) emphasizes that “the habitus has its particular force because it conceptualizes power as working such that it is not what you do or what you have, that is marked as wrong or right, normal or pathological, but *who you are*” (p. 112).

The theory of habitus helps us to interpret and discuss the participants' challenges as foreign wives and immigrant mothers in intercultural families and as immigrants in Canadian

¹³ Identity is a relative concept as it can be determined in terms of how much sameness and oneness an individual shares with others in a particular area or on a given point (Rummens, 2001).

society. Particularly, it interprets the participants' othered experiences related to their identity negotiation and their experiences of mothering their hybrid children in Canada. Moreover, it explains why the participants cannot gain full membership in Canadian society and helps us to understand the effect of linguistic and cultural power relations on the participants' identity negotiation and the challenges raising their hybrid children as part Korean in Canadian society.

Cultural capital. Bourdieu's (1986) theory of cultural capital describes the result of socialization and a cause of power relations between novices and experts in second language socialization. Cultural capital is one of the capitals that Bourdieu (1986) discusses in his theory of different capitals (e.g., cultural capital, linguistic capital, social capital, economic capital). According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital refers to accumulated cultural knowledge and modes of thoughts that endow individuals with power and status. He argues that it is convertible into economic capital on certain conditions.

Bourdieu (1986) suggests three forms of cultural capital, namely, the embodied state, the objectified state, and the institutionalized state. The embodied state is "a form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 84). Simply put, it is culture and cultural confidence, such as a way of thinking, speaking, and dressing. This form of cultural capital is consciously acquired by oneself and passively transmitted from the family through socialization over time. Hence, it cannot be obtained arbitrarily. The objectified state is "a form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.)" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 84). The objectified cultural capital is transmissible and easily convertible to the economic capital. For instance, paintings can be transmitted as well as converted to money. Finally, the institutionalized state is "a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 84). Education qualifications

bring a certificate of cultural competence which endows its holder with a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with regard to culture.

Similar to the notion of habitus, cultural capital has been adopted in many research studies on the cultural and linguistic identity formation of minorities (Erel, 2010; He, 2010; Norton, 1995; Trueba, 2002). Erel (2010) used the cultural capital to examine the transformations and contestations of migrants' cultural capital and how the migrant-specific cultural capital (re)produces migrants' class, gender, and ethnicity which are markers of one's identity. Norton (1995) explores the relations of language learning, social identity, and power through her study of immigrant women. Drawing on the notion of cultural capital, she argues that language learners should invest in a second language with understanding that they will obtain a wider range of symbolic resources such as language, education, and friendship, as well as material resources. Gaining symbolic and material resources enhances cultural capital and, as a result, the language learners' social identity will be reconstructed positively. Trueba (2002) also adopted the concept of cultural capital to discuss the paradigm shift of ethnically, culturally, and racially minority individuals' cultural capital in diverse society. Trueba (2002) argues that minority people's lack of mainstream cultural capital should not be conceived as a handicap, but as an asset enabling them to function effectively in a diverse society with multiple identities.

Similar to Bourdieu's (1977) theory of habitus, the theory of cultural capital helps us to understand the participants' challenges of integrating into their intercultural families and Canadian society as foreign wives and immigrant mothers. More specifically, the participants' marginalization in their families and Canadian society were often discussed as a lack of their cultural capital in Canada. In addition, the theory of cultural capital interprets the participants' social identity negotiation throughout their lives in Canada.

Imagined communities. The term imagined communities was coined by Anderson (1983), who referred to a notion of a nation state. Anderson (1983) defines a nation as “an imagined political community” (p. 15). He says “it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p. 15). With Anderson’s (1983) original analysis of imagined communities, many scholars redefine the notion. Calhoun (1991) defines imagined communities as “large collectivities (whose members are) linked primarily by common identities but minimally by networks of directly interpersonal relationship” (p. 95-96). In a similar vein, Kanno and Norton (2003) define imagined communities as groups of people who connect through the power of imagination, albeit not immediately tangible and accessible.

The idea of imagined communities and identity formation have also been adopted and expanded in many disciplines. Wenger (1998) considers imagination as a crucial factor in identity construction because it is “a distinct form of belonging to a particular community of practice and a way in which we can locate ourselves in this world and history, and include in our identities other meanings, other possibilities, and other perspectives” (p. 178). Particularly, the notion of imagined communities has mostly been used to explain social identity, national identity, and ethnic identity as it is formed by a group of people who belong to specific social categories such as nationality, ethnicity, race, religion, locality, gender, culture, language, civilization, science, and technology (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Nagel, 1994; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Phillips, 2002). That is, imagined communities contain multiple layers with different social categories much like one’s social identity.

In this research, I focused on the notion of imagined communities with regard to the impact of language on identity construction and development, one of the key principles of

second language socialization. Pavlenko and Norton (2007) explore the second language learners' identity related to the notion of imagined communities and argue that the process of imagining and reimagining learners' multiple membership have a great impact on their agency, motivation, investment, and resistance in the learning of the language. They discuss English learners' membership in imagined communities in terms of five identity clusters, including postcolonial, global, ethnic, multilingual, and gendered identities. Through the discussion, Pavlenko and Norton (2007) contend that ethnicity and race play a crucial role in institutional and individual imagined communities of legitimate speakers of English, because many people perceive White English speaking individuals of European-descent as legitimate members of English speaking communities. Kanno and Norton (2003) also explore the impact of imagined communities on language learning. Drawing on Wenger's (1998) definition of imagination, Kanno and Norton (2003) argue that the idea of imagined communities helps language educators and learners to enhance understanding and learning on both temporal and spatial dimensions. The notion of imagined communities enables learners to connect visions of their future identities and to motivate them for what they do in the present on a temporal dimension. On a spatial dimension, it allows educators and learners to investigate the interaction between national ideologies and individual learners' identities, and the impact of globalization and transnationalism in the context of language learning and identity.

In this research, the notion of imagined communities is adopted to shed light on why and how most participants have kept their national and ethnic identities as Korean despite their linguistic and cultural integration into Canadian society.

Berry's Acculturation Strategy

This research is also anchored in Berry's (1997, 2005) acculturation strategy, which focuses on immigrants' acculturation. One of the research questions is to explore how participants describe their linguistic and cultural integration into their intercultural families and Canadian society. Berry (1997, 2005) argues that it is necessary to cope with issues of how to acculturate in a multicultural society by suggesting four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation. These strategies are derived from Berry's (1997) conceptual analysis of acculturation attitudes based on the premise that there are two dimensions of acculturation. One is 'cultural maintenance' (to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important and their maintenance strived for) and the other is 'contact and participation' (to what extent should they become involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves) (Berry, 1997, p. 9). These four acculturation strategies can be used to explore whether individuals attempt to maintain their cultural identities, or they prioritize contact and participation in their new societies rather than observing their cultures.

Assimilation strategy occurs when individuals do not try to maintain their heritage cultures, but rather try to [are forced to] assimilate into the mainstream (or dominant) society. In this case, they often end up losing their cultural practices and heritage languages and, as a result, they experience a cultural, ethnic, and linguistic identity shift. Patron (2006) contends that this type of acculturation usually occurs among migrants whose culture is perceived as less prestigious than the host culture and has negative stereotypes. Hence, the culturally-dominant society's policies and attitudes toward minority cultural groups play a significant role in the assimilation strategy. If the society has a negative view and attitude toward multiculturalism and multilingualism, this type of acculturation strategy is more likely to take place.

In contrast, a separation strategy is defined as when individuals hold their heritage cultures and try to avoid the dominant culture (Berry, 1997, 2005). Commonly found in some first generation immigrant groups in a multicultural society, this strategy describes those who deliberately observe their cultural customs in order to maintain their heritage cultures. In fact, some studies on immigrants report that first generation immigrants tend to be more traditional than people in their home countries because they are afraid of losing their heritage cultures and make great efforts to keep it in their new countries (Buettner, 2009; Phinney, 1990). In many cases, they force their children to observe their cultures and languages, creating conflicts between them. Sojourners on a short stay in a foreign country may also acculturate using the separation strategy. According to Patron (2006), people who stay in foreign countries for a short time for study or work may choose the separation strategy because too much effort would be required to integrate into the mainstream society, and it may not be desirable. Consequently, they usually form a network with people from their cultures and interact with them.

Acculturation through the integration strategy takes place when individuals maintain their heritage cultures, as well as participate in the dominant society as a member of an ethnocultural group (Berry, 1997, 2005). This strategy of acculturation is desirable as immigrants can integrate into the mainstream society while observing their cultural practices and keeping their cultural and ethnic identities. It also allows a new group of people to continue to evolve and helps both the new group and the mainstream group to build positive relations through their Third Space (Bhabha, 1990, 1994). However, it may not be the easiest way of acculturation since integration can only be “freely” chosen and successfully desired by non-dominant groups when the mainstream society is open to diverse cultural groups and willing to include cultural diversity (Berry, 1991). A system of cooperation within mainstream society includes willingness to

appreciate different cultures and it is also required to help individuals integrate into the dominant society.

Finally, marginalization strategy occurs when individuals do not have much interest in both maintaining their heritage cultures and interacting with other people from the dominant society (Berry, 1997, 2005). This usually happens as a result of pressure rather than choice. That is, individuals become marginalized when they are forced to lose their cultures and experience social exclusion and discrimination from the dominant society. Berry (1997) termed this phenomenon the “pressure cooker” (p. 10). People who experience acculturation through this strategy also perceive their cultures as inferior to the dominant culture so they often feel alienated, marginalized and further lose their identities (Berry & Kim, 1988). As a result, they usually lose cultural and psychological contact with both their original cultures and that of the dominant society. In short, they belong to “culture’s in-between” (Bhabha, 1996), in lieu of Third Space (Bhabha, 1994).

Based on Berry’s (1980, 1997, 2005) acculturation strategies, this research describes participants’ acculturation as foreign wives and immigrant mothers in their intercultural families (cf. changes in their psychology) and as members of the Korean cultural group in Canadian society (cf. changes in their cultures of the group). It also explores whether their acculturation is unidirectional or bidirectional in their families. Although it is believed intercultural marriages usually bring mutual accommodation between both groups (Root, 2001), it is critical to scrutinize each individual’s acculturation because every individual experiences acculturation in a different way and, moreover, power relations usually exist within the couples. For example, some participants’ WDCESCBM may not have much knowledge about Korean language and

cultural practice while others know and practice it. With these reasons, Berry's (1980, 1997, 2005, 2006) acculturation strategies are adopted as a second means of viewing this research.

Hybridity

Hybridity is also a significant theoretical framework for this research as it interprets the participants' own hybridity through linguistic and cultural integration and their children's duality and identities. Hybridity means "a making one of two distinct things" (Young, 1996, p. 26) and represents coexistence of the differences synchronously. Hybridity has been viewed as a biological term, a cultural term, and a linguistic term, depending on the disciplines and contexts (Kapchan & Strong, 1999). As a biological term, it refers to any organisms produced by two heterogeneous animals, plants, or humans, often referred to as half-breed, mongrel, or mixed-blood. Hybridity as a cultural term indicates one's acculturation by being exposed to two cultures and traditions. It is also used as a linguistic term that refers to words or sentences created by different languages. Examples of hybridity as a linguistic term are code-switching, code-mixing, and language creolization. In the field of applied linguistics, it is usually used to describe immigrants' linguistic and cultural integration or biracial people's languages, cultures, and identities. The former is also divided into two categories; one can explain the first generation immigrants' languages, cultures, and identities in their new societies and the other can also refer to their children's ethnicity and the environment where they live (Young, 2009). Among these definitions, hybridity in this research is concerned with bi/multiracial and bi/multiethnic people's hybrid race, ethnicity, culture, and language.

Hybrid identity. Young (2009) argues that a hybrid identity cannot be defined since it varies in terms of one's social networks, locations, and situations. Hybrid individuals can choose which identity they are going to assume in a certain location and situation. A hybrid identity can

also be ambiguous as it exists in two spaces simultaneously (Bhabha, 1991), or it crosses the border of the two spaces (Anzaldúa, 1987). In this regard, it is called “liminal space,” which means “betwixt and between” and “neither here nor there” (Turner, 1969, p. 95). Turner further argues that people who stand in the liminal space (e.g., threshold people) “are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space” (p. 95).

Hybrid identity can be a negative term as well. In reality, the bi/multiracial identity has been portrayed negatively in media and literature. According to Spikard (1989), bi/multiracial individuals have usually been portrayed in the form of the “tragic mulatto” and/or “a character torn to the point of derangement between his desire to be White and the certainty that society regarded him as Black” (p. 254). Curry (2007) introduces literary works which represent bi/multiracial individuals’ negative experiences because of their hybridity within the historical contexts. She argues that it is important to understand the context of the history (e.g., colonization, slavery), and where the negative image of bi/multiracial individuals came from. As well, it is important to acknowledge that it is a perception held by some people in society, created out of historical events.

Hybrid identity is not always a negative one in the contemporary world. In fact, it creates the Third Space which allows hybrid individuals to gain new world views by combining their two different spaces (Bhabha, 1994). In this respect, hybrid individuals can be more sensitive cultural beings and more tolerant towards other cultures enacting their hybrid identities. The research reported here employs hybrid identity as a positive term, a concept that aids in the discussion of the participants’ children’s dual identities and promotes positive self images.

Third Space. The “Third Space” is derived from Homi Bhabha (1990) and focuses on the role of culture and language in interactions. Bhabha (1990) states that the Third Space allows the meaning of the communication to be hopeful for either co-construction of interpretation or new hybrid meanings. Simply speaking, communication should not have hegemonic interpretations that conclude Person A’s utterance is correct and Person B’s utterance is wrong, and vice versa. With regard to the Third Space of culture, Bhabha (1994) also contends that “Third Space constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew” (p. 55). As a result, this notion has shed light on the elimination of cultural hegemony both in communication and history.

More importantly, the notion of Third Space has been employed by many scholars who delve into cultural hybridity (Kapchan & Strong, 1999; Kramsch, 1993) and racial hybridity (Bolatagici, 2004; Luke & Luke, 1999; Young, 2009). Kramsch (1993) employs Third Space (or Place) for learning culture through second language acquisition. She indicates that language learners create a culture of the third kind for their own aims and meanings between their native cultures and target cultures by interacting with target cultures. Luke and Luke (1999) explain the Third Space as the site and moment of hybridity in interracial families and a space where they can construct their hybrid identities. Similar to hybrid identity, in several pieces of literature, the Third Space is often described with words such as “ambivalence”, “ambiguity”, “in-betweenness”, “middle”, and “liminality”. These words can generate a negative image of the Third Space. However, going back to Bhabha’s (1994) Third Space as a site of negotiation and translation, it provides hybrid individuals a space to question their hybridity and negotiate their hybrid identities.

In this research, the notion of Third Space is used to interpret the participants' linguistic and cultural integration in their intercultural families, as well as their hybrid children's hybrid identity construction through Korean language and cultural maintenance in Canadian society.

In this chapter, I presented theoretical framework of the research. In the following chapter, I demonstrate the methodology of this research, which provides methodological frameworks and a design of the research.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Methodology includes a researcher's ontology, epistemology, assumptions, standpoint, and theoretical frameworks for research, as well as a research method. I start this chapter by indicating my ontological and epistemological frameworks. Grix (2004) argues that:

Setting out clearly the relationship between what a researcher thinks can be researched (her ontological position) linking it to what we can know about it (her epistemological position) and how to go about acquiring it (her methodological approach), you can begin to comprehend the impact your ontological position can have on what and how you decide to study. (p. 68)

Ontological and Epistemological Frameworks

A researcher's personal ontology and epistemology are critical aspects of any research as these frameworks determine what direction research is heading and how research is conducted. Simply put, researchers' personal ontologies frame their beliefs about what the nature of social reality is. Researchers' epistemologies frame their beliefs about what the nature of knowledge is and how that knowledge is discovered or created (see Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Epistemology cannot be separated from ontology (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). A researcher with a positivist ontology attempts to create objective, value-neutral knowledge, while a researcher with an interpretivist ontology seeks to understand subjective reality. Therefore, in this section, I present my own ontological and epistemological stances collectively.

Interpretivism. The ontological and epistemological framework for this research is interpretivism. I believe the social reality is multiple and relative; therefore, it cannot be generalized (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). I also believe that individuals' experiences can be a form of knowledge and we can obtain knowledge through the experiences (Cohen, Manion, &

Morrison, 2007). As I attempt to understand the participants' daily experiences and to find meanings in their interaction with others through an insider perspective in this research (Schwandt, 2000), I hold an interpretivist stance.

Interpretivism, as an ontological stance, holds that social reality is viewed by multiple people; hence, it is relative and subjective (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Hudson & Ozanne, 1998; Mack, 2010; Scotland, 2012). According to Mack (2010), within the interpretivist paradigm, events (e.g., experiences) are interpreted differently through multiple people and multiple perspectives of an incident. Crotty (1998) argues that “regarding the same phenomenon, different people may construct meaning in different ways” (p. 251). Consequently, all of the events are different and cannot be generalized (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Mack, 2010).

Interpretivism as an epistemological stance highlights human participation and interaction in knowledge claimed by emphasizing and adopting subjectivity and reflexivity (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988; Mack, 2010; Schwandt, 2000). Bryman (2001) explains that a strategy of obtaining knowledge in the interpretivist paradigm is to “respect the differences between people and the objects of natural sciences, and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action” (p. 12-13). To understand the subjective meaning of social action, Schwandt (2000, p. 192) argues that empathic identification with participants should be entailed. That is, social actions should be observed and interpreted from the inside.¹⁴ Mack (2010) also discusses the epistemological assumptions of interpretivism, which are (a) knowledge is gained inductively to create a theory, (b) knowledge is gained through personal experiences, and (c) knowledge arises from particular situations and is not reducible to simplistic interpretation (p.

¹⁴ Please refer to my arguments regarding my selection of Korean mothers for this research, rather than a range of linguistic or cultural groups. In this case, my argument is methodological.

8). Therefore, the role of the researcher in the interpretivist paradigm is to “understand, explain, and demystify social reality through the eyes of different participants” (Cohen et al, 2007, p. 19).

The ontological and epistemological assumptions of interpretivism have been criticised. Particularly, positivist paradigm theorists have suggested that the interpretivist paradigm results in a lack of objectivity and value-neutrality; therefore, such research is biased (Mack, 2010; Scotland, 2012). Scotland (2012) also points out that transferability is limited in the knowledge obtained from the interpretivist paradigm because it is not generalized knowledge but rather fragmented, highly contextualized, and subjective. Interpretivism has also been criticized by the critical paradigm. Mack (2010) argues that the interpretivist paradigm “neglected to acknowledge the political and ideological influences on knowledge and social reality and it is not radical enough” (p. 9).

However, I argue that no research is absolutely objective and value-neutral because researchers’ experiences and thoughts are always reflected in their research no matter what research paradigm and method is employed (Rooney, 2005). I also argue that knowledge and social reality are influenced not only by politics and ideology but also other factors because social reality is multiple and unique to individuals.

My research similarly views each Korean immigrant woman’s life experiences differently and relatively. I provide thick description of each woman’s unique experiences as foreign wives, immigrant mothers, and immigrants, and understand meanings of their social interactions with their WDCESCBM, hybrid child(ren), and others in society. Moreover, I, as an insider researcher, mutually interacted with the participants through unstructured life history interviews and reflections (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Research Method

This study employs life history interviews (Kouritzin, 1997, 1999) to explore Korean immigrant women's experiences of being wives and mothers in intercultural families and immigrants in Canada. I treat each woman's experience as a case, and interpret the collective of life stories through cross-case analysis and within-case analysis in order to obtain an in-depth and holistic understanding of their personal life stories of living with two languages and cultures in Canada (e.g., Kouritzin, 2000a; Kouritzin, 1999). Since each story is treated as a case, this research is also conducted in accordance with some aspects of a case study (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, the main method of this research is life history case study (also see Kouritzin, 1997).

Life history can be viewed as a type of interview or an interview technique rather than a research method. However, it is important to note that life history is a legitimate method for research, as well as an interview style, and that it has significant longevity in the field (Frank, 1979; Mandelbaum, 1973). More importantly, the life history method can help fill the gap in the traditional and conventional research since it attempts to find meanings from one's everyday life experiences and to link the experiences with theoretical perspectives (Frank, 1979; Gramling & Carr, 2004; Kouritzin, Piquemal, & Norman, 2009).

To rationalize the use of life history for this research, I would admit that the aspects of life history method resonate with my personal ontological, epistemological, and methodological standpoint. As I have argued elsewhere (Buettner, 2011), one's experience can be a form of knowledge and individuals can obtain knowledge through their experiences and/or others' experiences. Therefore, listening to individuals' life stories, reflecting on the stories, and interpreting them through various views is a critical process in research methodology. Kouritzin (1997) argues that life history allows the researcher to: a) shift perspective from the

extraordinary to the mundane and the collective to the marginal, b) to describe within a historical frame, c) to work with and write invitational texts, d) to focus on listening, thereby loosening control over the research context, e) to be reflexive, and f) to retain a holistic concept of the self and the research subjects (p. 40).

The life history method is a research method that studies and indicates real and living life cases in reality. In this sense, life history provides true and practical knowledge to the public. Furthermore, it is the most suitable method for this particular research on Korean immigrant women since they are real people in real situations who can be seen and met easily and frequently. Life history is a powerful method for the research of real people's ordinary everyday life experiences as Witherall and Noddings (1991) suggest:

...telling our stories can be cathartic and liberating. But it is more than that. Stories are powerful research tools. They provide us with a picture of real people in real situations, struggling with real problems. They banish the indifference often generated by samples, treatments and faceless subjects. They invite us to speculate on what might be changed and with what effect. And, of course, they remind us of our persistent fallibility. Most important, they invite us to remember that we are in the business of teaching, learning, and researching to improve the human condition. (p. 280)

Apart from life history, this study also employs auto-ethnography. I included my life history because my personal experiences inspired me to study these Korean immigrant women's lives in Canada and I share the same attributes with my participants (see Ch. 6). The rationale behind adopting auto-ethnography is that I obtained knowledge by pondering my own experiences and recording them, that is, as Dhunpath (2000) argues, "one's own experience is a valid part of one's own knowledge" (p. 547). Auto-ethnography also allowed me to reflect on my participants'

experiences through my own experience, and further reinforced the intimate relationship with them because “the story of my life is always embedded in the story of those communities from which I derive my identity” (Goodson, 1992, p. 241). Finally, my auto-ethnography reduces the power relations between my participants and me in that I am “in the same boat” with the participants and can share similar thoughts with them.

Notwithstanding, both life history and auto-ethnography as research methods have limitations, which have led to arguments of lack of methodological rigor in both research methods. One of the common limitations is a lack of generalizability and representivity (Hagemaster, 1992; see also Kouritzin, 2000b for rebuttal). Because life history and particularly auto-ethnography studies aim to interpret and make meaning of each participant’s personal experiences, it is true that studies like this type lack generalizability and have poor representivity. However, Kouritzin (2000b) suggests that reaching “a saturation of knowledge” (Bertaux, 1981, p.37) from many life histories can be seen as representivity. The other limitation is the question about reliability and verifiability (Hagemaster, 1992; Kouritzin, 2000b). Many researchers have argued that it is hard to acknowledge whether or not participants in life history and auto-ethnography tell the truth about their lives because there is no way to verify their stories. However, Hagemaster (1992) suggests that a longer period of relationship between a researcher and participants can enhance reliability because the researcher has more time to ask the same questions and to verify the participants’ stories through a longer period of observation.

Positionality as a Researcher

In this research, my positionality is an insider researcher who shares similar attributes with participants and is a member of the participants’ community. I believe knowledge of the social world is constructed by particular people in particular places and it reflects the interests of

those who make the knowledge (Smith, 1990). Hence, knowledge is situated, partial and interpreted.

The nature of this research also renders my insider status more beneficial. It is argued that certain types of research, such as feminist research, ethnic studies, minority studies, and race studies, can be studied more effectively through the lens of an insider, in that insider researchers have a greater understanding of their participants' situations and accounts (Oakley, 1981; Shah, 2004; Wilson, 1974; Zinn, 1979). Likewise, I believe my research topic is also studied more effectively through an insider's perspective: It has some feminist research characteristics because the research was interpreted through women's perspectives and it employs reflexivity to discuss their life stories as wives, mothers, and immigrant women; It is an ethnic and a race study because participants are Korean women who live in Canada, and their Korean culture and identity were discussed. Furthermore, their children's hybrid ethnic and racial identities were explored. It is also a minority study since participants are racial, ethnic, and situational minorities. As a Korean person, I communicated with participants in Korean language and understood their ethnic culture. As an immigrant woman, I was also able to understand the participants' challenges integrating into Canadian society and to empathize with them. As a woman in an intercultural relationship, I could share linguistic and cultural conflicts with a WDCESCBM and hybrid children.

In conclusion, I believe my insider status provides insights into the everyday life stories of Korean immigrant mothers and provides resonance across other cultures through the ability to access their stories in two languages. My insider status allows for richer data, which is a significantly important factor in qualitative research. Moreover, my enhanced reflexivity in data analysis and interpretation as an insider contributes to our collective knowledge as wives,

mothers, intercultural citizens, and scholars (Finlay, 2002; Labara, 2002; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003; Shah, 2004).

Recruitment

Purposeful sampling was employed for the recruitment of the participants. Seven Korean women, who immigrated to Canada, had WDCESCBM and had at least one child, were recruited in Western Canada by word-of-mouth and through posters in public places such as universities, Korean grocery stores, Korean restaurants, and Korean churches. I restricted my participants to Korean women with WDCESCBM in order to clarify by juxtaposition the linguistic, cultural, and racial differences in each group, while simultaneously exploring the power relations caused by specific differences. The announcement poster was written both in English and Korean so a wider range of people could see and understand it, and those who would want to participate in this research could contact me easily and comfortably.

To recruit participants in the city where I live, I asked my friends and acquaintances to spread news of my research and I posted a recruitment letter in public places and in *Teaching English as an Additional Language (TEAL) Manitoba Journal* (see Appendix B). To recruit participants in other cities in Western Canada, I emailed a recruitment poster to professors in applied linguistics at universities in different Western cities and requested that they make my research known to their colleagues and students. I also tried to recruit participants by presenting my research at a Canadian national conference. However, recruiting participants in different cities was a challenging task. In the very beginning, one person from a different city contacted me and showed her interest in my study and wanted to know more details about the research. However, when I told her about my research and interview process, she told me she would not be able to commit to the estimated interview time on Skype or phone. She also did not feel

comfortable sharing her personal stories with someone she did not know. Not only was recruiting participants from different cities challenging, but my research methodology and topics were also a great challenge in recruiting participants because many Korean women were reluctant to share their personal life stories with someone they had not met.

After managing these challenges, I recruited a total of seven participants from February 2013 to November 2013. Although I did not intend to recruit more than 10 participants due to the nature of the life history case study, I was hoping to have a few more participants at first. However, I soon realized that seven participants were a good number for an in-depth study that reached the point of saturation (Bertaux, 1981; Bertaux & Kohli, 1984) due to lengthy, focused, and in-depth interviews during the process of data collection.

All of the recruiting procedures followed the rules of the Education and Nursing Ethics Review Board at the University of Manitoba. Thus, anonymity and confidentiality of the participants was preserved during the whole recruitment process. All of the participants were asked to select pseudonyms for the interviews and no real names were mentioned in the data and the research paper. Therefore, there was no possibility for the participants to be identified to other people. All research data, including recruitment data, was stored in a password-protected computer and I was the only one who had access to the data.

Participants

The participants, including me, are Korean women who are married to WDCESCBM, mothers of racially and culturally hybrid child(ren), and immigrants in Canada. As I wished to explore the Korean immigrant women's life stories, their WDCESCBM and/or their children did not contribute to this research project. The participant selection criteria follow: (a) Korean women who are married to WDCESCBM, (b) immigrants to Canada mainly because of their

WDCESCBM, (c) living in Western Canada, and (d) understanding and speaking both Korean and English (e) mothers of at least one child who is racially and ethnically hybrid.

In order to protect the participants' privacy and anonymity, they were given pseudonyms. Detailed information about participants is not provided since they can be easily identified if such information is provided. Moreover, outside individuals mentioned by the participants, such as their husbands and child(ren), are also given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity and no personal information about them is identified.

Table 1: Overview of participants

Name	Length of stay in Canada ¹⁵	Length of marriage ¹⁶	Husband's stay in Korea	Occupation	Husband's Occupation	Family Language
Seyoung	13 years	13 years	Yes, 3 years	Housewife	Education related work	English
Subin	5 years	4.5 years	No	Housewife	Financial related work	English
Eunsung	17 years	17 years	Yes, 3 years	Part-timer	Local Business	English
Mijin	3 years	11 years	Yes, 10 years	Part-time EA	Local company	English
Hyerim	18 years	17 years	No	Housewife	Health related work	English
Inja	1.5 years	19 years	Yes, 20 years	Housewife	Education related work	English
Ran	13.5 years	13 years	No	Japanese Language Teacher	IT- related work	English

Data Collection

Unstructured life history interviews¹⁷. The open-ended, in-depth, and one-on-one unstructured interviews were the main source of data due to the nature of life history

¹⁵ It is given at time of the first interview between February 2013 and December, 2013. Thus, it may be different from the information in their life histories since their life histories was written one year after the first interview.

¹⁶ Same as the length of stay in Canada

research (Atkinson, 1998; Cole & Knowles, 2001; Kouritzin, 2000b). As this type of interview was unstructured, it kept a conversational tone throughout the interview process and invited the participants to talk freely about their life experiences, feelings, and thoughts (Haig-Brown, 2003; Tierney, 2002). Oakley (1981), a feminist researcher, suggests when interviewing women, interviewers should interact by sharing knowledge and experiences, answering their questions about the research, and supporting them when they need and ask for support. She further argues that for equal power relations, interviewers should establish a friendship and 'sisterhood' relationship rather than a researcher-respondent relationship. In keeping with Oakley, I interacted with the participants by listening to their life stories and sharing my experiences and thoughts as a member of a culture-sharing group rather than a researcher.

Most participants had three interviews between February 2013 and June 2014. Among three participants who live in a different city, only one participant had one relatively long interview due to the long distance and limited time. Each interview lasted at least three hours and the average length of each interview was five hours. The first interview was the most unstructured and open as it was more like two immigrant women's general conversations about their intercultural relationships and immigration. I started the first interview by asking how they met their WDCESCBM and the interview flowed naturally thereafter. Therefore, each interview was different and individual. Some participants started talking about their intercultural relationship through their childhood stories and others started their stories from the time they met their WDCESCBM. The second and the third interviews became more structured because questions arose during the first interview. I occasionally had to use a few guided questions (see Appendix A) that I prepared in order to have the participants focus on the research topic. The

¹⁷ The interviews were unstructured rather than semi-structured although there were guided interview questions because I used the questions only at the beginning and let the interview flow with the participants' stories.

third interviews were conducted one or one and a half years after their second interviews with follow-up questions. As I transcribed their interviews, more questions arose and I was also curious about possible changes in their thoughts and children's language over the year. Although I did not have official interviews with the participants between the second and third interviews, I contacted them through phone conversations and emails and I also met them several times and recorded occurring thoughts related to the research in a researcher's journal during the time.

To schedule the first interviews, I contacted the participants by email or telephone to arrange their appointments at an agreeable date, time and place. One different aspect of the interviews in this research is that I interviewed one of the participants who lives in a different city by telephone, as she did not mind having interviews this way. The participants were given the choice of having the interview in English or Korean, since the participants may feel more comfortable to speak their first language, Korean. All of them chose Korean, so this was the language the interviews were conducted in. The participants were also asked to choose their pseudonyms so that their identities and privacy were protected. Furthermore, the participants' informed consent was obtained during the first interview and a copy of the form was provided to the participants at the second interview. The participants who live in different cities received their copies of the consent forms through mail and email.

All of the interviews were recorded through a voice recorder and a back up voice recorder. Initially, I planned to take a few notes during the interviews, however, I did not put a lot of emphasis on general note-taking as I came to realize it may distract the participants and disturb the flow of the interviews. Moreover, I wanted to keep eye contact with them and carefully listen to them while they were telling their stories. I transcribed each interview using their pseudonyms given by them and I also provided a copy of the transcript to them for

member-check once all interviews were transcribed. Since the interview was conducted in Korean, all of the transcripts were in Korean. I translated Korean transcripts into English for the parts I would use as excerpts in this research. After their life stories were constructed based on the interview transcripts, I emailed their stories written in English to each participant for member-check by asking them to delete, add, and/or edit. In this way, their stories are more reliable and accurate (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Sandelowski, 2002).

Researcher's journal. In addition to the interviews, the researcher's reflective research journal was adopted to illuminate and reflect on the participants' narratives from the interviews and casual meetings. I recorded my feelings, thoughts and reflections immediately after each interview, thinking of the participants' narratives and attitudes. As mentioned earlier, I also recorded any occurring thoughts regarding the research even after I met each participant as a friend. Finally, I employed my own personal journal because I had already written a few journal entries related to my doctoral study and research in my personal journal throughout the course work and while preparing for this research. In addition, I also wrote my auto-ethnography based on my personal journal, memories, feelings and thoughts with regard to this research topic, as one of the participants and also the researcher in this study (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2007).

Data Analysis and Interpretation

This study analyzed the data in three ways: reflexive analysis, within case analysis (individual story analysis), and across case analysis (emergent theme analysis). I employed both within-case analysis and cross-case analysis to search for emergent patterns and themes across the women's stories, and to provide thick descriptions of each Korean woman's life story (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2008; Eisenhardt, 1989; Wolcott, 2001; Yin, 1981). Furthermore, I used my

reflexivity as an insider while I analyzed the data through within case analysis and across case analysis. Since my intention was not to generalize the participants' experiences but to reflect upon each woman's story and compare with each life experience, I found these three methods of analysis were suitable for analysis and interpretation of the data.

Reflexive analysis. Reflexivity was one of the main methods of analyzing the data in this research, used for both within case analysis (e.g. individual story analysis) and across case analysis (e.g. emergent theme analysis). Reflexivity has not been commonly practiced in social science research due to the rigorous goal of achieving neutral and scientific analysis, except for postmodernist, poststructuralist, and feminist research (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). However, qualitative researchers are encouraged to be reflexive and interpretive towards data to enhance validity (Mason, 1996). In this regard, Strauss and Corbin (1990) indicate "the trouble is that researchers often fail to see much of what is there because they come to analytic sessions wearing blinders, composed of assumptions, experience, and immersion in the literature" (p. 75). As a result, I did not exclude my reflexive knowledge but rather used it during data analysis by reflecting on the participants' narratives and interpreted their experiences through a lens of an insider. In this way, I was able to see other critical factors that have brought challenges and difficulties to these women. I was also able to point out certain social systemic problems or social norms that produced these challenges and difficulties. Furthermore, I attempted to reflect upon the participants' accounts with them by creating multiple dialogues, interacting with them, and making sure I understood what they really meant when they expressed their thoughts and feelings. Even after the dialogues, I discussed their narratives and thoughts with them by showing transcripts and their life histories through member-checking.

Within case analysis. The analysis method that I used is a “modified” form of the method that Kouritzin (1997) employed for her life history research. The first step I took for the data analysis was to analyze each participant’s life story through a within case analysis (e.g., individual story analysis). I read each participant’s transcripts several times and organized their stories in a chronological manner in order to write their life histories. Some participants told their stories chronologically during the first interview; however, other participants unfolded their life experiences in more of an episodic manner. Therefore, I wrote down each participant’s life events chronologically based on their interview transcripts. I also listened to the interviews a few more times in order to reflect on the interview, and the participants’ discourse more explicitly. In this way, I was able to understand individual participants’ accounts with not only my mind but also my heart.

After that, I tried to find a main theme for each participant’s story by reading the transcripts multiple times, highlighting repeated words and phrases, and jotting down emergent topics within an individual story. Each participant’s experience was unique, although they shared commonalities. Through this activity of coding, I found a main theme for each story and I read the transcript again, focusing on the main theme of the story. I then selected parts which represent the main theme of the story by highlighting them in a different coloured highlighter.

Finally, I wrote each participant’s story based on their chronologically organized life stories and the selected parts related to the main theme. I returned the story to each participant and invited them to edit, delete, and add in the original one. After the member-check, I edited the stories based on the participants’ feedback.

Across case analysis. After completing each participant’s story (see Ch.5), I analyzed the data as a whole through across case analysis (e.g. emergent theme analysis) in order to organize

the data into significant and comprehensive categories by finding common themes and comparing each participant's life experiences. To this end, I read the transcripts several times again by focusing on common themes throughout the whole data and highlighted emergent themes with different coloured highlighters under the categories of Becoming, Othering, and Mothering. Under the three big categories, I also tried to find common themes regarding language, acculturation, and identity by reading the data several times and highlighting the themes with different coloured pens, since this research attempts to find these three aspects in the participants' stories. I also compared each participant's experiences, because some of their thoughts and experiences were different (Wolcott, 2001).

Once I identified the themes, I described stories according to the identified themes, compared differences in the characteristics and boundaries for the themes, and related the themes to literature and/or my previous assumptions (Bazeley, 2009; Creswell, 2007; Richards, 2005). More importantly, I not only identified the emergent themes and describe participants' experiences according to them, but I also attempted to contextualize and make connections between the themes and existing literature because analyzing data should be more than identifying themes (Bazeley, 2009).

Ethical Considerations

The major ethical consideration I thought of before beginning the research was the participants' potential distress as a consequence of talking about difficulties and challenges of living as foreign wives, mothers of hybrid children, and immigrants in Canada. Although this research is not intercultural couples' counselling or therapy, the participants had to think and talk about challenging aspects of their intercultural relationships. Therefore, I highlighted their freedom to stop and withdraw participation before the interview process began. I also prepared to

pause and discontinue their participation if any participant showing any distress during the interview process. None of the participants expressed reluctance or uncomfortable feelings during the interview. However, I noticed one participant seemed to care about her negative experiences being recorded because she often started talking about them after I turned off a voice recorder. Although I was tempted to include those unrecorded stories I did not include them, and I tried to separate the stories from data deliberately to prevent me from using them as “incidental data” (Mercer, 2007, p. 13).

The other potential ethical issue was power relations between a researcher and participants. Even though many researchers in the modern era attempt to equalize the relationship with their participants by sharing their experiences and interacting with them (Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane, & Muhamad, 2001; Oakley, 1981), power relations still exist in the process of data collection and data analysis (Jankie, 2004; Merriam et al., 2001; Reay, 1996). In order to mitigate power relations during the research, I spent a great amount of time with my participants¹⁸; hence, I was able to see more different views as I interacted with them. I also tried to remember that being a researcher means “knowing different, not better, things” (Reay, 1996, p. 68). Furthermore, I thought about participants’ life histories as an insider rather than as a researcher by deprogramming the institutional knowledge and opening my eyes to a different world. The participants also treated me as one of them instead of as a researcher.

A more-than-ordinary intimate relationship with my participants was another of the ethical issues I considered, particularly because this is insider research. Edwards (2002) suggests that insider researchers can be social intruders and the intrusion exists not only in interviews and

¹⁸ I already knew some of the participants before the research and I also contacted the other participants I came to know for this research often through emails and phone calls. Moreover, I met them not only for the interviews but also for personal relationship throughout the research.

observations in which participants are directly involved, but also in researchers' minds that carry participants' personal histories. Mercer (2007) also indicates that insider researchers may use incidental data because of the intimate relationship with their participants. When researchers meet their participants for their friendship and share some stories related to their research, they may deliberately or accidentally use their participants' accounts from informal conversation without their permission. As an insider researcher, this was a challenging one because I already knew some participants as friends or acquaintances. Therefore, I was mindful not to intrude their lives and not to use my participants' accounts from informal conversations that I had with them in the past unless the conversations were repeated during the interviews.

Finally, I thought protecting participants' confidentiality and anonymity could be challenging in this research because Korean immigrant women with WDCESCBM are a minority in many small cities in Canada. To resolve this issue, I used pseudonyms to represent each participant, their husbands and children, and the city they lived and live throughout the research. However, I was still concerned about their confidentiality and privacy because they could still be easily identified. Therefore, I recruited participants in Western Canada, not only to have my study done on a bigger scale, but also to protect the participants' confidentiality and anonymity.

In this chapter, I presented the research paradigm and its philosophical underpinnings. I also indicated research method, researcher's positionality, recruitment procedure, participants, data collection and analysis procedure, and ethical considerations. In the next chapter, I will present the researcher's interview stories and a collection of the participants' life histories.

Chapter Five: Life Histories of the Korean Immigrant Women

We cannot live without stories. Our need for stories of our lives is so huge, so intense, so fundamental that we would lose our humanity if we stopped trying to tell stories of who we think we are. And even more important, if we stopped wanting to listen to each other's stories. I believe that if every woman could tell her life story and be heard, we could change the world. I still believe it. I still believe it now.

(Behar, 2003, p. xix)

This chapter includes a collection of life histories of seven Korean immigrant women's new lives in Canada, who have a WDCESCBM and child(ren) – Seyoung, Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, Hyerim, Inja, and Ran. The life histories include their experiences of becoming Canadians, being othered in Canada, and mothering their hybrid child(ren). Each life history consists of two smaller stories – the interview story and individual's thematic story. The interview story explains an interview context and my own reflections as a researcher. Each individual's thematic story demonstrates episodes related to the topics of this research and participants' feelings and thoughts about their lives as foreign wives, mothers of biracial and bicultural child(ren), and immigrants in Canada. With regard to the representational form of the stories, the interview story is written in the form of an expository account, which is narrated by the researcher's voice based on the information gathered from participants and researcher's thoughts. The thematic stories are written in the form of a descriptive account which is narrated by a participant's voice (see also Kourtizin, 1997) so that the participants' voices are distinctly heard and the power relations between a researcher and participants are reduced (Behar, 1993; Cole & Knowles, 2001).

Seyoung (세영)

Interview Story

I was always excited and pleased to hear Seyoung's life stories. She is a talented storyteller. Her *storytelling* is special and inborn. It seemed her stories were made in her heart rather than in her mind. They were not made up with rhetoric or eloquent speech, but with genuine emotions and reflections. They sounded as if my grandma was storytelling to me about her entire life filled with joys and sorrows without getting tired. They sounded as if our ancestors were singing about their life stories farming in the fields or fishing in the sea. Seyoung's stories were not only familiar and mundane, but interesting and attractive.

Seyoung is my friend as well as one of my participants. I came to know her through a friend in 2008 when I first came to Canada. As a "senior" immigrant and a "senior" Korean woman who got married to a Canadian man, she invited me and my husband to her house for dinner when we just started getting to know each other. Since I did not have many friends and I was missing Korea a lot as a newcomer at that time, I felt very much comforted to get to know her and to share my homesickness with her. She often invited me to her house for lunch and a chat. Every time I visited her, she seemed to miss Korea as much as I did, although she had lived in Canada longer than me. We always talked about Korea and even wept together talking about our parents. I was wondering if she was still having homesickness despite a relatively long period of time in Canada, or if she was just empathizing with me. Later, I came to know that she missed her mother a lot while she was raising her baby. After I became a mom, I could fathom the feelings that Seyoung felt. I am not sure if it was hormonal or empathy as a mother, but I also missed my mom and thought about her every moment when I was caring for my baby.

It is not too much to say that I have interviewed Seyoung for almost five years because she is my friend. Although each of our conversations, of course, was not designed by or focused on my present research topics and it was not voice-recorded or transcribed, we often talked about our own life episodes as Korean wives and mothers of biracial children. We naturally talked about our experiences in our intercultural families and in Canadian society and we always enjoyed each other's stories.

When I mentioned to her about this research, she did not hesitate to participate. She was willing to provide her thoughts and feelings about her life stories. It is usually argued that researching friends or family members is not valid because researchers cannot remove their own prejudices and subjectivity. However, I believe it is more beneficial particularly to life history research as Tillmann-Healy (2003) contends, "with friendship as method, a project's issues emerge organically, in the ebb and flow of everyday life" (p. 735). Therefore, I did not hesitate to say yes to Seyoung but immediately scheduled the first interview asking for her preferred time and place.

After scheduling an interview with Seyoung, unexpectedly and interestingly, I felt nervous about the interview although she was my friend. I assumed it was because it was my very first interview for this research project. I prepared by reading articles about life history interviews and modifying the interview guide questions¹⁹. The first interview day finally came. On February 7th, 2013, I was off to Seyoung's house after a light dinner. Unlike the day I scheduled the interview, I felt relaxed. I thought it was because I already knew Seyoung and had built a trusting relationship with her. When I got to her house, she and her daughter welcomed me like other times. We sat down at a dining table together and got ready for the interview. I set

¹⁹ Due to the nature of life history research, there are no fixed interview questions. Instead, I prepared the interview guide questions which guided the interview (see Appendix A).

up a voice recorder and explained more details about the research through a consent letter. Then I started asking her to tell me about her life from the first time she met her WDCESCBM. I already heard about her ‘love story’ a couple of times as a friend, hence, I did not expect to obtain lots of new information, rather I thought the interview would be more like recording her already told story. However, I found this was my mere assumption because untold stories were unfolding. It was refreshing and somewhat surprising.

During the first interview, I noticed Seyoung told me her stories chronologically, although I did not ask her to do that. It was as though she already knew how to do a life history interview. She started her story from the time when she graduated from the university in Korea, continued the story about the first day she came to Canada as an ESL student, the first day she met her husband, and ended it reminiscing about the time when she moved back to Korea and lived there for a year. While I was listening to her story, I automatically visualized each scene of her life as if watching a biographical film. After the first interview, I asked her when she would have the second interview. She seemed to prefer to have it sooner than later. So we scheduled it one week after the first interview.

It was the evening of February 14th, 2013. I went to her house for the second interview. Like the first one, we sat down at the same table and started the interview. The second one was somewhat different from the first one as she told me little episodes and her thoughts about certain issues within the topics of my research rather than telling me the stories chronologically. It was more like an omnibus movie while the first interview was like a biographical movie. But still, each of her episode stories was vivid and meaningful.

After the second interview, I did not do the third interview immediately, although I was planning to do a follow-up interview because I felt I obtained most of the information I needed

through the two long and concentrated interviews. I also thought it would be better to wait and see how her thoughts would change in terms of her acculturation and identity and her daughter's bilinguality²⁰. However, I met Seyoung several times as a friend and talked about stories related to my research topics from time to time, albeit unrecorded and unfocused.

On May 22nd, 2014, I had the third interview with Seyoung, one year after the first and the second interview. I was curious about how her thoughts had changed over a year and how her daughter's bilinguality had changed after she started kindergarten last September. For a year, I also noticed that Seyoung attempted emotionally to settle down in Canada. She even mentioned she would change her citizenship soon. I was wondering what a turning point was in her recent life. With those questions, I went to her house for our third interview and talked with her for hours over coffee. After the interview, I realized some parts of her thoughts had changed over the year and felt relief that I could write her story based on her recent feelings and thoughts. It was worth the wait.

Seyoung's Story: Hovering Between Canada and Korea

One day, Angela, my six year old daughter, sang the Korean song which talks about hometowns, telling me that she learned it at the Korean heritage language school. As she and I sang the song together, I found myself reminiscing about the good old days and came to miss those days – the days that I spent in my homeland, Korea. And then, I realized that I have never sung this song thinking about the lyrics and feeling it with my heart before. Although I didn't have many chances to sing this song before, I'm sure that I sang only with my mouth – never with my heart even if I did. I kept thinking why it was so different and finally found an answer. I must have been still living between Canada and Korea, my homeland.

²⁰ Seyoung's daughter was more fluent in Korean than English when I interviewed her because it hadn't been long since they returned to Canada at that time. Thus, I wanted to see how her Korean and English would change for a year.

My name is Seyoung Kim. I am a Korean woman who immigrated to Canada because of Dan, my Canadian husband. I have a six year old daughter. Her name is Angela and she is just like an angel. I have been in Canada since 1998; so many people think that I have been in Canada for 16 years. However, I have been here for almost 13 years total. Why are the three years missing? What happened? Where was Seyoung for three years? These questions may arise. To answer the questions, I would like to tell my life stories as a Korean wife and a Korean mother in Canada.

I met Dan almost right after I came to Canada in 1998. When I decided to come to Canada for six months to study English, my sister's friend who just came back from Canada told me about him and mentioned that he was her English partner at an ESL program and kind and friendly. And then she asked me to contact him when I arrived in Canada. As a Korean girl who didn't have a good command of English in a foreign country, I contacted him two weeks after the arrival, expecting to make a Canadian friend and practice English. That was how I met Dan for the first time. As I was told, he was kind and friendly. He showed me around the city and helped me with my English. We met almost once a week since the first meeting. My purpose of meeting him was to improve my English and his was to help me with my English at my sister's friend's request. However, we both knew that we enjoyed spending time together regardless of our own purposes. As we met frequently and regularly, we became good friends. And then, our friendship naturally extended to courtship and then, to marriage.

After two years dating, we got married in August, 2000. It was one of the happiest times in my life. Although there were a few struggles while dating Dan such as my visa expiration and my father's disapproval of our relationship, I felt truly happy during dating him and our honeymoon. Even when my parents couldn't be at my wedding in Canada, I wasn't too sad

because we were going to have another wedding later in Korea. Even when I realized that I was so far away from my home country and had to live in Canada for the rest of my life, I wasn't very homesick. Even though there were only few Korean restaurants and grocery stores at that time, I didn't feel it was inconvenient. Even though my English wasn't as good as it is now, I didn't feel uncomfortable. I was only filled with excitement and happiness.

The happiness and excitement continued as years passed by. My English improved a lot. I got a job at a hair salon and worked full time as a professional aesthetician after studying at a vocational college. Both Dan and I worked so we were able to enjoy our life without a financial difficulty. We often ate out and went out on dates. I also became more accustomed to the Canadian life. I felt like my dreams were coming true. I improved my English and lived in a foreign country. Furthermore, I had my own career for the first time in my life. Everything was enjoyable and life was good.

I didn't even feel like there were language barriers and/or many differences between Dan and me in terms of culture. As Dan was a Canadian man, I often received questions from my Korean friends such as, "Can you understand everything that he says?", "Don't you find any cultural differences?", "Isn't it difficult to live with a foreign man?", "What is it like living with a Canadian man?" and so on. My answers at that time were always like: "I don't have many difficulties because of English", "I don't feel like I had many differences from Dan", "I don't have any conflicts because of different cultures and languages." I realized rather that every individual was more similar than different after getting married to Dan and living with him. I also learned that Canadians are more open-minded about one's differences. A particular example is that Dan's father is a religious Roman Catholic, but I am a devout Buddhist. When I first met him, I was concerned that he didn't like me because I was a Buddhist. Different religions can be

easily a cause of conflicts in Korean family. However, he never asked me to attend a mass at the church or to convert into Roman Catholic. To me, it was a big difference between Canadian and Korean culture.

I started opening my eyes to challenges and conflicts caused by different language and culture when we moved to Korea and tried to have a baby. We moved to Korea in the summer of 2005. Dan thought that it would be a good experience to live in Korea teaching English for a few years. I, of course, agreed with his idea because I thought that it would be a golden opportunity for Dan to learn Korean language and culture by immersing himself in Korean society. I strongly believe that to learn a language and a culture, living in the linguistic and cultural environment is the key point and the most effective way. Therefore, we started our first Korean life together in 2005.

While we were living in Korea, we thought it was a perfect time for us to start a family, so we tried to have a baby. But then, we realized that it wasn't easy for us long after. We had many tests at a clinic, but the results of the tests were always fine. We even attempted artificial insemination, but it didn't work. During the time of the trials and struggles, I started seeing my mom's emotional suffering and guilt of me troubling to have a baby. She thought of it as her own fault and felt sorry to me and Dan and even his family while Dan's family seemed to just accept it naturally. I didn't like my mom to think that way. However, I later realized that it was a way of expressing her love toward me and I came to know that it was a part of different cultural aspect.

Fortunately, I became naturally pregnant shortly after emptying my mind. I will never forget the moment when I let my mom know the news on the phone. She didn't say anything but cried and cried. I rarely saw her crying in my childhood. It was almost the first time to see her crying like that. Despite the phone call conversation, I was able to see her relieved and delighted

face and to even see her heart full of love, wishes and concerns about her children. Embracing my mom's heart and determining that I would be like my mom to my daughter, I moved back to Canada with Dan in the summer of 2007.

As soon as I came back to Canada from Korea, I realized that the life in Canada was different from the previous one. I missed my family, especially my mom. I also missed Korea. I often reflected on the life in Korea for two years in my mind thinking whether I will go back there again and when I will live there again. Those feelings almost made me question how I had lived in Canada and enjoyed living here before our Korean life. I was also concerned about how I would deliver and raise a baby in this foreign country. It was weird. I hadn't thought of Canada as a foreign country many times before. Rather, I had tried hard to assimilate into Canadian society. However, I felt that I was a foreigner and living in a foreign country. I seemed to draw a line between Canada and Korea once I came back from Korea.

In February 2008, I finally became a mother. Angela, my miracle daughter, was born. Although she was precious and adorable, it was challenging to take care of her as a new mom. Particularly, Dan was busy working and studying at the same time in order to settle down in Canada. After coming back from Korea, I had to take care of Angela for most of the time; consequently, I felt lonely and missed my mom and Korean family who I thought could help me with my baby when I needed. I think that my homesickness was at a climax at that time. I also found myself pursuing more Korean things in my life such as Korean language, food, television programs, and more Korean friends. Deep down in my heart, I was concerned that my daughter became more Canadian-like while living in Canada. I was even afraid that she would become too Canadian so that she couldn't understand my Korean culture and emotions attached to the culture in the future. With this concern, I spoke only Korean to her and I cooked mostly Korean food for

her. I raised her with a Korean childrearing style not only because I didn't know the Canadian style, but also because I wanted her to be like a Korean as she grew old. I felt a strong responsibility to pass down Korean language and culture since I knew nobody could do that for her except me in Canada.

Thankfully, Dan was cooperative with my plan to raise Angela more like a Korean. He didn't say anything about me speaking only Korean to her even in front of him or feeding mostly Korean food. He, rather, valued bilingualism and biculturalism and encouraged me to do that because he believed that growing in a more Korean way living in Canada will eventually make a balance between Canadian and Korean culture and identity. I wasn't worried about Angela's English, as well, because she was exposed to English through Dan and the English environment in Canada. I was always concerned about her Korean language and culture.

As time flew by, Angela grew well and I grew more mature in my thinking. I think my status as a mother made me think more maturely. I often thought about my aging parents in Korea and felt sorry to them for living far away from them and not being able to show Angela to them often. So I talked to Dan about living in Korea for a year. Dan considered it carefully and agreed with my idea. Dan was in the final stage of his Masters program and writing his thesis at that time, so he also thought it wouldn't be a bad idea to finish up writing his thesis in Korea and start a new career related to the field of his study after. He further thought that it would be a worthwhile experience for Angela. Therefore, we once again headed to Korea in 2011.

Our second Korean life was very different from the first one. Both Dan and I enjoyed our first life in Korea, in spite of our struggles with having a baby. I don't recall any inconveniences, challenges and conflicts that Dan and I faced because of language and culture when we lived in Korea for the first time. Or perhaps, I may not remember them only because I didn't care about

them even if there were. However, I somehow became more aware of and sensitive to inconveniences, challenges and conflicts when we lived in Korea for the second time. I sometimes felt inconvenient to be Dan's 'personal secretary' because of his limited Korean language. One day, he wanted to order pizza, but couldn't order it on the phone. So I had to call the pizza place to order it, although I was away in a different city. Most of time, I took my secretary role for granted, but there were times that I felt it was tiresome to do little chores for him. From time to time, I also felt it was tiresome to be his 'personal interpreter' when we talked with my family. Although I knew that Dan would take over this position for me and Angela in Canada, I sometimes felt emotionally challenged.

It seemed that Dan also felt different living in Korea the second time. He liked the first experience of living in Korea, teaching English, and exploring Korean culture. However, with a child and with more knowledge of Korean life, Dan started discovering unsafe environments for Angela and unlawful situations in public and began criticizing them. I understood his protective instinct as a father, but I felt displeased to hear about criticism toward my country. But then, I tried to be in his shoes thinking about the time I had lived in Canada and realized that Korea was not his country where he grew up. And then I came to a conclusion that Dan must have felt the same as I had felt in Canada. He must have felt unassimilated in Korean society and missed Canada. With those thoughts, I began feeling sorry for him and became thankful to him for agreeing to live in Korea twice.

I also found changes in my thoughts while I was living in Korea the second time. I had never thought that I would miss Canada before I moved to Korea. Strangely, I missed Canada. I felt comfortable to stay in Korea and happy to be able to see my family whenever I wanted to. And yet, I missed the quiet and peaceful atmosphere, many safe open fields where Angela could

play freely, and Canadians' more lenient and respectful attitudes to differences and diversity. I felt confused between Korea and Canada. I felt in-between.

Although I faced these emotional challenges, the best thing that happened in Korea was a burst of Angela's Korean language. Her Korean language literally burst one and a half months after she started going to a preschool. I was amazed and happy to see her speaking Korean. Personally, I also felt accomplished because I made great effort in passing down the Korean language to her. My parents were happier than anybody else. Smiles on their faces never left whenever they talked with Angela. However, I noticed that Dan started being concerned about her English as her Korean improved more and more while her English didn't. He signed up English cable TV and let Angela watch English TV at home. I am not sure if it helped or not, but Angela's English didn't regress.

Reflecting on our second Korean life, I realize that it was full of different emotions – inconvenience, challenges, comfortableness, confusion, happiness, accomplishment. And I have one more emotion to include – sorrow. When it was almost the time to say good-bye to Korea, I had to say good-bye to my father forever. I vividly remember the phone call from my mom one morning. Right after the phone call, I headed to the hospital and saw my father lying on the bed. That was the last. He couldn't get up again. After his funeral, my mom said to me that it was relieving that I had been living in Korea and was able to say good-bye to my father. Her account resonated in my mind and I had to admit that it was relieving, wondering if I could have seen my father lying on the bed, said good-by to him, and even attended his funeral if I had lived in Canada.

Now, I can say that my father's passing became a turning point in my life. After a month from the farewell with him, we moved back to Canada, as we originally planned. It was very

difficult to leave my mom behind and I was concerned about her a lot, although other siblings were with her. Like the first time when I came back to Canada, I missed my family and Korea a lot. However, I did not want to move back there to live again. I felt like I lost a half connection with Korea and realized that the remaining half will disappear in the future. I was reminded of older Korean immigrants saying that they didn't have a reason to go back to Korea after their parents passed away. I finally understood what they meant.

I decided to settle down in Canada, not only physically, but also emotionally this time. I thought that it was finally the time for me to stop hovering between Canada and Korea. I reminded myself of Canada as my adopted home country. I further thought about changing my citizenship to completely assimilate into Canadian society. In fact, I have still kept my Korean citizenship, although I have lived in Canada since 1998. Many other Korean immigrants that I knew often asked me why I had kept Korean citizenship despite getting married to a Canadian man and living in Canada, looking at me with their quizzical glances. Some people say that citizenship is only something on the document, but to me it is something in the heart. I felt like I would become disconnected with Korea once I would change my citizenship. I felt like I would give up my country if I should give up my Korean citizenship²¹. Therefore, I hadn't changed it and hadn't even thought about changing it. However, I started thinking about applying for Canadian citizenship. It was a big change in my mind.

In 2014, I am still in the process of becoming a Canadian. I have to admit that I am still hovering between Canada and Korea in my mind, despite a firm resolution that I made two years ago. I realized that it is challenging. Particularly, the process of becoming Canadian is sometimes conflicted with my different status and mothering process. When I feel different, I feel

²¹ In Korea, dual citizenship is not allowed. Thus, if an individual receives different citizenship, the Korean citizenship is discarded.

challenged. When Angela speaks more English than Korean and reads Korean books reluctantly after starting kindergarten, I felt challenged. Nevertheless, I try to be grateful for being in-between Korea and Canada because it may be the only way of seeking balance in an intercultural family.

Subin (수빈)

Interview Story

I met Subin at a Korean church in the Winter of 2009 when I first visited there. Sitting in the back seat at the church, I saw a Korean girl and a White Canadian man sitting together and they surely stood out among many Korean people. As a new immigrant who came to Canada because of a WDCESCBM, I was happy to talk with them after the service. I also learned that Subin came to Canada at almost the same time as me. Since we both did not have many friends as new immigrants and have common ground as interculturally married women, we shared our contact information. However, we did not have many chances to meet each other outside the church because I was busy studying and she was busy working and preparing for her wedding later that year.

As time passed by, we naturally started getting closer and closer. I think it is because of the common ground that we share in our new Canadian life – settling down in Canada, enjoying our honeymoon, having a child(ren) and childrearing since we came to Canada. Preparing for this research, I thought about Subin. The first reason was her Canadian life has been busy and active with big life events, such as getting married and becoming a mother despite a relatively short period of stay in Canada. The second reason was she participated in my pilot study in 2009. Therefore, I mentioned this research to her and asked whether she would be interested in

participating again. As I expected, she said that she would participate. After that, we scheduled an interview time and place and talked briefly about the interviews to take place.

On February 11th, 2013, I went to Subin's house for the first interview. Since Subin had to take care of her two children, she wanted to have the interview at her house. We both were stay-at-home-mothers and had to take care of our children. Particularly, her second child was only four months younger than my son, so she suggested that they could have a play date while we had the interview. At first, I was not sure about how it would work; however, I followed her suggestion because, as a researcher, I wanted to respect her suggestion. She also wanted to treat me to lunch before the interview, so she asked me to come around 12:30 PM. In Korean culture, having a meal together means a lot. It is not only sharing food, but also a way of expressing intimacy, friendship and respect. It was exactly 12:30 PM when I got to her house. Lunch was already prepared on the dining table. I felt like I went to her house for a play date rather than an interview.

After lunch, the first interview finally started. As I already knew Subin, the atmosphere of the interview was natural and relaxing. However, I was still cautious about asking her private and sensitive questions, since I noticed that she did not usually talk about private matters when we got together as friends. Subin is originally a reticent person, so I thought it could be because of her personality. And yet, I found myself reluctant to ask her private questions at the first interview. I was also struggling to obtain detailed information and stories from her. Her stories were relatively short and many specific episodes did not seem to come across her quickly, as she often asked me to tell my stories to her as an example. As a result, I ended up talking more than her in the entire interview. Although I did not plan to only listen to my participants' stories, I felt challenged to encourage her to talk more during the first interview.

After the interview, I thought about how to make her talk more at the second interview. I knew Subin was a quiet person, but I also felt like I failed to do a life history interview as a novice researcher. I felt regrettable that I talked more than her, and felt discouraged I could not guide her to talk more. In my research journals, I wrote the following:

Subin's interview was probably a good one if it were not for life history research. She answered my questions well but I did not like silence between the questions. That was why I talked more than her, I guess. I am confused with how much a researcher should allow silence and share his or her stories. I have read articles regarding this issue however I realized that it was hard to follow the advice from the articles when a participant is a reticent person. Is it okay for me to talk more than her or should I be just listening to her stories? I think the reason why I talked a lot was to avoid awkward silent moments and make a conversation more natural. However, I am not sure if it is a good strategy because I am concerned that it may hinder my participants from having more deep thoughts and expressing them. What should I do for the second interview?

(Researcher's Journal, February 12th, 2013)

With the concerns about Subin's reticence, I reread articles regarding this issue and I realized that I had to tolerate silence to a certain degree during an interview. One of the articles suggests that a researcher should build a trusting relationship with a participant before the interview, emphasize his/her interest in a participant's story, and share personal information during the interview in order to avoid reticence (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003). When I reflected on the interview with Subin, I thought that I had already built a trusting relationship with her and I also showed interest in her stories and shared my stories to give her examples. However, I came to

realize that I was not very tolerant of silence in conversations in general and I thought to myself that I probably did not keep her interview pace.

Keeping this realization in my mind, I had the second interview with Subin on March 20th, 2013. As same as the first interview, I went to her house around lunch time. We first had lunch together and then started talking about acculturation, identity and mothering our children over coffee. During the second interview, I tried to allow silence to some extent. Subin also talked more about episodes related to the topics of the interview. I still had to talk relatively more than the times when I interviewed other participants; however, I felt more fulfilled the second time.

After transcribing and reading the two lengthy interviews, I realized Subin's interviews were not of poor quality at all, despite her reticence. Interestingly, I obtained the most information that I intended to get through the two lengthy interviews. Like Seyoung, however, I wanted to follow up on her thoughts of acculturation and identity and her daughter's Korean language one year after the interviews, as she might have changed her thoughts over one year and I wanted to ask her about the impact of her visit to Korea with her family in the fall of 2013. Therefore, I had the third interview with Subin on June 25th, 2014. Through the third interview, I was able to find changes in her thoughts on her identity and to hear about the Korean trip story.

Subin's Story: Discovering My Other Self

Around nine o'clock in the morning, an old Canadian lady knocked on our house door. Kira, my daughter, and I slept in and were still in our pyjamas on that morning, so I did not really want to go out and talk to a stranger. I thought she was one of the religious group people, so I did not want to be bothered. I asked my daughter to be quiet when she kept calling me loud. The lady finally saw me and Kira through the window and I had to open the door. She scanned me from my toe to head and asked me if I was the owner or if I was working in the house. It was

an absurd moment and I suddenly felt upset when I heard that. However, I wanted to get away from some kind of tedious sermon or lecture, so I told her that I was not the owner. As I expected, she did not continue to speak to me. Instead, she passed me a sheet of paper and asked me to give it to the owner.

I have lived in Canada for six years and this episode is one of the worst experiences that had so far. I think it is almost like subtle racism because the lady did not consider me an owner; rather she tried to confirm who I was. After the conversation with her, I thought about why she asked me if I was an owner or a worker in the house. I came up with a few plausible reasons. She might have judged me through my English accent and Asian look. She might have judged me through my untidy look on that morning – wearing pyjamas and no-makeup and having messy hair. Or she might have thought of me as a nanny because I was Asian but my daughter did not look completely Asian. I am not sure about the reason, but I am sure that I felt upset.

I am a Korean immigrant woman to Canada and a mother of biracial children – Kira and Ayden. Of course, I can't leave my Canadian husband out in order to tell my life stories. His name is Eric and I have known him for twelve years. I first met Eric at my friend's party in May 2002, when I studied English in Canada. Eric was my friend's roommate. We were introduced to each other and talked briefly on that day. He looked nice and kind but I did not have any special feelings about him first. However, we unintentionally ended up being in touch with each other because Eric usually answered the phone whenever I phoned my friend. Sometimes Eric and I even talked to each other on the phone when my friend was not home. Through our brief phone conversations, we became closer and ended up going out for coffee and/or meal sometimes. As we spent time together in person, we started liking each other.

Like many other international couples, Eric and I also struggled with a long distance relationship. In the summer of 2003, I had to return to Korea after finishing my ESL courses. We exchanged phone calls and emails almost every day. Then, I visited him in Canada in 2005 and met his family and spent time with them. As he was busy studying for a big exam for his future career at that time, our relationship could not be his first priority. And yet, I totally understood his situation and decided to wait until he passed the exam. In 2007, he finally passed the exam and I came to Canada the following year to be with him.

After all the years of our long distance relationship, Eric and I finally tied the knot in Canada in early 2009. I was very happy and excited to start a new life with him, especially after the long wait. I thought I would enjoy my new Canadian life without any difficulties and challenges because I liked a western way of living and had enjoyed my previous stay in Canada. However, it was not long after getting married and living in Canada that I felt it was different from my expectation. I felt like I was facing a reality with lots of transitions in my life. It was definitely different from the time when I stayed in 2002 and 2003. I started feeling scared and nervous about the new life. I felt like I suddenly became a different person, unlike Subin, who used to be fearless and adventurous but rather, reserved and passive.

In fact, 2009 was an emotionally complicated year since everything happened at the same time. I became a married woman. I became an immigrant to Canada. I also became a new mother by having my daughter, Kira. Regardless of those big changes, I faced small changes in my life as everything was different from the time when I lived in Korea. I walked on Canadian soil and I ate Canadian food and drank Canadian water. I spoke mainly English instead of Korean. The people I usually saw and met on the street were Canadians, not Koreans. I had to learn and follow a Canadian way of living in certain situations. I felt like it happened all at once and it was

a huge transition in my life. Looking back on that particular year and the past few years, I don't even remember how I have dealt with my different self and all the differences. However, I remember they were emotionally challenging times. The good news is I have learned how to live as a Korean wife and mom in an intercultural family and an immigrant in Canada through the challenges. And moreover, I am still learning.

One of the challenges I was faced with at the beginning was my English. Although I could understand and speak English, it was still challenging to fully engage in conversations with Canadians in general and even with Eric's family. I felt nervous about talking to them and felt discouraged whenever they couldn't understand my English. Particularly, it was such a stress that I had to interact with Eric's family and engage with their conversations at family gatherings. I remember listening to their conversations as if I was having an English listening test. I was all ears listening to each sound of the words from their mouths. It was not enjoyable at all.

It was also challenging to adjust to a Canadian way of postnatal care after I had Kira in 2009. In Korea, it is not too much to say that women receive the best care from family members and other people during pregnancy, childbirth, and postnatal period. Especially after childbirth, they receive special postnatal care from their husbands, mothers, or mothers-in-law because we believe that a woman's body becomes very weak and it takes time to regain their strengths and energy after childbirth. They literally don't do any house chores for a month. When I had Kira, I did not really expect the Korean way of a postnatal care because I was in Canada. However, I really missed Korea and my mom because the help and care from Eric and my mother-in-law was different from the Korean style. It was one of the most challenging times in my intercultural relationship.

In 2012, I became a mother of two children when I had a baby boy, Ayden. Kira started going to preschool and I once again, became a stay-at-home-mother, taking care of baby Ayden. While I was staying home, I sometimes missed working and being active as a career woman. Then I found myself becoming more dependent, passive and even voiceless in Canada. I was not sure if it was because I lived in a foreign country and spoke a different language, or if it was because I stayed home only raising kids, but it made me think about myself and my life in Canada.

I used to be active and adventurous when I lived in Korea. If I thought about going on a trip, I took a trip the next day. I was spontaneous and I had incredible drive at that time. Even when I first came to Canada to study English in 2002, I was fearless. I was not scared of trying new things, although I was in a foreign country and my English was worse than it is now. I liked to meet new people and became friends with them easily. However, I do not know why but I am different now.

I also became voiceless. I feel like I have lost my voice in Canada. The other day, I went to Costco with Kira and Ayden and I ordered fried chicken. When I got the chicken, I found that I got only one pack of honey mustard while they usually gave me two packs before. I wanted to ask them to give me one more, but I did not ask them after all. I probably could have asked them to give me one more if it had been necessary and urgent to ask. However, I became completely voiceless. This was not the only case that I did not complain about a clerk's mistakes and errors and request for other options and/or try to correct them. It is weird because I was not like that in Korea.

Moreover, I have depended on Eric for many parts of my life in Canada. I was once told that women usually become dependent on their husbands when they get married. However, in

my case, I think I became more dependent on Eric as a foreigner. I was not familiar with Canadian systems in many parts of a life but Eric knows everything. Even after six years of living in Canada, I still do not know how a mortgage works, how the tax system works, what is going on in Canadian society and so on. I think I was not even interested in learning those things because I was busy with kids and Eric has done so much for me. Probably, I would not be as dependent as I am now if my husband had been a Korean person and/or we lived in Korea. As years go by and the kids grow, I seriously realize that I should learn more about the Canadian system and society. Otherwise, I would be nobody who knows nothing in Canada without my Canadian husband in the future.

After experiencing those challenges and adjusting to a Canadian life, I am still facing struggles and challenges in many parts of my life. The biggest struggle is Kira and Ayden's Korean language learning. Personally, I really want Kira and Ayden to be able to understand and speak Korean so that they can communicate with my parents in Korea. However, it has been challenging to make them speak Korean since Kira started going to preschool. Kira spoke many Korean words and expressions before, but she started refusing to speak Korean now. Sometimes, she did not even want me to speak Korean to her. She often tells me, "Mommy, don't say mommy's English²²." I started being concerned that she was stressed to hear all Korean and be asked to speak Korean when I heard her saying it to me. So I didn't force her to speak Korean, although I continued to speak Korean to her. Now, Kira is almost five years old and she seems to understand most Korean that I say to her, but I also noticed that she is losing her Korean because she sometimes does not understand what I say. Ayden is now two years old and he is learning new words and expressions every day. I still speak Korean to him, but he also picks lots of

²² Subin's daughter was so young that she did not know Korean as one of the languages so she called Korean 'mommy's English' when I interviewed her.

English from Eric and Kira. Therefore, I am struggling with what I should do for their Korean language every day.

On one hand, I think they do not necessarily learn Korean now because they can learn Korean as an additional language whenever they want to learn in the future. However, on the other hand, I want them to be able to speak Korean whenever I think about our visit to Korea last year. Eric and I had our second visit to Korea with the kids last year. For Ayden, it was the first visit, but for Kira the second visit. While we stayed in Korea, I noticed that Kira did not really get along with my parents because of the language barrier. It was like they were disconnected. Although my mom wanted to talk to her and do many things with her, Kira did not understand what my mom was saying to her, so she often got frustrated. My mom felt the same because she could not understand Kira's English. It was more serious than I thought. I still do not know what to do. I do not think it is a good idea to force them to learn Korean if they are not interested, but at the same time, I am afraid that they will not build a bond with my parents. I am even concerned that they do not have a strong bond with me in the future because I am a Korean who speaks Korean to them and they are more like Canadians who speak English.

After living in Canada for six years, I realized that time did fly. The six years have been busy and eventful by adjusting to the transition period of my life. At present, I am reflecting upon the past years in Canada and I again realize how many different selves that I have discovered during the years. I became more Canadian in some aspects and I became more Korean in other aspects. I became more passive, dependent and voiceless, but I am sure I am still changing. Consequently, I will be different again in years to come. I am still discovering my different selves.

Eunsung (은성)

Interview Story

I came to know Eunsung through one of my Korean friends five years ago. One sunny Spring day in 2009, my friend invited Eunsung and me for lunch to her house to introduce us to each other. When I first met her, I was a relative newcomer and she was an old timer, as she had been in Canada for more than ten years. So, in my eyes, she was almost like a Canadian. She seemed to feel very comfortable living in Canada and be satisfied with her Canadian life. Furthermore, she already obtained Canadian citizenship and did not visit Korea often while she has lived in Canada. Therefore, the first image of Eunsung was a well-adjusted Korean immigrant woman who did not miss Korea much and enjoyed her Canadian life.

After the first meeting with her, we sometimes got together and talked about our life in Canada. However, we were not close for the first few years as we did not meet each other without our friend. In fact, we did not have a lot of things in common except for having WDCESCBM. She had three children, but I did not have any children at that time. She was already becoming a Canadian, but I was still missing Korea so much. She was a stay-at-home-mother, but I was a student. She had been married for more than 10 years and my marriage was not even five years old. Our interests were also different, but one thing that kept our relationship together was our WDCESCBM, as we shared many stories as Korean wives with WDCESCBM.

As years went by and we got together more often, we naturally became closer and closer. We also came to have more common ground to share as well. I became a mother and I came to adjust to my Canadian life better. Eunsung also started working part time. During those years, we were narrowing the gap between us and shared stories of our lives together. I found that sharing

was a source of energy in our lives as Korean wives and mothers in an intercultural family and as immigrants in Canadian society. We both were encouraged and supported through our shared stories. Thus, I asked if she might be interested in sharing her stories for this research project. Without any hesitation, Eunsung responded that she would be willing to share her stories.

After she decided to participate, we tried to schedule our first interview. I asked Eunsung where and when she would like to have an interview. But, she could not easily decide a place and asked me to pick. I invited her to my place as I thought that a home is better than a public place for an interview. As a host and a researcher who invited her over, I wanted to treat her to lunch before the interview. I wanted to do that as a warming up for the first interview, as well as a token of my gratitude. Although I already knew her, I had not met her individually that often before. I thought having lunch together before the interview would help us build a more intimate relationship and make the interview atmosphere more relaxed.

Accordingly, our first interview took place on February 19th, 2013 at my place. Eunsung came to my house a little bit later than the scheduled time so the lunch was already ready to serve. We sat down at a dining table and had lunch first. While having lunch, I talked in detail about the research and explained the consent letter. After lunch, I gained official consent from her and we started our first interview over coffee. It was almost 1:30 PM. Much like other interviews, I started the interview asking Eunsung about how she met her WDCESCBM. She was telling me her stories as if she was recollecting the good old days. A big smile on her face did not leave when she was talking about the first time when she met her husband.

Overall, the first interview was not too bad as she told me many stories and I was able to grasp her life from the time when she met her husband to her present life in a chronological manner. However, one challenge was Eunsung often digressed from the interview topic. She

talked about the topic for a short time and tended to talk about other people's stories or different topics. I remember contemplating what to do about her digression during and after the interview in the following researcher journal entry:

Eunsung was such a great storyteller. She definitely enjoyed talking, but she talked about many stories which were not very relevant to the topics of this research. I did not know what to do. Since it was the first interview and the life history interview, I just let her talk, but I am not sure if it was a good idea and if I should let her talk if she does it again for the next interviews. I did not want to hurt her feelings or make the atmosphere awkward by cutting off her stories. The interview was long... almost three hours. However, I wonder if I obtained all the information I wanted to get. I will still interview her one or two more times... or three more times if necessary. However, I want to use this interview time efficiently as well. (Researcher's Journal, February 20th, 2013)

I also noticed I was influenced by her digression as well because I could not really stay focused for the interview whenever she digressed from the topic. As it was an unstructured interview, it was as if we were having a regular conversation.

We had the second interview on April 9th, 2013. Because she was busy with three children and their hockey games, our second interview was one and a half months after the first one. When I asked her to choose the place and the time, she wanted to meet me at Tim Hortons, as the weather became relatively warmer and she wanted to treat me to lunch. When she suggested that, I actually did not like the chosen place because I was concerned there would be a lot of noise so that we would not be able to completely focus on the interview and it would be challenging to transcribe the interview. With regard to the privacy and confidentiality, I cared less, not because I was unethical, but because our interview was in Korean and it was unlikely

that most people understood our interview. Nevertheless, I respected her suggestion as I proposed to give participants priority to choose the interview place and time.

I met her around lunch time. She treated me to lunch and we started our second interview over the lunch. At the beginning, I didn't feel like the interview was focused because there was lots of noise, although we sat in the corner. However, I got used to the noise as time went by, so I was able to focus on the interview. A good thing was she did not digress from the topic much during the second one. But it was still a long interview.

After transcribing the interviews, I came to have a few more questions about Eunsung's life. So I had a follow-up interview after one year. In the meantime, I still contacted her and met her sometimes, but I did not record our conversations since it was not for the research itself. When I was analyzing her stories and about to write up her life stories, I scheduled the third interview with her. This time, I invited her to my place. Like the first interview, we had lunch together and talked over coffee. The interview was very engaging. One thing I noticed during the third interview was that Eunsung was more focused on the topic and she seemed to ponder over her life since she started participating in this research study. It was a great follow-up interview.

Eunsung's Story: Growing as a Canadian

Whenever I listen to the song, *You are my Sunshine*, I think about the first time when I came to Canada because a few people I met told me that I was "lucky sunshine". The reason they gave me this nickname was the winter of the first year when I came to Canada was not very cold. It was not like a typical Canadian winter, I remember. They told me that I brought warmth to Canada. Regardless of whether it was their lip service to a newcomer or not, I felt happy to hear that. So to me, the first image of Canada and Canadian people was pleasant and friendly. It also gave me positive energy to start my new life in a foreign land and encouraged me to adjust to

Canada. Moreover, I have been trying to live like sunshine to my husband, my children, my husband's family, and Canadian friends by learning to adjust to my new life, trying to assimilate into Canadian society. Reflecting upon my past years in Canada, I however realize that I was not sunshine to myself and especially to my Korean family because I could not visit my parents often, as well as take care of my family in Korea. I grew as a Canadian by living with a Canadian husband and children in Canada for 16 years, but I have to admit that I sometimes suffered from a growing pain in my heart.

I came to Canada in the summer of 1998 completely depending on my Canadian husband, David. I may sound very ignorant, but I knew little about Canada when I first met David in Korea. The only thing I knew was that a Canadian flag had a red maple leaf on it. I thought the Canadian flag was so beautiful whenever I saw it at Olympic opening ceremonies on TV. Other than that, I didn't know much about Canada. I had no relationship with English as I wasn't really interested in learning English. I had never thought that I would date and/or get married to a foreign man in my life. Foreign men were literally very foreign to me at that time. However, David wasn't really foreign to me. He had dark hair and dark eyes and he brought 떡볶이 (Ddukbokki)²³ when I first met him at my friend's house. He also spoke decent communicative Korean back then. Probably, that was why he was not very strange to me and I could be easily a friend with him, although I rarely spoke English.

I have to admit that my life completely changed in the two years after I met David. We dated, got married, moved to Canada and became new parents. It all happened within two years. After our second wedding in Korea in the spring of 1998, we were originally going to settle down in Korea. However, we changed our plans because of my unexpected pregnancy and the

²³ Korean spicy rice cake dish

IMF crisis in Korea. I remember those days when David and I were contemplating our future as newlyweds and new parents-to-be. After a deep thought, we decided to move to Canada and we finally settled down here. Now, I can say we settled down in Canada without any emotional feelings. However, it was not a simple process for both of us to start a new life here for the first few years. David was struggling to start his own career after teaching English in Korea for three years. He did not know what to do for a living at first. The only thing he had in his mind was that he wanted to have his own business. Needless to say, I was struggling to adjust to a new country as a new immigrant and mom. It was literally a growing process as if a new-born baby grew physically, mentally and emotionally as she/he got old. I was a baby who did not speak the language and knew nothing in the new world.

I tried my best to learn English. I enrolled in an ESL course and attended classes every day. However, I couldn't continue to attend the classes because of my pregnancy. It was challenging to transfer buses and walk a long way to get to the school with a heavy, pregnant body. A great way to learn colloquial English expressions and to improve my listening and speaking was to interact with David's parents, living with them for the first two years. I remember that I had to guess what they were saying to me all the time and I listened to their conversations carefully and tried to use the expressions I learned from them. I also watched English television programs religiously – particularly children's programs – and read many children's books. Furthermore, I deliberately did not speak any Korean in order to improve my English. The only time I spoke Korean was when I went to a Korean church on Sundays.

Even after my first son, Ian, was born, I continued to speak English to him as I was hungry for English and it was urgent for me to learn and improve my English to live comfortably in Canada. It was also challenging to speak Korean to Ian when my parents-in-law were always

around us. I thought it was very impolite to speak Korean in front of them because they did not understand any Korean. As a result, my English improved a lot. Unfortunately, my children grew up without knowing and learning much Korean. To be honest, I cared less about my children's understanding of Korean when they were young. I didn't think it was necessary for them to learn and speak Korean only because it was their mothers' language while they live in Canada.

Moreover, I did not feel uncomfortable to communicate with them in English. However, I started being concerned they would not be able to communicate with my parents as time went by. So I began speaking Korean to them after we moved out from my parents-in-law's house. I still did not try hard to teach them Korean, but I spoke it to them when it naturally and unconsciously came out of my mouth. It was, of course, much more comfortable and natural for me to speak my language to my children.

However, it did not last long as I felt that Ian did not like me to speak Korean to him once he started going to preschool. It seemed that he came to know English was a legitimate language in Canada. He was learning everybody spoke English except for me. It seemed like he was thinking that I spoke a "weird" language to him. Moreover, I felt the bond between him and me was becoming weaker and weaker after switching to Korean. At one point, when he came home from his preschool, he did not really show affection toward me for a few days. Then, I was again wondering whether he felt strange to me because of the Korean language. I am still not sure if it was the main reason or not, but I was concerned about it at that time. I was seriously thinking about what language I should speak to my children and I finally decided to return to speaking English to them. Since then, I have communicated with them in English and did not feel disconnected with them at all.

Nevertheless, I live with a feeling of guilt about not making a great effort to teach them Korean language whenever I think about my parents because they cannot communicate with my children. For this reason, I feel guilty and regretful because it is my responsibility to teach my children Korean as well as my fault I did not make great effort. I remember feeling heartbroken when my mom expressed her sad feelings about not being able to talk with her grandchildren and asked me to teach Korean to them. I felt like I was the one who cut off the language cord between my children and my parents. I felt like I was the one who disconnected the bond between them. I was sad and, again, I felt regretful and guilty.

Likewise, language has been one of the biggest struggles that I have faced as an immigrant, as well as a mother of children in an intercultural family. After living in Canada and learning English every day, I still feel learning and speaking English is like a never ending mission in my life. Although I improved my English a lot since I came to Canada, I still feel more comfortable speaking Korean rather than English, of course. I like to speak my language because it is comfortable, natural, accurate, and authentic. Korean is indeed a language that shows my authentic and real self. I am not saying that I pretend to be somebody else when I speak English, but rather, I can express myself in a more authentic way when I speak Korean. When David's family first met me, they thought that I was a very quiet and reserved person because I was almost silent in English. However, when they later saw me communicating with my sister in Korean, they were very surprised at how loquacious I was in my language. Probably, my Canadian friends still think that I am a quiet person, as I am still limited to express everything in English. I wonder when I will be able to declare that I finally accomplished my mission of learning English. I wonder whether a day of the declaration will come or not.

During my first few years in Canada, it was not only English, but also a new culture that I struggled to understand, learn and adjust to. Although I can't recall every moment that I felt something new and different, I definitely felt I was dating someone from a different culture when I was dating David in Korea. Even though I was not sure if it was his own personality or a Canadian culture at that time, I thought he was different from me in many aspects. When I moved to Canada, I was concerned I would have many conflicts with my parents-in-law due to a different culture, living with them together. However, it was not too bad although it was not always comfortable. They seemed to understand and respect my culture. Particularly, they didn't complain about my strong smelled Korean food. They even enjoyed trying it when I cooked some for them. When I heard from my friend that her parents-in-law complained about the Kimchi smell in the fridge, I felt lucky to be able to continue to eat Korean food without any hesitation in Canada.

However, there were also times when I had challenges and conflicts with my Canadian family because of different culture. One of the biggest challenges was to go through a Canadian style postpartum care. Especially when I had the first baby, I was disappointed in my mother-in-law and David's family because the care I received was different from what I thought of and they did not seem to understand a Korean way of postpartum care. Although I did not expect to receive it the Korean way, I felt regretful and homesick. I delivered Ian in the middle of December. After one week, David and I were invited to David's uncle's house for a Christmas party. I should have said that I did not want to go or could not go because a new mother was not supposed to go out for almost one month in Korea. However, I could not say that as a new family member, so I told David that we could go to the party. When we were at the party, David was checking on me and trying to help me a lot. However, my mother-in-law did not seem to know

that it was difficult for me to move around one week after childbirth. Then, after one week from the Christmas party, David's sister visited us for Christmas holidays and I cooked food and entertained them with an unrecovered body from childbirth. Although I reminded myself that I was not in Korea, but in Canada, it was indeed challenging at that time. I was physically tired and emotionally dissatisfied. It was probably one of the most difficult times in my intercultural marriage.

I also felt culturally challenged when my Canadian husband and family talked about Canadian or American singers and movie stars because I had no idea who they were and what they did. I could not join their conversations, feelings like an outsider. As my children grow, I try to learn their favourite singers and movie stars, but I always realize that it takes more time for me to learn about them than David learning new generation stars. Particularly, in my family, sports are a big deal because David and my children like to play sports. All of my children play hockey and my daughter plays soccer as well. When they were talking about hockey players and their life stories, I always had to just listen to their conversations. Although I tried to learn about them and I am still learning, I sometimes feel left out and think that I could have known them better if I had been raised in Canada.

Looking back, however, I realize that I have learned a lot about Canadian culture and have grown as a Canadian despite aforementioned challenges. I remember that I could not refuse my Canadian family's request and I could not even express my own opinions at the beginning of my life in Canada. I was voiceless. I think I treated my Canadian family and interacted with them in a Korean way, which means obedience is the best way to respect parents. When my mother-in-law asked me to eat more at the dinner table, I ate more instead of saying, 'no thank you,' although I was full. I thought it was rude to refuse her kind offer. I totally thought like a Korean

person. David even nicknamed me ‘Garburator’ because I always ate leftover food to show respect to my parents-in-law. I have learned that it was okay to refuse and express my own opinions to parents-in-law in Canada. Often times, I even notice other Korean people treat me and my children just like Canadians. One time, my Korean friends came over to our house. When they were leaving, I tried to see them off at the front door, which shows respect. However, they said to me, “you don’t have to come out and say good-bye to us at the door because you are a Canadian.” When I heard that I was somewhat surprised since they thought of me and treated me as a Canadian. Then, I thought to myself that I have probably become a Canadian after living here for a while and interacting with my Canadian husband and children.

Even officially, I am a Canadian as I changed my citizenship in 2008. In Korea, we cannot have dual citizenship, so I was hesitant to give up my Korean citizenship and obtain Canadian citizenship at first. However, as a family, I thought that it would be better to have the same citizenship. Furthermore, it was inconvenient for my whole family to go to the United States with my Korean passport, since David and my children always had to wait while I was having a long security check. So I decided to change to Canadian citizenship in 2008. Since then, when I travel to different countries and I am asked where I am from, I often tell them I am from Canada and I am a Canadian. I did not feel that I was a Canadian before, but then I gradually felt I was becoming a Canadian. I even tell people now that I am a Canadian after obtaining Canadian citizenship.

However, it does not mean I have forgotten about my country, Korea. I still miss there and I am also wondering how it has changed. To my surprise, it has already been 12 years since the last time I visited Korea. Whenever I think about the previous visits and count the years that I have not been back, I am just surprised at how quickly time has flown by. And then I feel

nostalgic and sentimental. It has been a while. When I talk with my parents on the phone, they sometimes tell me about changes in my hometown. Then I usually find myself not understanding where and what they were talking about. And I feel sad. Once, one of my acquaintances told me her story of visiting Korea after 23 years of staying in Canada. She told me that she went to a hometown playground where she used to hang out with her friends when she was young. However, it was gone and there were big apartment buildings instead. When she saw it, she mentioned that she could not help crying because she felt a great loss of her childhood playground and she realized she missed many things while she lived in Canada. Although she has all the memories in her mind, she said she felt like she lost the great memories in a blink. From time to time, I think about her story and I see myself as well. I am not sure when I am going back to Korea for a visit, but I think I will probably have the moment and realize how painful my Canadian growing pain was.

Mijin (미진)

Interview Story

I met Mijin at a Korean church two years ago. She was with her children, so I could tell she was interracial and interculturally married through her children's appearance. After the service, we said hello to each other and had a chat. She said she had been in Canada for only two years and had been missing Korea very much. That was one of the reasons why she came to the Korean church. She said she wanted to meet Korean people and talk with them. It seemed that she was happy to get to know me because we shared common attributes as Korean women who were married to WDCESCBM. Mijin continued to come to the church every Sunday with her children and we came to know each other more.

She also phoned me often during the weekdays and talked about her life to me. During the phone conversations, I was able to tell that she was going through homesickness and feeling lonely. Particularly, she greatly missed her mother. She told me that she lived with her mother close by and interacted with her so often when she lived in Korea. As she was a relatively new immigrant and shared her struggles and challenges with me, I thought about her when I was looking for participants for this research project. Therefore, I mentioned my research to her. When she heard about it, she showed great interest and was willing to discuss issues regarding this research. Eventually, we scheduled the first interview. As it was winter and she did not drive, she wanted to have all of the interviews at her house. I also liked the idea because I did not want to have an interview in a public place.

It was February 21st, 2013 that we scheduled our first interview. I drove to her house after lunch and got there around 1:30 PM. She was home alone waiting for me. I sat down in her living room and prepared for the interview, setting up the voice recorder and checking the interview guide questions. In the meantime, Mijl made coffee and brought it to me. I first explained more details about the research project through a consent letter and then I obtained her consent. Similar to other interviews, I asked her to tell me about how she met her WDCESCBM. She seemed to recollect the time when she first met her husband and started talking about their stories from the first meeting to the wedding. While she was talking about those times, she seemed to miss the times.

During the first interview, she talked mainly about her children's experiences of education, both in Korea and Canada. As she started a family and lived in Korea for a while after getting married, her children had relatively more experiences in Korean education. So she often compared the Korean education with the Canadian one, saying that she has been satisfied with

the Canadian education. Mijin also tried to be cooperative in talking about her experiences and thoughts throughout the first interview. One difference from other participants was she talked more about her thoughts and opinions than experiences. At the beginning, I thought she was profoundly mindful about issues in intercultural marriages and biracial and intercultural children's education. However, after the interview, I came to notice that she was conscious about the interview itself and a voice recorder because she talked more about her real life experiences after I turned off the voice recorder. It was as if the real interview with more factual stories had begun right after. I wrote the following entry:

It was a good thing that Mijin told me about her thoughts and opinions about certain topics regarding this research but I was hoping to obtain more of her life stories. In general, Mijin's interview was somewhat different from other participants. Although I told her that she could tell me about her life stories as if she was just having a chat with me, she seemed to be conscious about the interview. Or, she may be conscious about the voice recorder as she talked more about her life stories once I turned it off. It would be better if she could talk to me like when she talks to me on the phone. (Researcher's Journal, February 22nd, 2013)

On one hand, I thought it was indeed odd that Mijin did not talk about many private life stories while the voice recorder was on. On the other hand, I thought she probably felt nervous about the interview and uncomfortable being recorded.

Three weeks after the first interview, we had the second one. As mentioned at the beginning, our second interview also took place in her house around 1:30 PM. During this interview, I noticed again that she was conscious of the voice recorder. Like the first interview, she told me about her opinions and thoughts, but she did not talk about her negative experiences

in Canada during the interview. Instead, she started talking about them right after I turned off the voice recorder. Then, I started thinking that she felt unsafe and uncomfortable with her stories being recorded. However, for both the first and the second interview, her stories told off-recording showed the relevant issues to previous research. I thought those stories would contribute to understanding other Korean women in the same situations. I wasn't satisfied that I couldn't use many unrecorded stories as data for the research.

It made me start thinking about ethical consideration and its ironical aspects in research ethics. Particularly, I found that credibility and trustworthiness can be antagonistic to a participant's right to reveal or not. According to ethics, every participant has a right to reveal the information or not. A researcher cannot force, but must respect the participants' rights. On the other hand, the research may not be completely credible and trustworthy because of it. I was occupied with this irony in research ethics as I wrote in my researcher's journal:

If Mijin's stories told off-recording are used for my research, it has high credibility and trustworthiness as she told her feelings and conflicts without concealing them, as a result, the research can influence more people who are in the same boat. However, when those precious stories are just heard to me, it is no different from chats. Moreover, her stories in the research are not 100% true. I am not saying that she lied to me during recording the interview, but her interview during recording seemed to be somewhat formal and ceremonial. It is just too bad that some of her real stories cannot be used as data.

(Researcher's Journal, March 10th, 2013)

Keeping this issue in my mind, I had the third interview one year after the second one. At first, I was going to have the third interview sooner; however, I thought it might have helped her to feel more safe and comfortable to talk about her stories if I had built a more intimate

relationship with her. Furthermore, I wanted to see whether there were changes in her life and thoughts over one year like there had been with other participants. Particularly, I wanted to find out how her visit to Korea, which was scheduled in the Summer of 2013, would affect her feelings and thoughts because I noticed many of my participants went through changes in their thoughts every time they visited Korea. Therefore, I did not have the third interview sooner. In the meantime, I still kept friendship as well as a good relationship regularly talking to her on the phone and meeting each other sometimes.

The third interview was more of a follow-up interview. I asked her a few questions that occurred from the previous interviews and I also asked her about the visit to Korea and her feelings and thoughts after the visit. Through the third interview, I noticed that she seemed to try harder to emotionally settle down in Canada after the visit and she even mentioned that she wanted to change her citizenship. She told me that the first visit to Korea gave her an opportunity to seriously think about where she should settle down completely in the future. I also realized she became more open to talk about her experiences even when the interview was being recorded. I again realized that building an intimate relationship was the most important aspect in life history research.

Mijin's Story: Living a Double-Edged Life

I am often dreaming about my mother in Korea after I moved to Canada. I was very close to her physically and emotionally in Korea. I interacted with her every day, as she lived within a stone's throw from my house. She was my guardian who always protected me. She was my teacher who taught me how to live a life. She was my friend who shared joys and sorrows with me. She was my helper who helped me take care of my children when I was busy and tired. When I moved to Canada, I felt like I lost my mother, who was a guardian, teacher, friend, and

helper as I could not see her and talk to her whenever I wanted to. I just dream about her and the time when I can see her in person.

I am a Korean immigrant woman who moved to Canada mainly for my biracial children, James and Joan. Almost 15 years ago, I met my Canadian husband, William, at an English institute in Korea. He was my English teacher, but then he became my friend, boyfriend and my husband. In the summer of 2002, we got married and settled down in Korea. Since we had our own careers as English teachers, we did not think about moving to Canada. Particularly, I did not want to move to Canada because of my mother. I was close to her and I emotionally depended on her a lot²⁴.

In 2004, I had a baby boy and became a new mom. William and I were still teaching English and had a great life in Korea. Although we were busier than before as new parents, we had great help from my mom, so it was not too difficult to handle our first parenthood. Four years later, my beautiful daughter, Joan, was born. In the meantime, James grew up healthy and started going to a preschool. My mom still helped me a lot with Joan and I was happy as my children's mother, my mom's daughter and an English teacher in Korea.

However, I started feeling stressed with people's perceptions and attitudes about my biracial children as they grew up. Relatively speaking, since Korea is a racially homogenous country, biracial people tend to stand out and receive public gaze. James and Joan were not an exception. Whenever we went out, people stared at us. Many people often said something about my children as well. It was indeed stressful regardless of whether the gaze and comments were positive or negative. I started being concerned about my children's personality and identity

²⁴ It seems to me that Mijin was concerned about her mother a lot because her mother was alone without her father in Korea.

because of it. I did not want them to be either too proud or too discouraged by receiving public gaze and comments from others. I wanted them to grow up just like other kids do.

The “special treatment” did not only occur in public places, but it apparently continued at my son’s preschool. James later told me one of the teachers at his preschool treated him more strictly than other kids. He said he was punished when he left spicy lunch food provided by the school and when he could not remember his friends’ Korean names. When I heard that, my heart was aching because I could tell that it was almost discrimination against his differences. In fact, James did not speak Korean very well because our home language was English. Personally, I didn’t want to speak only Korean to my children because William did not understand Korean fully. I didn’t want William to feel like an outsider when we were all together as a family. Many people may wonder about William’s Korean proficiency because he lived in Korea for a long time. He can understand and speak a little bit of Korean, which I call ‘survival Korean’, by living in Korea for more than 10 years. However, he did not learn it officially and he did not have to speak Korean much because he taught English and he also communicated with my Korean family in English. Therefore, English has been a primary language in our family. In terms of Korean food, James did not eat spicy Korean food very well like other Korean kids, so it seemed that he often left spicy food at school. After I heard about what had happened in his preschool, I started thinking about whether it would be a good idea to live in Korea or not.

Besides, I noticed James was stressed with two different languages between home and preschool. When James first started going to preschool, he was sick for a long time and then he started stammering in both Korean and English for almost one year. I was very concerned about his language and I realized it was because he was stressed with two different languages between home and preschool. I felt sorry for him and seriously thought about moving to Canada. Of

course, not every kid living with two languages and cultures has stress, but I knew that my children would be better off to be raised and educated in Canada rather than in Korea after going through such negative experiences.

Once I started thinking about moving to Canada, I had mixed feelings. I thought it was a better choice for my children, but I was afraid of being apart from my mom and siblings. I was not too confident about starting a new life in a foreign land. To be honest, I did not want to move if it was not for my children's identity and future. I was in my late thirties and William was almost in his mid-forties. We already settled down in Korea and had a financially stable life. We also had a great family-oriented life with my Korean family close to us. James and Joan liked their grandmother and enjoyed time with her. I was also concerned about what William and I would do for a living in Canada. I was concerned particularly about myself because I wasn't a Canadian and I didn't have any special skills to get a job. The only skill I had was English, but I knew that English was not a skill, but a language that everybody spoke in Canada. I felt almost desperate and dreadful. William seemed to feel the same way because he expressed his reluctance to move back to Canada when I first suggested it. He told me that the teaching job in Korea is probably better than a new job he would get in Canada. I understood him because he had lived in Korea for more than 10 years and he was not so young that he wanted to start a new career. It was also an adventure to him, although he is Canadian. After we were pondering over whether we would move to Canada or not, we finally decided to do so.

On one fine day in June 2010, we arrived in Canada. For William, it was the day when he returned to his home country but for me, it was the day when I left my country and immigrated to a new land. It was challenging to adjust to a new life at the beginning. I had to make new friends and I had to learn about a Canadian system and society. I also had to find my future career in

Canada. Furthermore, I had to study English more and harder to completely assimilate into a Canadian society. So I tried hard but it was not easy at all. When I tried to make new friends in my neighbourhood and at social gatherings, I realized it was hard to be their friends all of a sudden as they already had good groups of friends. I was also struggling to find my career path. Moreover, I always felt that I was not assimilated into a Canadian society. I am not sure why, but I always felt unmixed with Canadian people and society.

The other challenging part was I felt like I could not lead my life as I did in Korea. When I lived in Korea, I owned a small English school and I was able to manage things by myself. However, I became more dependent on William and I did not have as much power as I had in Korea as an individual. I knew it was because I was still adjusting to this new society by literally beginning a new life and learning how to survive and live here. But I still felt like I would not be fully satisfied with my life in Canada even in the future because I am not in my country, Korea.

It was also challenging to interact with people in English, although I was able to communicate in English. I can comfortably speak English but I always realized that I should speak more accurately and learn how Canadians talk. I also realized I should study reading and writing more to become more like a native speaker of English. I also feel frustrated when I have an argument with William. I often wonder whether we would understand each other better and would have fewer arguments if William spoke Korean fluently or I spoke English like an English native speaker. I know that it is less likely because Korean couples who speak the same language can also have many arguments, but as a woman in an intercultural relationship, I have to confess that I have thought about it a lot. I also feel challenged when I talk with my mother-in-law. Because my English is limited, I often feel our conversation is not deep and specific, but superficial and general. Then, I wonder again whether the conversation would be different if my

mother-in-law was a Korean person. In addition, I sometimes feel left out when I join a conversation with my co-workers during lunch time at work. I do not know much about Canadian jokes and television stars and programs, so I usually listen to their conversations when they talk about them. Then, I sometimes feel isolated and alone although I am with them.

Those challenges are still not very serious, I would say, but the most difficult challenge was homesickness and 'momsickness'. I often miss Korea and my mother. It was challenging not to be able to see my mom whenever I wanted to and sometimes I could not even talk to her when I wanted to because of time difference. A sad part was that I realized it was not easy to visit Korea with two children due to financial and time constraints. I felt sorry about living far away from her and I even felt guilty. When my mom was ill last year, I felt helpless and frustrated as I couldn't help her physically. Then, I came to think that intercultural marriage and moving to husband's country is like a double-edged sword. I came to Canada to be a good mother because the main reason of moving here was for my children's future, but at the same time, I ended up being a bad daughter who couldn't help my mom when she was sick and alone.

By the same token, I realized that my Canadian life itself is like a double-edged sword because there are benefits and satisfaction that I found by moving to Canada. On the other hand, I have faced many challenges as a new immigrant. I have been satisfied with people's perceptions and attitudes toward biracial children in Canada. Since Canada is such a racially and culturally diverse country, James and Joan have not stood out and they do not receive any public gaze or comments from other people. I was also satisfied with the education system. My first image of Canadian education was teachers and students respect every individual's differences. James also adjusted to Canadian school well. When we moved to Canada, James was six years old, so he started going to an elementary school in September that first year. He made new

friends and he enjoyed studying at school. He was assimilating into Canadian school and society without stress and challenges. Therefore, I do not regret moving to Canada despite the challenges I have confronted.

If I have to mention one disadvantage of living in Canada for my children, it is that James is losing his Korean language because he doesn't have many opportunities to hear and/or speak it. I sometimes speak Korean to James and Joan, but I speak English for the most time at home because I believe that it is important to speak the language that every family member understands. Other Korean mothers who have biracial, bicultural and bilingual children may think their children must speak the Korean language. However, I have a different view on language choice in intercultural families. I originally didn't focus too much on teaching Korean to my children. I didn't always speak Korean to them and didn't force them to speak Korean because I think it is my children's choice of what language they would like to speak in their lives. I don't think it is a valid reason to say "you have to learn and speak Korean because it is your mom's language." I still hope James and Joan are interested in Korean and learn the language, but at the same time, I wish they can find their own purposes and goals of learning Korean. Furthermore, I was also concerned James and Joan would be stressed and have negative feelings about Korean language if I forced them to learn and speak it. Therefore, I chose English as our family language and decided to give a choice to my children.

The only concern I have regarding their Korean language is they would not be able to fully communicate with my mom in the future. Although my mom speaks a little bit of English, she is not fluent. So, if James and Joan don't understand and speak Korean, they will not be able to interact with their grandmother. I noticed that James couldn't understand everything that she said in Korean when we visited Korea in 2013. For three years, James became more like a

Canadian and lost many Korean words and expressions that he used to know. So there were a few moments when he and my mom couldn't understand each other. Other than that, I'm not concerned about my children not being able to understand and speak Korean fluently.

Reflecting on my past years of marriage and Canadian life, I finally came to think I have lived a double-edged life as an interculturally married woman, a mother of biracial children, and an immigrant to Canada. On one hand, I have faced challenges and difficulties and I have lost my previous career, more comfortable life, and frequent contact with my family and friends because of immigrating to Canada. On the other hand, I have learned a different language and culture and I have become more respectful and sensitive toward other cultures. I have also pondered over my own identity and life in general through intercultural marriage and immigration to Canada. The most important thing is I have learned to accept my double-edged life by trying to find positive aspects.

Hyerim (혜림)

Interview Story

When I was looking for participants in the Winter of 2013, my friend mentioned Hyerim and told me she would ask her if she would be interested in participating in my study. After a few months, she told me that Hyerim showed interest and was willing to participate. I was happy to have her as a participant because I heard that Hyerim had been trying hard to pass down Korean language to her children and they are balanced bilinguals. I thought I could gain deep insights into how to raise bilingual children in a dominantly English language environment through her stories. Moreover, she had lived in Canada for 17 years, so I was wondering how she had acculturated into Canadian culture and negotiated her identity in her intercultural family and Canadian society.

I emailed her details about the study and the process of interviews and member-checks. I also asked her about her schedule for an interview. As she lived in a different city from where I lived and I planned to interview her in person, it was important to find out her schedule in advance. She told me any day in August would be good. So I set an interview date and phoned her to confirm the date. Although we corresponded with each other through a few emails, I was a little nervous to call her at first. However, my anxiety quickly disappeared once I started talking to her because she sounded like a nice and friendly lady. She was also happy with the date and thankfully, she invited me to her house and even suggested that I stay at her place during the trip.

On August 8th, 2013, I was finally on board for my first research trip. I felt excited and nervous at the same time. Around 10:00 AM, I arrived in the city where Hyerim lives. First, I called her several times at the airport, but I could not get in touch with her. Because she knew I was coming, I just took a taxi and headed to her house. I still had mixed feelings of excitement and anxiety in the taxi. Although I had communicated with her through emails and a phone call, I had never met her in person before and we barely knew each other. I was also concerned about an interview with her because I was not sure about whether she would share a lot of stories with a researcher that she did not really know.

While I was occupied with all of those thoughts and feelings, the taxi was already in front of her house. I rang her doorbell. She came to open the door for me. I finally met Hyerim and she welcomed me with a warm and kind smile. She said she just came home from her workout. She guided me to her dining table and I sat down there. I felt more relaxed, but I found myself still anxious about the interview, because a life history interview could be more intrusive. The participant did not know me, nor was there the presence of an intimate relationship. She was busy preparing coffee and goodies to treat me. In the meantime, I tried to have small talk with

her in order to build a rapport. I was also getting ready for our interview. I set up a voice recorder in the middle of the table and took out a consent letter and put it on the table. As I had to go to a different city the next day to meet another participant, I had only one day in the city, so I had to hurry starting the interview.

As soon as I started the interview, I felt more relaxed and came to engage in her stories. Fortunately, Hyerim was the type of person who made other people comfortable. As time passed by, I even felt like I already knew her. I think it was probably because I was an insider who shared similar attributes and stories. When we were talking about many issues on intercultural marriages and our children, we found many common thoughts. Furthermore, sharing each other's life stories was very interesting. We talked, talked and talk. We shared a lot of stories.

As Hyerim provided me accommodation, I stayed in her house for one night after the interview, giving me the opportunity to meet her husband and children and interact with them, even for a short time. They were friendly, as well. Her children always spoke Korean to me during the visit. Although the voice recorder was off, I came to obtain more information and insights while I was staying in her house overnight.

The next day, I had to leave and go to a different city to interview another participant. After having a delicious breakfast that Hyerim prepared for me, she drove me to a bus terminal. She even packed a lunch box for me. I was touched by her hospitality. When we said goodbye to each other, I gave her a thank-you card and a \$50.00 gift card to express my gratitude to her. It was only a small token of gratitude compared to her participation in my study, accommodation and great hospitality.

When I think back on the visit to her house last summer, I still feel like it was magical that she and I became close over the one day-long interview. Through the interview trip, I

realized that sharing one's life stories does bring intimacy between storytellers and listeners, as well as help them to find meanings of their life stories together. I have also learned a lot and gained deep insights from Hyerim's stories. I think she probably realized or learned something from my stories as well. Therefore, I believe life history research influences both a participant's and a researcher's life through sharing their life stories.

Hyerim's Story: Dwelling in the Third Space

These days, I often think that I am in both Canadian and Korean cultures simultaneously after 18 years of a marriage with a Canadian man and 19 years of living in Canada. I remember being confused when I was living in all the different cultures at the same time during the early years of my life in Canada, but I now feel comfortable and I finally realize it is the way that I live my life as a Korean wife and mother and an immigrant in Canada.

My name is Hyerim Park. I have a Canadian husband and his name is Terry and I have two boys, Max and Rex. Max is 13 and Rex is 10 years old at present. They always call me '엄마 (Umma)' instead of 'Mom' or 'Mommy' and call Terry "Daddy" instead of '아빠 (Abba)²⁵' because I asked them to call us like that when they were young. I just didn't feel anything when Max called me mommy once. I mean, I didn't really feel like his Umma at that time. It was weird. That is why I asked them to call me Umma, not mommy.

I am originally from South Korea, but I am officially a Canadian citizen now. Looking back on my past years in Canada, I was quite surprised at how quickly time flew. I didn't even realize that it has already been 19 years since I came to Canada. In 1996, I came to Canada to study English more seriously. My ultimate goal was to go to a graduate school or a college in

²⁵ 엄마 (Umma) is mommy in Korean and 아빠 (Abba) is daddy in Korean.

Canada for English interpretation and translation. This stemmed from the pressure I felt that I needed to have the experience of studying English abroad when I was working as an English interpreter and an English teacher in Korea. Since my job was related to English, I was familiar with English. I understood and spoke English, that is, my English was okay even before I came to Canada. Nevertheless, I thought that I should take an ESL course before I applied for a graduate school or college in Canada. So I enrolled in an ESL program first. I also had an English tutor to practice speaking. However, the ESL program wasn't very helpful for my English, but it was helpful for my social life. I met many new people and made many new friends through the program.

In the first year, I was invited to many parties and enjoyed them. One of the most memorable parties was, of course, the party where I met my husband, Terry. I was invited to my tutor's party one day and introduced to his close friend there. During a conversation with him, he told me that he wanted to learn Korean language from me and suggested that we exchange our languages. As a foreign student who was studying English, I liked his suggestion, so we started teaching our languages to each other after that. That is how we first met each other.

I wasn't interested in him at first although he appeared to be interested in me. I was so focused on my future career that I wasn't interested in dating a man or getting married at that time. But then, I became attracted to him as I met him more often. Because I was a young foreign girl in a strange land, I think I emotionally depended on him a lot. He also helped me a lot with many things. Once we knew that we liked each other, our relationship quickly grew. And then, we got married. It was exactly nine months after we first met at the party. However, to reach a marriage, we didn't walk on a smooth path, since my parents didn't approve our relationship at the beginning. They were worried about me because they didn't know what kind of a person

Terry was and they were afraid that I would live far away from them. After the emotional tussle with my parents, we got their approval and were able to get married.

Much like other intercultural couples, we had more than one wedding ceremony. Our first wedding was in Canada and the second and third ones were in Korea – a Catholic wedding and a regular wedding. Because of the fact that we had three weddings, I often say a joke to other people, “I got married three times.” Then, they usually look at me with a quizzical glance. After a short pause, I say again, “....with the same guy... oh, no.” Then, most people laugh. Of course, I say “oh, no” as a joke.

Although I have confronted challenges and difficulties of living with a Canadian husband in a foreign country and mothering biracial, bicultural, and bilingual children, I don't regret getting married to Terry. Many Korean people have often asked me, “What is it like to live with a Canadian man? Don't you have any cultural conflicts or language barriers?” Whenever I receive questions like that, I say that it is not because of culture, but because of individuality when we have conflicts as a couple. I do believe that conflicts with Terry are not mainly caused by two different cultures. Rather, I often find that we have arguments and conflicts because of our different personalities. Therefore, the most challenging part of an intercultural marriage isn't really cultural conflicts in my case, I think.

Speaking of challenges that I have been faced with in my intercultural marriage and Canadian life, the most challenging part was that I am not able to live close to my parents and to see them whenever I want to. As an immature daughter, I didn't fully understand why they were concerned about me living far away from them. However, not long after getting married, I missed my parents a lot and I realized that living far away from them was challenging. I still remember the time when I saw a lady crying at the airport and her husband saying to her

“everything will be alright.” With my intuition, I felt that she was urgently on the way to her home country to meet her ill or dying mother or father. Although it was a long time ago, I can’t forget the crying lady.

It was also challenging to interact with Terry’s family at the beginning of our marriage. Although his parents were nice people and treated me well, I somehow felt uncomfortable and unassimilated into the family. Although I was able to understand and speak English, I felt like there was always a limit to my English. In fact, it wasn’t only an English problem, but also cultural differences. At the very beginning, I didn’t even know what Nutella²⁶ was when Terry’s parents talked about it. I remember that I couldn’t really engage in their conversations at that time. Later, I came to know what it was and tried to learn common Canadian and American brand and product names. When I almost mastered all of the brand and product names and common colloquial expressions, I gained confidence. However, I again found myself not being able to completely engage in their conversations when they talked about medical matters using medical jargons. I felt like learning English was a never-ending task.

Besides, I didn’t know what to say and what to do in my parents-in-law’s house. While Korean daughters-in-law usually cook and help with house chores in their parents-in-laws’ houses, I didn’t and couldn’t keep the Korean way. Whenever I tried to help my mother-in-law cook or do house chores, she always said, “No, no, no, you are a guest. It is your vacation.” It was indeed a gesture of her consideration and hospitality, but I wasn’t at all comfortable at the beginning because I felt strange and ambiguous. However, as time passed by, I gradually became comfortable with a Canadian way of interacting with my parents-in-law. Now, I can’t even imagine how Korean daughters-in-law handle the Korean way of interacting with their parents-

²⁶ Nutella is cocoa butter which people spread on bread.

in-law. I guess I am becoming a Canadian and almost completely assimilated into my Canadian family after 18 years of my marriage.

However, unlike my Canadian family, I don't think I can be fully assimilated into Canadian society, although I have lived here for almost 20 years. I still feel challenged in certain situations as a foreigner. Looking back, there were many times that I felt discriminated because of my language, race, and culture. One of the situations that I still remember was when my Canadian life just started as a student 18 years ago. One day, I was coming out from my apartment building and I saw a very elderly lady coming into the building. So I opened the door for her because she looked very old and weak. But then, she looked displeased and called me "a dirty thing" or something like that. When I first heard that, I couldn't even believe my ears. I didn't know exactly why she acted and said things like that but I felt like I was discriminated because of my Asian status.

The second time was when I lived in a town house in the Big City. The town house was not really sound-proof so neighbours could hear almost every sound from other houses unless it was quiet. One morning, I told Max, my first son to brush his teeth in Korean with my loud voice. But then, my neighbour said she would report me because I ignored my children and was yelling at them on that morning. I felt like I was discriminated because of a Korean communication style. In Korea, talking in a loud voice isn't really considered as ill mannered, but I learned that Canadians consider talking in a loud voice as yelling through the experience.

The third time was when I went to a grocery store in the Big City. When I was standing in a line with my son to check out, all of a sudden, I remembered that I hadn't picked up something that I needed. So, I asked Max to stay there and I picked it up and went back to the line. But then, Max wasn't there. Only my cart was there. When I reached my cart, a person

behind me got angry and said something to me. So I explained the situation. However, she didn't try to listen to me. Instead, she tried to argue with me. It was a frustrating moment. She even told me, "Go back to your country." When I heard that, I didn't know what to say. I was actually shocked to hear that. I knew it was part of my fault that I left my car and son there. However, I was angry when she didn't try to listen to my explanation and even told me, "Go back to your country." Would she have said that if I had been a White Canadian who spoke English without an accent? I doubt it.

The fourth time was when I was pregnant with Rex and went to see an obstetrician with Terry and Max. Max was sitting in a stroller and I was pushing it. When a nurse saw us, she asked Max, "where is your mommy?" So I said, "I AM THE MOM." Then, she was very sorry and apologized to me. Although Max looked more Caucasian than Asian, I couldn't understand. I was there, but I was invisible in our family to the nurse's eyes. She probably thought that I was an Asian nanny.

Whenever negative experiences came to me, I automatically missed my family in Korea and my country. However, as time went by, interestingly and strangely, I also found myself like a foreigner in my own country whenever I visited there. The longer I lived in Canada, the stranger I felt in Korea. I used to visit Korea once a year when my mom was alive. During the visits, I always felt very different from other Korean people. My casual look was different and my thoughts were also different. Moreover, I felt as if I was stagnant water in the pond while people in Korea are rapidly moving water in the ocean. When I saw continuously changing and developing Korea and its people, I felt regret that I missed those dynamic moments while I had lived in Canada. I also felt regret that I became too relaxed and satisfied with my Canadian life by adjusting to a foreign land and raising kids. I felt like I was living only as a wife, mom, and an

immigrant instead of myself in Canada. I was busy adjusting to my new Canadian life as an immigrant and raising kids as a mom. And then, I thought to myself that I wouldn't have lived like this, but could have enjoyed every dynamic moment as Hyerim Park did if I had lived in Korea. I thought I must have been becoming neither Korean nor Canadian.

I sometimes think about whether I am becoming a Canadian or becoming neither a Canadian nor a Korean or I am becoming both a Korean and a Canadian as I live with a Canadian family in Canada. After all these questions, I often find myself creating my own culture and identity, which are a mixture of Korean-ness and Canadian-ness. Even when I think about my language, thoughts and lifestyle, it is natural to see both Korean-ness and Canadian-ness coexisting and interacting with each other in my daily life. For example, I always speak English to my husband, but Korean to my sons. And I sometimes mix Korean and English when I talk to both my husband and my sons. Moreover, when someone asks me where I am from these days, I usually say, "I am a Canadian but I am originally from South Korea". When I was asked the same question while travelling in different countries, I used to say, "I am Korean, but I live in Canada." I have never said, "I'm Korean." or "I'm Canadian."

I have also noticed that I am not the only one who created my own language, culture and identity, but Terry seems to also construct his own language and lifestyle as he lives with me, despite being a Canadian and living in Canada. That is, it seems like Terry is also influenced by my Korean culture. He usually eats Korean food for dinner and understands what I am saying to Max and Rex in Korean, although he hasn't studied Korean and doesn't really know the language. It is like both English and Korean and both Canadian and Korean cultures have been melted in our own family culture and as a result, we made our own culture.

I can also see integration of two different languages and cultures in my children's life. They are probably influenced by two languages and cultures as they are born as part Korean and part Canadian and. I have also done my best to raise them to be bilingual and bicultural. Both Max and Rex understand and speak Korean fluently and know Korean culture well. Although I am not sure whether they think themselves as Canadians or Koreans or part Canadian and part Korean, I know that they are comfortable with two languages and cultures.

Particularly, I have been relatively enthusiastic about my children's Korean language. I have been speaking only Korean to them since they were born. I also read many Korean books to them when they were young. Sometimes, I didn't respond to them and even pretended that I didn't hear what they were saying if they spoke English to me. And then, I asked them to speak only Korean to me. When they start talking more in both languages, they also mixed two languages often, for instance,

“엄마, apple 먹고 싶어요”

“Mommy, I want to eat an apple”

Then, I responded to them like,

“아 그래, 사과 먹고 싶구나.”

“Ah, you want to eat an apple.”

Moreover, I went to Korea with them once a year and sent them to a public school or an institute whenever we visited Korea for their Korean language maintenance. I think it was very helpful for them to learn, not only the language, but also the Korean culture by interacting with their peers at schools.

From time to time, some Korean people wonder how my children can understand and speak Korean well although they were born in Canada and haven't lived in Korea. Personally, I

think speaking to them only in Korean since they were born and communicating with them in Korean all the time consistently helped them maintain their Korean language. I started speaking Korean to them because it was of course, much more comfortable for me to speak my language rather than English. But then, I later found out that not many Korean parents in intercultural families have done that. It seemed that most people usually spoke Korean to their children when they were young, but they tend to speak more English once their children start going to school. They eventually speak only English to their children.

At first, I was somewhat surprised that they didn't insist on speaking only Korean. I didn't fully understand why they didn't pass down Korean language to their children. However, I came to realize that it wasn't easy to make them speak Korean in a dominantly English environment as our kids grew. Even Max and Rex don't usually speak Korean to me these days, although they can still speak good Korean. I guess it is more comfortable for them to speak English than Korean, just like I feel more comfortable to speak Korean than English. I still speak Korean to them, but they usually respond to me in English. However, I don't force them to speak Korean to me as I did in the past because my thoughts about Korean language maintenance have been changed. When Max and Rex were young, I thought that they must speak Korean because they were part Korean. But then, as I live in Canada and my children grow, I tend to think more about a practical aspect of speaking Korean in Canada. Of course, they will be able to communicate with my Korean family and share deeper emotions with me but I don't think it is the most plausible reason to learn Korean language. By the same token, I don't want to say to Max and Rex that they must learn Korean and speak the language only because they are part Korean. I am now more lenient with their Korean language maintenance than the past.

I also realized that it wasn't easy to speak all Korean with children all the time at home when a Canadian husband doesn't understand and speak Korean. In fact, I was able to communicate with Max and Rex in only Korean because Terry didn't mind. If he was the type of person who wanted to engage in all of our conversations, it wouldn't have been possible for us to communicate with each other in Korean. Fortunately, Terry didn't say anything about it when Max and Rex were young. However, as Max and Rex grew, there were a few times when he told me that he didn't know what our children and I were talking about when we communicated in Korean. After that, I realized that Terry might have felt like an outsider when he was with us although he hasn't expressed any unpleasant feelings at that time. These days, I therefore speak both Korean and English when we communicate with one another. I say sentences in Korean first and then in English again for Terry or sometimes I mix two languages. For example,

“Superstore 갔는데 너무 busy 하더라”

“I went to Superstore and it was very busy.”

Then he understands our conversation. It may sound odd when other people hear me talking like this; however, I think it is one of the ways which our family lives with two languages.

As I mentioned at the beginning of my story, I now feel more comfortable with living in two languages and cultures simultaneously. I even appreciate it because I see more opportunities for us to learn about other languages and cultures and grow better through challenges, conflicts and learning. Particularly, I have seen my children learn and grow between two languages and cultures many times. One episode that I vividly remember was when we lived in Small City in the United States. Max was six or seven years old and he was chosen to join a swimming team. He always took swimming lessons in the United States, but he wasn't good enough to join the team until he improved his swimming skill in Korea. When we visited Korea, I enrolled him in a

Korean swimming school. On the first few days, I had to struggle to send Max to the swimming school because he didn't want to go there. He kept saying that he was so scared of the Korean swimming coach because he was very strict. He didn't hesitate to scold Max if his swimming position was wrong or imperfect while American coaches always encouraged him by saying, "you are doing great. Keep doing it." I persuaded him and he continued to practice his swimming while we were staying in Korea. When we came back to the United States, everybody in his swimming team was surprised at his swimming skill. Everybody said Max has improved a lot. At that time, I realized that it was definitely beneficial for my children to obtain both North American and Korean ways of education as they are part Canadian and part Korean. And I was also proud of myself as a Korean mom since I can show them a different way of learning and living.

Now, I have been in Canada for 19 years and married with Terry for 18 years. Like my told stories, I have created my own place and dwelt in a place where is neither Korea nor Canada, figuring out how to live with two languages, cultures, and identities every day as a Korean wife and mom and a foreigner-like Canadian citizen. After living in this place for 19 years, I now feel comfortable here. I further find my Canadian husband and children also dwell in this place with me and we are all becoming a new kind of Canadian who has both Canadian-ness and Korean-ness in our lives.

Inja (인자)

Interview Story

Inja is one of the special participants in my life. Through her life history, I gained deep insights into how to raise my son to be bilingual and bicultural, since her son seemed to be a balanced Korean and English bilingual, and constructed a positive hybrid identity as part Korean

and part Canadian. What is more special, she initially contacted me and had a lot of enthusiasm for participating in my research. I clearly remember the day I received Inja's first email, which showed her interest and willingness to participate. It was around lunch time on April 10th, 2013. I was having lunch with my friend and my phone let me know that I got an email. As soon as I checked the email, I wanted to scream for joy and hope because it was an email from a Korean lady who wanted to participate in my study. After a few months of trying to recruit participants and realizing how difficult it was to find participants for my research, I was almost losing my hope and feeling discouraged.

Her email literally rekindled my passion for research. My heart started pounding with excitement when I read the email and came to know the reason why she wanted to participate in this research project. She wrote:

Hi Eunhee,

I heard about your research from my husband and heard that you were looking for participants. I would like to participate in your study if I am qualified. Can you please give me more detailed information about how I can provide information you need? I have a 14 year old son and a Canadian husband. I immigrated to Canada in January, 2012. Our marriage will be 20 years next year. I sometimes have culture shock in Canada because of different culture, thought and life style between Canada and Korea. I would like to reflect on my previous life and examine how I have lived so far through this research. I think it will be a meaningful and interesting experience. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Inja

Since I requested a few professors at some universities in Western Canada to spread my research to their colleagues and students at the beginning of the recruitment process, I assumed that her husband heard about my research from someone and told Inja about it. In the email, her unique experience also caught my eye. As far as I have known, most international couples in Korea tend to move to their husbands' countries when their children start going to school. However, Inja's case seemed to be different from others as she sounded like she had lived in Canada for only one year and three months and she had a 14 year old son. I became curious about her life and thought that her life history would be a great one.

On that night, I replied to her and thanked her for her interest and willingness to participate in my research. I also told her more details about the data collection process by using cautious and careful wording because I did not want to lose her again. I had lost a potential participant who previously contacted me with interest, but refused to participate after hearing all the details about the research. I learned two important lessons from that experience. I learned that I should not show a consent letter to a potential participant in order to only explain details about my research before they decide to participate. I also learned that I had better have at least the first life history interview with a participant in person even if I have to fly to meet them. Therefore, I told her that I would interview her in person. In that email, I also asked for her phone number, so that I could have a short preliminary phone interview with her before meeting her in person.

If I had followed my heart, I would have flown to meet her right after the first correspondence with her because I was excited to hear about her life stories. Also, it was perfect timing because I had just finished all of the arranged interviews with four recruited participants at that time. However, I had to follow my realistic mind and decided to wait until recruiting more participants for a research trip. In the meantime, I had a short phone conversation with her. We

introduced ourselves to each other and saved all the stories for a real interview. Despite only listening to her on the phone, I could feel that she would be a gentle and soft person.

It was not until August that I met her in person. On the afternoon of August 9th, 2013, I finally arrived in the city where Inja lives. When I got to the hotel, I phoned her and arranged our interview time and place. Originally, I was going to meet her the next morning. However, she invited me to her house for dinner on that day. She also wanted to have an interview after the dinner. I agreed with her suggestions and got ready to go to her house – preparing a voice recorder, interview guide questions, and a pen and notebook, packing dried bracken, anchovies²⁷, a \$50.00 gift card and a thank-you card as a token of gratitude, as well as buying some cupcakes for dessert and calling a taxi. While I was heading to her house, I found myself having mixed feelings just like I had before I met Hyerim. On one hand, I was excited because I had been waiting to meet her and hear about her stories. On the other hand, I was nervous because I had never met her before and also found myself subconsciously feeling strong pressure to give her a good impression of me and to build a trusting relationship with her as a researcher.

When I arrived at her house, everybody – Inja, her husband and her son were at the front door to welcome me. We first introduced ourselves to each other and sat down at the dining table. We started having a chat to get to know one another. Shortly after, Inja went back to the kitchen to finish cooking dinner. Their living room, dining room and kitchen area were open plan, so I was still able to chat with her sitting at the dining table while she was preparing dinner. I also gave her the dried bracken, anchovies, and cupcakes. She seemed to be surprised and happy. Later, she told me that she felt special receiving them and even felt close to me. In fact, the act of sharing such things usually occurs between close friends in Korean culture and some people may think that it is somewhat old-fashioned. However, I wanted to give them to Inja as a token of

²⁷ In Korea, dried bracken and anchovies are common food ingredients and they are also easy to find.

gratitude as they were not easy to get and quite expensive, even if found at Korean stores in Canada.

While we were having dinner, I had a chance to talk to Inja's husband and son. Looking back, I think it was a great opportunity not only to get to know them personally, but also to assess the reliability of Inja's stories to some extent. At the dinner table, I came to know that my assumption was right. Inja met her husband in Korea and had lived in Korea until 2011, so her son was born and raised in Korea. No wonder he spoke fluent Korean and he acted just like a Korean boy. For example, he bowed to me and passed a jar of water with his two hands to me. However, her husband told me his Korean was not very good, although he had lived there for almost 20 years. He seemed to feel ashamed to say that.

After the dinner, our interview began in earnest. I set up my voice recorder in the middle of the dining table and explained details about the research process and went over the consent letter. Upon gaining her consent, I asked her to tell me about how she met her husband. She started telling me her story without any pause, as if she rehearsed storytelling. Her story was so fascinating that it almost hypnotized me. Although I did not ask her to tell me about her childhood, she started her story from her childhood episodes, which naturally connected to her intercultural marriage. The story was so interesting that I even forgot about the time. When I realized the time, it was already 10:30 PM. I felt sorry to stay so late in her house. As Inja had so much to tell me and her story was very fascinating and meaningful for this research, we decided to have the second interview the next morning. She suggested that we should meet at 9:00 AM at Tim Hortons. Although I did not approve having an interview at a public place, I respected her suggestion.

The next morning, I got to Tim Hortons early. Having morning coffee and waiting for Inja, I noticed I felt much more relaxed to interview her. I felt close to her and felt like she already became my friend. A few minutes later, walking inside with a big smile, Inja looked happy. Her happy smile made me feel relieved from the guilt about staying in her house so late the night before. We started our second interview over breakfast. During the second interview, we shared our stories as mothers of a biracial and bicultural child and an immigrant in Canada. We also discussed challenges of being an immigrant in Canada, seeking a new career and building a new relationship with others. Much like the first interview, our conversation did not stop easily. When we finished our conversation, we took a picture together as a memento and said goodbye.

After the research trip, I emailed her a few times to say hello and let her know the timeline for this research project. She always replied to me quickly and told me about how she and her son were adjusting to Canadian life as time went by. She also encouraged me a lot in this research journey. Through Inja's interview, I gained a good friend, as well as great insights.

Inja's Story: Standing at a Crossroad in Life

From time to time, I think of Robert Frost's poem, *The Road Not Taken* and wonder what it would have been like if I had chosen the other road in my life. I wonder what it would be like if the person eating with me at the same table was Korean. I wonder what it would feel like if I spoke the language to him without any consciousness and explanation, if I could share the Korean sentiment with him, and if a conversation over the dinner table was something Korean. What would it be like if my husband was a Korean not a Canadian? I do not feel regretful or wistful about having a Canadian husband, but I sometimes wonder about the road not taken.

I am a Korean woman who is married to a White Canadian man. I am also a mother of a racially and culturally mixed child, but he is just my precious son in my eyes, – nothing different from other Korean boys. I met my husband at an English institute in Seoul for the first time, which was already 20 years ago. He was my teacher – a very friendly and kind teacher. Although I was interested in foreign countries and foreigners when I was young and even told my friends that I would get married to a foreigner, I had never imagined that he would be my boyfriend and/or my husband. He was in his late thirties and I was in my mid-twenties. Moreover, he looked much older with a few strands of grey hair. I thought of him only as an old, kind and friendly foreign teacher. However, as time went by, I noticed his interest in me and something special between us. We naturally became close, and consequently, we started dating.

As soon as we started dating, I began to see hurdles that I had to overcome. Much like other intercultural couples in Korea, my parents were against our dating. I will never forget the day when my Dad came across me and Mark on the street. I just cannot forget the unpleasant look on his face. When I came home that night, he directly told me not to meet Mark again. He went on, “He is old and a foreigner. We don’t even know what kind of person he is. How can we know what he has done in Canada?” It was a fair reason because in my parents’ view, it was hard to trust him. They could not communicate and interact with him to find out what kind of person he was or they probably did not even want to find out. On that night, my Dad and I had a deep conversation about Mark and my future plans. And then, we cried together. I cried because I loved both Mark and my parents. On one hand, I didn’t want to break up with Mark; on the other hand, I didn’t want to break my parents’ hearts. My Dad wept because he wanted to protect me from the unknown and strange foreigner.

Fortunately, after the storm came the calm. Through deep and genuine conversation, we reconciled with each other. In fact, it is more accurate to say that my parents reconciled to their young and immature daughter's crying and whining. At any rate, I was happy that my parents started accepting Mark and our relationship. After dating for one and a half years, we got married and made a family in Korea. I noticed that many Korean women who were married to foreign men tended to move to their husbands' country after they got married or once their children started going to school. However, we lived in Korea for relatively a long time – 18 years. As Mark had a secure and stable teaching job and was comfortable living in Korea, we did not think about moving to Canada at the beginning. I also wanted my son to acquire Korean language and culture. Furthermore, I could not leave my parents behind. I wanted to spend as much time as I could with them when possible. Therefore, I did not feel the urgency and necessity of moving to Canada. However, it was not that we have never thought about moving to Canada. We actually thought about it several times. We just could not find the right time.

It was not until 2011 that we seriously decided to move to Canada. I wanted to experience a Canadian life and most importantly, I did not want my son to be too Korean. My son, Ken, was, in fact, too Korean as he was born and raised in Korea. He lived in Korea until he was 13 years old. He went to a Korean public kindergarten and elementary school, so he was just like other Korean boys. Everything he did was Korean – speaking, acting, and even thinking. As he grew up, I had a thought that he should have balance. I still think he should have both Korean and Canadian identities because he is part Korean and part Canadian. I was also concerned that he might be discriminated or even bullied by other peers at a Korean public junior high or high school because of his different appearance. Although he did not have many negative experiences at an elementary school, I thought junior high and high school experiences might be different

because it is a more complicated and sensitive period in one's life. These are crucial reasons why we moved to Canada long after living in Korea.

On the third of January in 2012, I arrived in Canada as a newcomer with great expectations and hope for a new life in my husband's homeland. Since Mark moved to Canada five months earlier and had already prepared a house, a car, and many little things for the family, I was not as hectic and nervous as I thought would be. I was indeed excited about my new life for the first few months, savouring a peaceful atmosphere and a beautiful nature in Canada. However, I gradually missed Korea. I missed the comfortable and convenient life that I had in Korea. Everything I needed and wanted was easily reachable and obtainable there. On the contrary, in Canada everything is so far away. As a person who does not know how to drive, it is absolutely an inconvenient place. Frankly speaking, it is far more comfortable and convenient to live in Korea. Mark even admits that after living in Korea for 20 years.

I also miss speaking a language without feeling tense and discouraged and thinking of the right pronunciation and grammar. Like other Korean immigrants, I also have challenges with English. One thing I noticed after getting married to a Canadian man was that people always thought that I would speak English very well, almost like a native speaker. It has been a heavy burden and pressure to me. However, I do not blame them entirely for this burden and pressure. I think it is also from my inner self because I always feel guilty that I have not made a greater effort of learning English for Mark. Living in Korea, communicating with Ken in Korean, being able to communicate with Mark for everyday life even with my imperfect English did not really motivate me to learn and study English hard. I have not felt inconvenient at all because of my English until I immigrated to Canada. As I interacted with a variety of people in English here, I realized that I have been used to only Mark's English because he was the only person I spoke

English with when we were in Korea. It is very challenging to understand various accents from various immigrants. One day, an immigrant told me about a “bank” but the pronunciation was so different from mine that I could not understand it, although it was not a complex word. I felt frustrated and, at the same time, I thought to myself that I could still have understood it in the context if my English had been better. Again, I felt discouraged and regretful.

It was not only myself who felt this way toward English. Ken also had a few challenges because of his English when he first came here, although his English was pretty good. Speaking of Ken’s linguistic background, his mother tongue is Korean. He feels more comfortable speaking Korean than English and he also feels particular emotions attached to the Korean language. However, he was better with English than Korean even in Korea when he was young because he always interacted with Mark in English and I also spoke English to him because I knew that he would acquire Korean naturally due to the environment. My assumption was right. Once he started going to a kindergarten, Korean became his dominant language by the run. Soon, he did not want to speak English if he was with English native speakers or those who spoke good English. I guess he thought to himself that he was not an English native speaker and probably felt inadequate. When he came to Canada, he did not have great difficulty communicating with other people. However, he often told me his Canadian friends talked too fast and he could not understand teenage slangs. At that time, I saw him watching television frequently and practicing his pronunciation, repeating slang expressions from television programs. He must have felt isolated because of not being able to talk exactly like his friends and not being able to understand slangs. After one and a half years, he no longer had an issue with teenager English. Now, he is a proud English speaker. He even teases me with my English saying, “Umma, what’s wrong with your pronunciation?” Although I am teased by Ken, I am more than happy that he overcame his

challenges. Through his experience, I see hope for my English as well. I hope for the day when I feel proud of myself in the near future. I hope and hope.

Thanks to my struggles with English in Canada, I can empathize with Mark and his experience of living in Korea without knowing much of the language. He understood basic Korean, which made him comfortable living in Korea, but his Korean was not good enough for him to engage in a conversation. At the beginning of our marriage, I did not think about how challenged Mark had felt communicating in a Korean society. I did not think about how uncomfortable he had felt meeting my parents and interacting with them. I did not really think about how he felt when I talked with Ken only in Korean in front of him. I did not know his feelings until he asked me to speak English with Ken when we were all together and until I moved to Canada and struggled with my English. I did not really think about all those things. However, now that I empathize with Mark and understand his isolated feelings, I do not speak Korean to Ken anymore when Mark is with or around us. Although it feels awkward and artificial for me to speak English to Ken, I try and try.

There were, of course, times when I was regretful that Mark and I did not speak the same mother tongue. There were times when I wonder what it would have been like if we had spoken the same language. Particularly, I felt frustrated when I could not deliver exactly what I meant because certain Korean expressions were not even translated into English. Sometimes, I felt unsure if my emotions and feelings were conveyed to him intact through my English. I also felt sorry that I could not show my favourite Korean dramas to him and talk about them with him. Moreover, I felt sorry to my parents when they could not talk to Mark or interact with him as same as they could have done with a Korean son-in-law. When I think about these things, I

wonder what it would have been like if I had married a Korean man, not a Canadian man. I wonder and wonder.

Not only in language, but I also had these mixed feelings with cultural differences. I am not sure if it is a cultural difference or an individual difference. For me, I saw a difference between the way Mark thought about and treated his parents and the way I thought about and treated my parents. Sometimes, it even brought me to conflict with Mark. When we lived in Korea, we lived very close to my parents and I tended to put my parents as my priority. One time, I took my parents on our family trip in order to celebrate my Dad's 60th birthday.²⁸ During the trip, I took good care of my parents. I cared for them more than my family with Mark because they were my parents and older than us. Later, I came to know that Mark felt somewhat displeased about it. At that time, I did not understand entirely why he felt that way. However, I later learned that Canadian people usually put their own families as their priority rather than their parents.

I am still learning these differences and trying to bridge the gap between Canadian and Korean culture with a mindset called 'understanding' and 'accepting', although it is not easy. In the first year when we moved to Canada, Mark's nephew visited us. He used to call me 'Aunty Inja' when he was young. However, he asked me if he could call me just 'Inja'. To be honest, I preferred to be called 'Aunty Inja'. I actually felt unpleasant when he called me my first name because younger people are not supposed to do that in Korea. We call someone's first name only if he or she is the same age or younger in Korea. As a newcomer in Canada, I guess I was not

²⁸ In Korea, 60th and 70th birthdays are very big celebrations. Children usually throw a party for them or send them for a special excursion.

ready to immerse myself in the Canadian culture. However, I had to accept it and tried to adjust to it.

Besides, I also felt different and, to be exact, disappointed about Canadian education, more specifically, the academic atmosphere. As we moved to Canada mostly for Ken's education and balanced identity, I had a great expectation for it. However, the reality did not satisfy my expectation. I actually thought about returning to Korea several times because of this issue. I found the academic atmosphere here too relaxed and too free so that Ken is becoming lazy and unmotivated. He often told me that he was bored after school. He missed an active and busy Korean life and he also missed the time when he hung out with his Korean friends and studied with them. He was feeling the same as I felt in the beginning - homesick. We even discussed going back to Korea because of it, but we decided to stay and break through these challenges. I often tell Ken that we should focus more on positive things in Canada. It was almost our mission when we first came to Canada – looking at only positive aspects and thinking positively. Otherwise, you cannot find happiness here in Canada.

Although Canadian education did not satisfy Ken and me, I still think it was a good choice to move to Canada in order for Ken to have a balanced identity and I am grateful for the opportunity to come here. When I was pregnant with Ken, I was concerned he would have disadvantages and conflicts in Korea because he was racially mixed. Since Korea was such a racially homogeneous country, I could not help but think about the issue. However, he did not have as many negative experiences as I was anxious about. There were only a few cases that isolated and ostracised him because of his different appearance. Rather, he had more positive experiences. Everywhere he went, people were interested in him and gave him good comments such as 'handsome' and 'cute'. At school, everybody knew him because he looked different and

he was popular among peers. Because of that, he actually had a difficult time when he first came here. He felt like he suddenly became invisible and was nobody in Canada. Nevertheless, he tried to reveal his existence through sports because he is very good at them and eventually regained his self-esteem, as well as recognition after doing a great job at the track and field competition.

As the mother of a biracial child, I have always observed his school experiences, particularly focusing on whether he was discriminated, isolated or ostracized only because of his different appearance. The good news is that I do not really worry about it in Canada anymore because it is so diverse and there are many children like my son. Ken seems to resolve his identity confusion in Canada as well. In Korea, he was sometimes curious about his identity. At about seven years of age, one night when I put him in the bed, he asked me, "Umma, what am I? I am neither white nor yellow." That was the first time, and one of the few times, I heard him expressing curiosity about his identity. I do not think he felt it was shameful or something. He was just curious about his identity sometimes. On the contrary, when he first came here, I noticed he was going through a little bit more serious identity confusion. He was saying to me, "I am not completely white. Why am I so ambiguous? I am not this or that. I am just in the middle." He also seemed to want to have blond hair and blue eyes, so to speak; a more Caucasian face. However, he stopped saying that as he started going to school here. I think he realized that there were so many people who were racially mixed in Canada. Thanks to diversity in Canadian schools, I am not very concerned about his identity confusion anymore. I believe he will negotiate his identity and end up creating a balanced one as he questions it and interacts with diverse people in Canada. Thus, no regrets remain in terms of coming to Canada, despite many challenges to get through yet.

I started telling my story by mentioning Robert Frost's poem. As I mentioned earlier, I sometimes wonder about the road not taken. What would have happened and what would have been like if I had not married to a Canadian man? I am not sure about exactly what it would have been like, but one thing I know for sure is my life would not have been the same as the present one. As I walk on the road less travelled, I sometimes feel lonely and uncertain. However, looking back on the steps already passed from the point where I am standing now, I do not want to go back and take the other road, although I am curious about it. I would like to continue to walk on this road and keep learning and growing as a foreign wife and a Korean mother. In fact, I always think that I have learned more about other cultures, become more open-minded, gained more opportunities to think about identity, and learned to think about others in their shoes by taking this road. I am grateful for it. Therefore, I am looking forward to starting the second part of my life in Canada, despite many differences and challenges continuing to come forward, standing at a crossroad in my life.

Ran (란)

Interview Story

The first time I met Ran was at the Social Science Congress in Victoria on June 3rd, 2013. I was supposed to present a work-in-progress of my doctoral research at a roundtable discussion. When I was preparing for my presentation at an assigned table, an Asian lady, who looked Korean or Chinese, approached me and sat down at the table asking me if I was Eunhee Buettner. I responded "yes" with a big smile and I asked if she was a Korean. At that time, I simply thought that she came to listen to my presentation. However, she had another purpose to come to my presentation. She told me she heard about my research through her friend and that it was suggested that she should participate because she was ethnically Korean, married to a

WDCESCBM, and had a daughter. She told that she was interested in my study and wanted to find out more details about it through my presentation. I was delighted to hear that, as I was still looking for more participants at that time. Her remark was definitely music to my ears.

After the roundtable discussion, we continued to have a chat about ourselves and my research, but this time we communicated in Korean. Once we switched to speaking Korean, I felt more connected and intimate with her. It seemed that she felt the same because she started telling me about herself as if she was talking to a friend. Through a short version of her life history, I found out that ‘ethnically Korean’ meant she was a Korean-Chinese who was born and raised in a Korean Diaspora in northern China. She mentioned she was a third generation Korean in China. Nonetheless, it was amazing that she spoke fluent Korean. More amazingly, she believed that she was Korean. After hearing about her stories, I did not know if she could be a participant. On one hand, I felt like her “Korean” status did not really fit in my research because her original nationality was not Korean, but Chinese, and she had never lived in Korea. On the other hand, I wanted to include her story because it was unique in terms of a relationship between language and identity. More importantly, she seemed to consider herself “Korean” and she seemed to be interested in participating in my research. I could not decide what to do immediately, so I told her I would contact her later. I needed to rethink who “Koreans” really were. I also realized the criteria that I set for my research did not have a clear boundary. Having these thoughts in my mind, Ran and I exchanged our contact information and said goodbye.

On that night, I kept thinking about Ran and her story. I had a strong desire to include her story in my research. Then again, I was wondering if her story could resonate with other Korean immigrant women who were born and raised in Korea. My inner conflicts continued.

I still don't know what to do. I am sure that Ran's story will make a unique and an interesting case. She speaks four languages; Korean, Mandarin, English, and Japanese so I could find out the impact of language on identity through her story. She thinks of her identity as a Korean and a Chinese. Then, I guess she is a Korean although her nationality is not and her homeland is not Korea. Do nationality and geographical location matter more than one's self-defining identity when it comes to constructing identity? Who decides one's identity? Isn't it oneself? Then, she is a Korean. However, she never lived in Korea. Does she really know Korean culture without living in Korea although she lived in a Korean community in China? What can I do? (Researcher's Journal, June 7th, 2013)

Although Ran and her story remained in my mind, it was not until the end of September that I decided to recruit her as a participant. I followed my intuition that her life history would shed light on issues of language and identity. So I emailed her and asked her if she was still willing to participate. Thankfully, and fortunately, she responded yes.

On December 13th, 2013, I finally had the first interview with Ran. After I obtained her unofficial consent at the end of September, she had to visit China for approximately two months. So our interview was somewhat delayed. One unique thing about Ran's interviews was they were phone interviews. Since Ran lives in a different city, I had to either fly to interview her or interview her on Skype or the phone. Originally, I decided to interview all of my participants in person, regardless of the distance because I thought that it was a more ethical and polite way, as well as a more effective way to build a trusting relationship with them. That was why I flew to meet Hyerim and Inja. However, I decided not to do that for Ran's interviews because I had already met Ran and talked with her in person and had built a rapport with her through emails

and phone calls since the first meeting at the Congress. Moreover, Ran was more than willing to do the interviews on Skype or the phone.

At first, we were going to talk on Skype, but then we ended up talking on the phone due to a technical problem. A phone interview was the last thing I considered to employ because I thought that it wouldn't be as interactive and reliable as in-person interviews or Skype interviews. I was not able to look at participants' physical postures and facial expressions. However, it was not as bad as I thought it would be. Rather, I felt I was able to be more aware of Ran's voice, tone and expressions by concentrating on the phone conversation.

The interview started with my request to her to tell me about how she met her WDCESCBM. Interestingly, like other participants, Ran also mentioned her childhood and her Korean family several times in order to explain how she met her WDCESCBM. Through all of the life history interviews that I have conducted for this research, I learned that one's various little life stories in his or her whole life are intertwined, therefore, one story cannot be told without the other. I have noticed many times that my participants started telling me a story and then started another one connected with the first one when they were about to finish it and they, again, started a third story related to the second one. It is like a spider web, which is all connected. After conducting several life history interviews with seven participants, including Ran, I realized the beauty of life history interviews is a researcher can gain so much information about participants and the issues related to the research.

The second interview was conducted exactly one week after the first one. Unlike the first interview, I found a few challenges having a phone interview with the second one. One challenge was I found myself rushed to ask questions to her and just listened to her stories without sharing mine. Reflecting on the previous interviews I had with other participants, I shared my stories

with them instead of only listening to their stories. However, I was more of a listener than a conversation partner at Ran's interview. I was wondering if it was the impact of phone interviews or if it was a result of having several life history interviews beforehand. Another challenge was that Ran talked about other issues irrelevant to my research during the second interview. What is worse, I also ended up talking about other issues with her. It was as if we both considered the interview as a regular phone conversation without knowing it.

Despite these challenges, at the end of the interviews, I realized that I obtained sufficient information through one in-person conversation and two lengthy phone interviews. Therefore, we did not schedule the third interview right after. Instead, I emailed her a few times to ask her follow-up questions while I was transcribing her interviews and analyzing her life stories. Each time, she promptly responded to me with more stories. I eventually needed to have one more phone interview on June 6th, 2014, as questions continued to arise even while I was writing her life history, due to her various life experiences. After the third interview, I felt complete about her life history.

Ran's Story: Seeking Balance

“Wisdom of China, Passion of Korea, Harmony of Japan, and Love of Canada.” These expressions are my identity described by my close friend at my wedding in 2000. I am grateful of her descriptions and I like these phrases very much. Although they are short and look simple, my identity is a complicated one. I know that everyone has their own complex identity maps, since identity is positional, situational, and historical within the context of their lives. However, I always think that mine is a bit more complex than others as I can't describe it with a few sentences. I have to tell a story of my whole life to demonstrate my identity.

I am a third generation ethnic Korean from China. Although my father was born in Korea, he moved to China when he was two years old. My mother was born in China. So I always consider myself a third generation ethnic Korean. I grew up in a Korean Diaspora in Northeast China, including Yanbian where most [of the] population is ethnic Korean people and they mainly speak ethnic Korean language, which is called *CháoXiǎnYǔ*. I have also spoken this language with my family since I was born. So, my mother tongue is ethnic Korean language. More importantly, Korean is not only my mother tongue, but it was also my home language and academic language when I was young. In Northeast China, there are many ethnic Korean bilingual schools and many children attend those schools. I attended bilingual schools for my primary and secondary education. Therefore, I speak fluent Korean and I thought of myself as an (ethnic) Korean rather than Chinese as I grew up.

Due to this unique linguistic background of mine, many Korean people that I have met in Canada often ask me how I can speak fluent Korean although I wasn't born in Korea and have never lived in Korea. Then, I respond to the question by telling them my childhood story. As I mentioned previously, ethnic Korean was a main language in the Korean community in China. Particularly, our family spoke Korean almost 95% of the time for daily communication at home because my mom couldn't speak Chinese²⁹ well. Sometimes, I spoke Chinese with my siblings, but it was usually code-mixed with Korean. Furthermore, my entire primary and secondary education was in ethnic Korean language. Therefore, it is not surprising that I can speak and understand Korean language. However, I think that it is important to distinguish between Korean and *CháoXiǎnYǔ*. To me, the Korean language that I speak is not really a language that South Korean people speak. It is overseas Korean, more specifically, *CháoXiǎnYǔ*, ethnic Korean language in China. But I have to admit that my Korean at present is more like Korean rather than

²⁹ Chinese in this context is Mandarin.

CháoXiǎnYǔ, because I left China 20 years ago and have met South Korean people and interacted with them since I came to Canada.

As my friend mentioned at my wedding, I am very much connected with these four countries; China, Korea, Japan and Canada, because my life has been in the context of these countries, so far. I was born as an ethnic Korean in China and lived there until 25 years old. And then my second life started in Japan for an academic reason. I lived there for almost seven years. Since I studied Japanese as a foreign language in secondary school in China and I learned it more seriously, living in Japan, I developed a good commend of Japanese and came to know its culture well. So one more identity marker was added to me after I lived in Japan. I also came to know my Canadian husband, Carl, when I was in Japan. Later, I ended up moving to Canada for good. Since then, my life has always been in Canada and I feel like I am becoming more Canadian at present, regardless of my ethnicity and nationality.

Of course, I didn't feel that I was a Canadian for the first few years of my stay in Canada. Before I moved to Canada, I thought that I would adjust to a Canadian life without any challenges because I had already lived in a foreign country, Japan, for a while. However, Canada was another foreign country. It was indeed more challenging than living in Japan because sometimes, I didn't know what to do between western and Asian culture. Although Carl's family treated me well and Canadians were also kind and nice in general, I was still a foreigner and a stranger in a new family and country. Wherever I went and whatever I did, I felt different. I felt challenged to learn a new way of speaking, thinking and acting. Due to my foreign-ness, I also felt lonely from time to time. I didn't feel like I belonged to the "Canadian" family and society for the first few years.

Interestingly, I felt a sense of belonging to my Canadian family after I became a mother. In 2002, I gave birth to my precious daughter, Emma. Before having her, I sometimes felt awkward and uncomfortable to visit Carl's family. However, those feelings disappeared after I became a mom and I finally felt that I was one of the family members. I was also able to visit the family with comfortable feelings. It was as if my daughter bridged a linguistic and cultural gap between my Canadian family and me. Thanks to Emma, I started assimilating into the Canadian family and further in the Canadian society.

As Emma grew up, I realized that I had to learn more about Canadian culture and lifestyle and to completely assimilate into Canadian society. I still remember the days when I was faced with a challenge of being a 'resourceful' and 'helpful' mom because of my foreign status. And I will never forget the feelings that I had, such as frustration, helplessness, powerlessness and regret at that time. One of the episodes that I can't forget is a Halloween day event when Emma was four years old. She came home with three small pumpkins from her preschool and she told me that she had to make Jack-o'-lanterns and then bring them to the school. As a non-Canadian, I had no idea how to make them and I was unfamiliar with Halloween itself. I had never heard about it or seen what people had done before I came to Canada. Even after I came to Canada, I didn't really pay attention to those holiday costumes until my daughter had to be a part of it.

Whenever Emma asked me for help with school work and events, I had to ask Carl for help because I wasn't familiar with them. I didn't know how and what to do for the most of time. On that day, I was also waiting for Carl to come home. And then, I asked Carl to help me to make Jack-o'-lanterns as soon as he came home from work, as usual. However, unlike other times, he expressed unpleasant feelings by saying "why are you asking me to do this right now? I

just came home from work. Do we really have to do this right now?” He wasn’t happy. I knew that he just came home from work and needed some rest. And yet, it hurt my feelings. I felt frustrated, helpless, powerless and even regretful. I felt like every effort that I had made to live in a foreign country and to learn a foreign language and culture for my daughter was in vain. I felt like Carl didn’t recognize my effort and support me at that time. I told him about my feelings and said, “I came to Canada only because of you and am trying hard to live in this foreign country. You shouldn’t do this to me. Moreover, it was not for myself but for our daughter.” I was angry. After the querulous confession, Carl didn’t say anything and started carving the pumpkins and eventually made the lanterns. It seemed that he came to know my feelings and understood my situation as a foreign wife and mom.

Through the event, I tried harder to learn more about Canadian culture and assimilate into Canadian society to survive in Canada. As a result, I now feel comfortable living in Canada and I don’t feel like a stranger or a foreigner anymore. I don’t miss China and/or Japan, where I used to live before I came here. I have changed. It is not only me noticing this, but my friends in China also recognized changes in me and my life. When I visited China a couple of years ago, I often heard from my friends that I looked like a Canadian without makeup on my face and wearing jeans, a T-shirt and comfy shoes. They even gave me a nickname called ‘Canada’. I guess I am becoming a Canadian.

Strangely enough, however, I find myself trying to seek balance among many of my selves in the process of becoming a Canadian. On one hand, I try to become a Canadian by assimilating into my Canadian family and society, but on the other hand, I try not to lose my previously constructed identities. It is as if I always try to make two sides of an identity scale in parallel. When the Canadian side goes down, I start working on the other side such as Korean,

Chinese, and Japanese. On the contrary, when the other side goes down, I start working on the Canadian side. I try to maintain the four languages that I speak in order to make a balance because I strongly believe that language and identity are deeply connected. In this way, I think that I am also able to maintain their cultures in that language is also connected with culture. I often watch Korean dramas and movies to keep my Korean language and culture. I teach Japanese language at a Canadian university, so I still have opportunities to speak Japanese in Canada. For Chinese, there are many Chinese people in my neighbourhood, so it is not hard to find them and communicate with them in Chinese. Of course, I don't have to make a great effort to keep my English now because I always communicate with Carl and Emma in English at home and other people in mainly English in Canada.

My effort of seeking balance amongst many languages, cultures, and identities isn't restricted to my own languages, cultures and identities, but I also find myself seeking balance to mother my daughter. As I have constructed various identities through ethnicity, environment, language, and culture and I have also been confused with these identities from time to time, I profoundly thought about how I would mother and raise Emma. As a plurilingual, I knew that it was beneficial to know and speak more than one language and I believe that it would be a great asset to learn a heritage language and maintain it. However, I personally thought that it was not necessary for Emma to learn my mother tongue, Korean, and my nation's language, Chinese, only because they were the languages that I grew up with. I thought that it might be meaningful for me, but not equally meaningful for Emma particularly when she was not interested in them. As a mother, I had to think about what languages would give her more practical benefits when she lives in Canada. By any measure, Korean definitely wasn't the one. If my mother was alive, Emma could communicate with her in Korean. Other than that, she wouldn't have many

opportunities to speak Korean. Chinese was a bit different from Korean because she could communicate with her cousins in Chinese. Furthermore, she was once interested in Chinese, so I sent her to a Chinese heritage language school when she was five. However, she discontinued to learn it because she somehow didn't want to learn it. After that, she started attending a French immersion kindergarten because I thought that it was practically more beneficial for her to learn French rather than Korean and/or Mandarin as an additional language in Canada. Moreover, the French immersion school was one of the best schools in our catchment area. Therefore, she speaks English and French at present. I hope she gains an interest in learning Chinese or Korean in the future, but I don't want to force her to learn those languages only because they were heritage languages.

Although I didn't make great effort to pass down Korean and Chinese to her, I always tried to help her connect with her heritage cultures by exposing her to the cultures. I also told her about my ethnic background and often reminded her that I was a Korean, in order to let her know that she was part Korean. There were a few times when she was curious about her racial and ethnic identity as she grew up. When she was four or five, she asked me, "Mommy, why my eyes are not blue? Are blue eyes more beautiful?" I was surprised when I heard that because I had never thought that she would ask such questions. Most kids in her school were Caucasians while there were few kids with an Asian background. So, we later found out that Emma discovered a difference in eye color between her and her close friends. One year later, she again asked me about hair color, "Mommy, is blonde hair more beautiful?" It seemed that she unconsciously became marginalized because of her different eye and hair color. Then, I told her that everybody was special. And I found many pictures of models from various racial backgrounds and showed them to Emma in order to show her diversity in appearance. Furthermore, I tried to increase her

self-esteem through many other activities that she enjoyed such as swimming, music, art, and golfing. I think it worked well because she gained confidence through those activities and didn't ask me questions about racial difference since then.

Similar to her curiosity about her racial identity, there were a few times when she was curious and confused with her ethnic identity. The first time when I noticed her confusion was when she was in grade two. One day, she came home from school and told me, "My friends always told me that I am Chinese, so I told them that I am not Chinese." And then, she later told me that one of the boys in her class teased her about Asian people's eye shapes, so she said to him, "Actually, I am Canadian." The other day, she also told me, "My classmates think I am Chinese" and then she asked me, "I am a Korean, right, Mommy?" It seemed like she was negotiating her identity by telling me those stories and asking me about it. So I explained to her that my ancestors were Korean, but I was born in China and I also told her about immigration and Canadian immigrants to help her understand her ethnicity more easily. After that, she didn't ask me about her ethnic identity any more.

Emma is now twelve years old and she is part Canadian and part ethnic Korean-Chinese. However, she naturally grew up as a Canadian in that she was born and raised in Canada. Despite my effort to introduce and teach Korean and Chinese culture, I have to admit that she is more Canadian now. Looking back, I am wondering if my effort was not great enough or she was meant to be a Canadian, regardless of my effort because of the environment. As a foreign wife and a mother of biracial and bicultural child, I also ask myself ongoing questions such as, "Do I have to be satisfied with seeking and making balance in myself? Is it even possible to make balance in mothering hybrid children living in such a linguistically, culturally and racially dominant environment? Is it only minority moms' ambition to seek and make balance in their

children's languages, cultures and identities?" In the process of seeking balance in my Canadian life, I rethink about seeking and making balance in my mothering process.

Conclusion

This chapter presented each participant's interview contexts and their life histories. Stories of the interviews attempted to provide readers not only with the interview settings but also with my thoughts on the interviews and each participant's attitude toward interviews. In this way, readers can better understand the participants' life histories. Seven participants' life histories focused on their life stories with regard to their Becoming, Othering, and Mothering experiences. Although each participant's life was described through a different theme, the participants had common life experiences in many parts of their stories as foreign wives to a WDCESCBM, immigrants, and mothers of racially and culturally hybrid children. In the next chapter, I am telling my own story of Becoming, Othering, and Mothering as my own experiences inspired me to listen to these seven women's stories.

Chapter Six: Autoethnography

In this chapter, I include my own stories of Becoming, Othering, and Mothering as a participant (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). As my personal experiences were sources of this research journey and I share the same attributes with my participants (see Ch. 4 & 5), I explored my own experiences and attempted to find and understand meanings of each experience through reflection.

Reflecting on Myself as a Participant

In order to write my autoethnography, I sat down at my desk and had an interview with myself. As the original meaning of an interview³⁰ includes reflection and scrutiny, I would say that interviewing oneself is to mirror oneself through recollection and reflection. Therefore, I started collecting data for autoethnography by recollecting and reflecting upon my past life and revisiting my old journals, which have been kept since I was 13 years old. I traced my past life to the time when I first came to know my husband based on my memories and jotted down the significant events and moments related to my intercultural relationship and immigration to Canada in a chronological manner. Then, I took out all of my old diaries and leafed through them, looking for evidence of my memories, as Clandinin and Connelly (2000) indicate that “field texts help fill in the richness, nuance, and complexity of the landscape, returning the reflecting researcher to a richer, more complex, and puzzling landscape than memory alone is likely to construct” (p. 83). Although my journals are different from field texts, they can be considered as field texts in a sense that they both are data in autoethnography. Finally, I revisited letters from my husband, Canadian family, and my parents, which helped me to remember the past years as well as underpinned my recollection and reflection through memories.

³⁰ ‘Face-to-face meeting’ and ‘see each other’

Becoming, Othering, and Mothering

Unexpectedness. It was the late summer of 2003 when Brian moved to Korea with his hope to have a more serious relationship with me and his dream to teach English. He was so excited to stay in the same country that I live and start an adventure in his early twenties that it seemed like he didn't consider many things before moving. It was literally an adventure to him because he moved to Korea without any linguistic, cultural or financial preparation. He said that he first thought he would get an English teaching job easily and quickly, but it wasn't as easy and quick as he had expected because he was relatively young and had no teaching experience at that time. Without a job, he had financial difficulty. As his girlfriend, I had to help him search for job opportunities and find a place to stay. I occasionally had to help him with his financial situation as well. The beginning of our dating in Korea wasn't romantic or sweet. Rather, it was practical and challenging. I was even confused about if I was his girlfriend or his personal secretary. It was even harsh when he went through culture shock. He sometimes complained about some Korean people's "impolite and aggressive" attitudes and the busy, noisy and crowded atmosphere in Korea. Every time when I heard his complaints, I felt upset and it often led to arguments and questions about why I was dating a foreign guy who complained about my country and its people and culture. Looking back, it was the very first time when we had cultural dissonance as an intercultural couple.

After a few months, Brian started enjoying his Korean life. He came to have a better understanding of Korean language and better communication skills. He made more Korean friends and he also had a group of expatriate friends. He was learning the Korean language and culture every day and started enjoying the life in Korea. In the meantime, it seemed that we were

also learning how to negotiate our cultural dissonances and conflicts because we tended to understand our differences better than we did at the beginning of our relationship.

After two years of dating, Brian proposed to me. I was more than happy without thinking about what an intercultural marriage would be like. I just had no idea where we would live for good, whether it would be challenging to live in a foreign country if we had to move to Canada, how hard it would be to live far away from my parents and siblings, what it would be like to live with two languages and cultures, what it would be like to raise a biracial and bicultural child, and so on. I was just happy to get married to a person I loved.

On August 13th, 2005, we got married and we started our married life in Korea. However, because Brian didn't want to teach English for the rest of his life and I didn't mind living in Canada at that time, we decided to move to Canada after living in Korea for a few more years. Brian was still teaching English and I was also teaching English after getting my Master's degree. We both enjoyed our honeymoon and prepared to start a new life in Canada. During the time, I didn't really feel that I got married to a foreigner and I didn't have many challenges because of a Canadian husband and/or our intercultural marriage. I just didn't know how my life would unfold in the future at that time.

Bittersweet. June 16th, 2008 was a historical day in my life as I left my country and stepped on Canadian soil as a landed immigrant. Although I had been to Canada a few times before, I felt special and strange when I thought Canada would be the place where I would probably live for the rest of my life. I had mixed feelings. On the one hand, I was sad to leave my country and to be far away from my family, but on the other hand, I was full of excitement, dreams and hopes to start a new chapter of my life in Canada. I remember writing my mixed feelings in my journal during the flight:

The second chapter of my life has started. I left Korea at 5:10 PM on June 16th, 2008 and I am flying to Canada now. I have been connected to Canada since 2001 when I studied English and I have visited almost every two years since then. However, I feel very special and strange about this trip because Canada is the land where I will live from now on. Although I plan to visit Korea every two year[s] but I am not sure when would be the next time when I go back...Soon, I will see Brian. I realized how precious he is while I was apart from him for 9 months.³¹ I am very happy to see him and excited to start a new life with him in his country. However, I am also sad since I left my country. My heart is actually aching because I am moving far away from my parents. I am so sorry to them. Although I couldn't visit them in my hometown very often due to a busy life in Seoul, I feel sad that I can't see them whenever I want to see them from now on. They are aging. Time doesn't wait for opportunities. I will work hard for my new life in Canada and show them my happiness and success to them. In that way, I can at least make them happy.

(Eunhee's journal, June, 16th, 2008)

When I arrived in Brian's hometown, my parents-in-law welcomed me with open arms. I felt like all my sad feelings were gone with their warm welcome. They prepared their basement for us to stay until our new house was ready. I thought it would be a good opportunity for me to get to know Brian's parents better, but at the same time, I felt cautious to stay with them. To be honest, it was foreign to me. Everything was foreign to me, except for Brian.

Being different to fit in. A few days after I arrived in Canada, I adjusted to Canadian time and started getting ready for a Canadian life. I first went to several government offices to

³¹ My husband moved to Canada 9 months earlier to take a program for his future career and prepare for our lives together.

get a SIN card³² and a health card and to exchange my Korean driver's license for a Canadian one. During the process, I had a conflicting moment with my last name. On the day when Brian and I went to a government office to make these ID cards, Brian asked me if I would change my last name. He said it wasn't required to change a married women's last name in Canada these days although many still tend to change it. And he further told me that it was up to me. I was thinking and thinking, "What should I do?" I didn't want to remove my Korean last name. In Korea, women don't change their last name even after they are married, so I felt weird changing it. I somehow felt I would become disconnected from my Korean family, as if my family root was uprooted. But then, my mother-in-law and sister-in-law came to my mind. They all changed their last names. And I didn't want to be singled out by not changing my last name. As a Korean wife and daughter-in-law in a European Caucasian English speaking family, I was already different linguistically, culturally, and racially and I wanted to minimize differences from them so that I could fit in with the Buettner family. Therefore, I changed my last name, leaving my Korean last name as a middle name. To be honest, I felt strange with my new last name at first and it took me a few months to get used to it. But now, I like my new name in Canada because it shows my present identity and my life history. I am 'Eunhee', who was born and raised in South Korea as a Korean and got married to a Canadian man whose last name is 'Buettner' and I live in Canada.

Starting all over again. With my new name, I thought to myself that I would start my new life in earnest. I also made up my mind that I would try my best to assimilate into Canadian society, even though it required effort to start everything all over again. However, it was not until I was homesick that I realized it would not be a simple journey. A few weeks after I arrived in Canada, I started missing my family and friends in Korea because the only people I knew were

³² Social Insurance Card

Brian and his parents. I found myself considerably dependent on Brian. I was reluctant to go anywhere and/or do anything without him. I also found myself passive and quiet, unlike myself in Korea. I remember an episode that I completely lost my voice. One day, I went to a café and ordered a cappuccino. When I got the coffee, I noticed that it was not a cappuccino. In my mind, I wanted to let them know that I got the wrong one and to ask them for a new one. However, I just drank it without saying anything. While I was drinking the coffee, I did not like my new self. I kept thinking maybe my pronunciation for cappuccino was not good. I kept thinking why I was becoming such a passive person in Canada. I could see the excitement and hope about a new life fading away and I started feeling homesick. I cried because I did not like my new self. I cried because I missed my parents, siblings, and friends. I even cried because I saw a few people on the street on one Saturday afternoon. It was a strange scene compared to the always crowded and noisy Korea. I missed the busy, noisy and crowded atmosphere and I felt fearful and unconfident about starting everything all over again.

Even when I started studying at a graduate school, it was not easy to network with other people at the beginning. I was often concerned whether what I said and how I behaved was appropriate in a Canadian context. I often had to confirm with Brian whether it was okay to say and/or do certain things according to Canadian culture. I also felt it was challenging to build an intimate relationship with dominant-culture Canadians. I am not sure if it was because of having different mother tongues and cultures, but I found myself having more Korean or Asian friends than white Canadian friends, as time went by. I somehow felt the relationship with European Caucasian Canadians was somewhat superficial rather than deep, whereas I could share more emotions with my Korean and Asian friends. Despite my intentions, I often felt I was not really well assimilated into Canadian society.

Studying at a graduate school in English was also challenging. It will probably be one of the most challenging tasks I have done in my Canadian life. English was the love of my life in Korea because I loved English and it made me always feel confident. I also loved teaching English as my career. However, in Canada, English became a source of my concern, stress, low self-esteem, and uncertainty, particularly when I was studying at a graduate school. Although I was able to understand and speak English, I had to spend a lot of time reading and writing to keep up with other Canadian classmates, since English is not my language. Furthermore, it was challenging to engage in many discussions during the class as I was nervous about speaking English and I was not familiar with discussion-type classes. I truly felt like I was starting everything all over again: learning, studying, friendships, relationships, career and so on.

After surviving in Canada in the first year, I felt happy and relaxed to have my first long summer vacation, thinking about various plans I made for the summer. However, the happiness and relaxation did not last long because I ended up working at a restaurant for the whole summer. As I was a full time student and Brian was still trying to settle down financially, our financial situation was not very good. So I came to work at my Korean friend's restaurant when she asked me to help her with her business. To be honest, for the first few days, I was not happy working at a restaurant as a waitress. I felt disappointed and unsatisfied with my life, particularly when I was doing dishes in the restaurant kitchen. Although I knew it was a temporary job, I was saying to myself, "I was an English teacher in Korea, but what am I doing now?", "Did I come to Canada to clean the dishes at a restaurant?", "Even for my career, I have to start all over again...", "I wouldn't work at a restaurant if I were in Korea." I missed my teaching job in Korea. I was uncertain about my future and I was even afraid that I would not be able to teach in Canada as a non-native speaker. Although I came to enjoy working there as time went by, uncertainty

about the future did not leave me completely. Looking back now, I am glad I had such an invaluable experience as I can empathize with other immigrants who had to change their careers to survive in Canada. Thanks to the job experience, I could be genuinely happy when my immigrant students at the English program got a job. I could understand their facial expressions even though they did not say anything.

Home. Another year passed by and I finished my course work and completed my PhD candidacy exams. I felt more relieved although I had far more to go in my new life journey. It was weird. I felt like I stayed in Canada only for a year or so, but it had already been two and a half years. It was time to visit my family in Korea. So I had the first visit at the end of 2010. I remember feeling excited and ecstatic to see my parents and siblings during the flight to Korea. And I cannot forget my parents' happy faces when they saw me at the airport. It is such an indelible memory. I stayed in Korea for three months. Since I was alone without Brian and I spent a great amount of time with my family, I felt like I travelled to the past when I was only my parents' daughter and my siblings' younger sister. I enjoyed every moment with my family as I knew that such time did not last forever.

An interesting feeling was that I did not want to go back to Canada, although I missed Brian. I felt like Korea was still my home and Canada was a place that I lived in temporarily. I just wanted to stay in my "home". I guess it was also because I knew so well that Canada was the place that I had to live my life fiercely, starting everything all over again. I wished to move back to Korea so that I could live close to my family and live stably and comfortably without feeling homesick and having uncertainty about my future. I felt more reluctant to leave Korea this time than the first time in 2008. It was strange. Even after I came back to Canada, I could not settle down emotionally after the visit. I missed my parents more and I started thinking that I

should move back to Korea after finishing my studies. I often talked to Brian about it as well.

Becoming more Korean in Canada. Ironically enough, not only did I feel like Korea was my true home, but I also felt that I was becoming more Korean in Canada. While I was trying to assimilate into Canadian society by learning and starting everything in a Canadian way, I noticed that I was acting more Korean than ever. In fact, I was the kind of person who could live without Korean food and chose to watch Hollywood movies rather than Korean ones in Korea. However, as I lived in Canada, I became a person who had to eat at least one Korean meal a day, and watching Korean TV programs became my favourite pastime in Canada. Moreover, I did not have a strong affection toward my country as I have now when I was in Korea. I took my home country, special Korean sentiment, and Korean language for granted in Korea. However, I think I started feeling afraid of losing my heritage language, culture and identity deep down in my heart as I live here in Canada, especially considering that I am more likely to live here for good. I found myself trying to hold onto my language, culture and identity very firmly and not to let them go.

Struggling Mom. In January 2012, I gave birth to my baby boy, Kayden. Looking back on the year, I did not even remember how I survived with a hectic life. I was adjusting to new motherhood and writing a research proposal for this research. After a while, I realized that I barely thought about moving back to Korea although I still missed my family there. I found that my thoughts and feelings were different from the first few years in Canada. I felt more responsible to make up my mind between Korea and Canada and decide on my future life in Canada. It is as if Kayden was a catalyst for me to move one more step to assimilate into a Canadian family and society.

With a determined mind, I worked harder to fit in the mainstream Canadian society. I reminded myself that Canada is the place I should stay for my own family and that starting everything all over again is worth it for the future. However, to make up my mind to completely assimilate into Canadian society did not necessarily lead me to neglect my own language, culture, and identity. Interestingly, I found myself holding onto the Korean language, culture, and identity more tightly than any other time because I had a strong desire to pass down Korean language and culture to Kayden.

However, it was not smooth sailing at all. It was far more challenging than I thought. I have confronted many challenges including raising Kayden as a bilingual child. Both Brian and I had this decision when he was born. Personally, I wished that Brian could also speak only Korean to Kayden and we could communicate in Korean. I heard and read many cases that were not successful in raising bilingual children in intercultural families when one parent spoke one language and the other parent spoke the other language. So I asked Brian to speak as much Korean as he could to Kayden because Brian can understand and speak some Korean. In the meantime, I, of course, spoke only Korean to Kayden. Brian agreed to do it and tried to speak Korean and I deliberately spoke Korean to Brian, as well as Kayden, for the first few months. However, it was hard to be consistent in carrying out the plan. I noticed that we frequently code-switched and code-mixed, not following our initial plan. I also noticed that it was even harder for Brian to speak more Korean than English. When Kayden started interacting with us through his gestures and facial expressions, Brian wanted to interact with Kayden more. After some trial and error, we changed our plan to the ‘one parent one language’ approach. Brian spoke only English to Kayden and I spoke only Korean. Despite my concern about this approach, Kayden started

learning more Korean than English. I stayed home with him all day and he spent a lot of time at the Korean church on weekends. I was not concerned about his Korean then.

The biggest challenge came when Kayden started going to a daycare. Because I had to finish my graduate work, I decided to send Kayden to a daycare when he turned two years old. At first, I thought of having a full time Korean nanny, but it was hard to find one. It was the moment that my plan for Kayden's language and my journey of assimilating into Canadian society were conflicting, and I had to compromise. I was concerned about his Korean language, but I could not help but make the decision. I felt guilty, but was comforted by the thought that I would take him to Korea frequently or stay in Korea for a long time once my time and finances permitted. However, it did not take much time to see my concern become a reality. Soon after Kayden started going to daycare, he started speaking more English than Korean. Eventually he made full sentences only in English. Even when he spoke Korean expressions and words, he always put them in the English sentence structure and rarely made a full Korean sentence.

The challenge did not stop at the daycare, but it also continued in the family. Ever since Kayden was born, my mother-in-law has appeared not to approve of raising Kayden bilingual. When she spotted me speaking Korean to him, she was concerned that he would not be able to learn English or he would be confused with two languages. So I told her not to worry based on my belief and knowledge that I have learned over the years. I still noticed many times that she was not happy with Kayden being exposed to Korean language and him calling Brian 아빠 (Abba: Daddy) instead of daddy. When Kayden mixes Korean and English together, she often corrects his utterances, using only English. Some people may say it is just a language, but for me, I feel that Kayden's Korean identity, as well as my own identity, become invisible whenever she reacts to Korean language in such a way.

Now, regret, pressure, responsibility, frustration, guilt, and fear follow me all the time when I think about Kayden's language and identity in the future. I cannot count how many times I became so tempted to give up raising Kayden bilingual because of the negative emotions that I had. I attempted to raise Kayden bilingual in a dominantly English environment and in an English speaking household. I feel depressed because of the regret about sending him to a daycare early, the pressure of speaking only Korean to him and in front of him, the responsibility for passing down Korean to him, the frustration of being alone on this journey, the guilt of being in the process of disconnecting him with my parents, and the fear of failing to raise him bilingual. To be honest, I feel lost in raising Kayden bilingual in Canada. My heart often whispers to me, "Just chill out and live comfortably. Speak and act like other Canadian-born mothers". But I still want to fight over this evil temptation. I know it is so easy to make his Korean identity invisible and intangible in this society once I fall into the temptation. Although it leads to a lot of internal conflicts within myself, I will continue to do my best to raise him bilingual. I hope it will help Kayden construct his hybrid identity as part Korean and part Canadian in the future.

"Ignorant" Mom. I have to confess that I am not only a struggling mom, but also an ignorant one. One day, Kayden, my two and a half year old son, came home from his daycare and asked me to sing 'Old MacDonald Had a Farm' with him. I started the first part, but I could not continue because I did not know the lyrics. Instead, I turned on the CD player to play the song. A few days later, he came home and asked me to sing 'Itsy Bitsy Spider' with him. I, once again, started the first part but could not continue. This time I began singing the song in Korean because I learned it only in Korean when I was young. However, Kayden wanted me to sing the English one that he learned at his daycare. I felt incapable and helpless. I thought I had to learn English children songs and tried my best. However, it was not easy to memorize the songs in

English in a few days. The other day, he asked me to sing the ‘Wheels on the Bus’. Before I began singing the first part, I opened the song book and sang it, looking at the lyrics. It helped me, but my song was not very natural nor rhythmic. Through these experiences, many thoughts came to my mind – What if he thought that 아빠 (Abba: Daddy) could sing every song that he learned at his daycare and school but 엄마 (Umma: Mommy) couldn’t? What if he felt frustrated with 엄마, who did not know songs he wanted to sing together? Should I be in charge of teaching Korean and sharing only Korean things and let my husband be in charge of English and Canadian culture or should I learn everything Canadian mothers can provide to their children? - Thinking about all of the questions and conflicts, I felt even more ignorant and confused.

Conclusion

I have been living a new chapter of my life in Canada since 2008 and I have been learning a new way of speaking, behaving, thinking, feeling, and even defending my language and culture in order to integrate into my new family and society as an immigrant. I have also started many things all over again – relationships, friendships, education, and a career to have my happy, stable, and confident Korean life back in Canada. Furthermore, I have learned the importance of balancing my life between Canada and Korea by integrating into Canadian society and maintaining my own language and culture at the same time in order to mother my son as part Canadian and part Korean. Therefore, the lesson that I learned from my own autoethnography is that it is not too bad to start and learn everything all over again despite many challenges because I believe it will all be worth it in the end.

Chapter Seven: Discussions

In the previous chapters, I have explored seven Korean immigrant women's life histories as foreign wives, immigrants, and immigrant mothers of culturally and racially hybrid child(ren). I have also included my own autoethnography. Through a reflexive, emergent theme, and cross-case analysis, I found many overlapping experiences and thoughts among the participants. Based on the findings, I came up with emergent themes related to language, culture, and identity, which would fall into previously identified umbrella categories such as Becoming, Othering, and Mothering. Therefore, this chapter consists of three sub-sections, 1) Becoming, 2) Othering, and 3) Mothering and the emergent themes are specified in each section. My intention and purpose in the analysis and the interpretation is not to generalize Korean immigrant women's experiences, or to give readers definite conclusions, but to provide readers with some observations connecting to the literature and a motive for interpreting the research based on their own frameworks (Mack, 2010; Schwandt, 2000; Scotland, 2012).

Becoming

Becoming demonstrates the salient aspects of how eight Korean immigrant women, including me, become Canadian through linguistic and cultural integration since meeting their WDCESCBM and immigrating to Canada. I employed language socialization theory (Duff, 2007; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984) as I assumed that the participants' language would be greatly influenced by their WDCESCBM and society. I also attempted to explore how they have gained communicative competence, membership, and legitimacy in their families and society through English (Duff, 2007). With this framework, I interpreted the data for their linguistic integration and I found three emergent themes: English as manifestation of socialization (Duff, 2007;

Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984), English as manifestation of power relations (Bourdieu, 1992; Crystal, 1997), and code-switching and code-mixing as mutual assimilation (Buettner, 2009).

With regard to acculturation, I analyzed and interpreted the data through Berry's (1997, 2005) acculturation strategy theory³³ and Bourdieu's (1986, 1992) theory of habitus (See Ch. 3). Drawing on acculturation strategy theory (Berry, 1997, 2005), I assumed that the participants' cultures and lifestyles may have been changed and/or they have created a third culture (Bhabha, 1990) as they were exposed to western culture every day. I also attempted to find what types of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997, 2005) the participants chose, or were forced to choose, in intercultural families and Canadian society. Through the analysis and interpretation, I found two emergent themes for becoming experiences, namely acculturation through assimilation and integration³⁴, and mutual acculturation (Berry, 1997, 2005).

Finally, I explored the impact of linguistic and cultural integration on the participants' identities as many research studies manifest that language, culture, and identity are tightly interrelated (Brown, 2000; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Jabri, 2004; Lee, 2002; Liddicoat et al, 2003; Miller, 2000; Norton, 1995, 1997; Schechter & Bayley, 1997). Through the analysis, the participants' ethnic and national identities emerged as common themes. For interpretation and discussion, I employed the concept of imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) to discuss their national identity maintenance and the notion of habitus (Bourdieu, 1986, 1992) to discuss the gap between the participants' self identities and social identities.

³³ Berry (2005) defines acculturation as the dual process of cultural and psychological change caused by contact and interaction between more than two cultural groups and their individual members. He further suggests four types of acculturation strategies such as assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization and argues that these strategies can be generated in terms of whether individuals attempt to maintain their cultures or prioritize contact and participation in a new society (Berry, 1997, 2005).

³⁴ In the Becoming section, I focus on their experiences of assimilation and integration and in the Othering section, I demonstrate their experiences of separation and marginalization (see the Othering section).

Language.

English as manifestation of socialization and/or power relations. When I started this research, I had an assumption that the participants' language would be greatly influenced by the English speaking environment in both their families and society because individuals learn and use a language during and for socialization (Schieffin & Ochs, 1984). However, I noted a language as manifestation of power relations as well as socialization during data collection and analysis of this research.

Much like my assumption, I found all of the participants have been linguistically integrating into Canadian society because of English speaking family members and environment (Schieffin & Ochs, 1984). However, their comments also conveyed the message that they had no choice but to speak English because their husbands and children did not speak and understand Korean language. Subin, Mijin, Hyerim, Inja, and I mentioned we spoke only Korean to our children when they were young because it felt more natural and comfortable. However, we felt challenged to continue to speak Korean to our children as they grew up. Mijin, Hyerim, and Inja thought their WDCESCBM may have felt isolated and it was disrespectful to speak a language, which not every family member understood. Therefore, they chose to speak English in order to socialize with their family members, particularly their husbands. For example, Inja said,

I have usually spoken Korean to my son because it was a different feeling when I spoke English. The emotions are very different from Korean language. But I know my husband felt isolated whenever I spoke Korean to my son in front of him. One day, he asked us to speak English so that he could understand. But I still spoke Korean a lot because it was way more comfortable for me. Now we are in Canada so I try to speak English when we are all together. (Inja, August 9th, 2013, p. 10)

At other times, they chose to speak English, not only because of their husbands, but also because of their children's lack of Korean competency and even reluctance to be exposed to Korean language. Statistics Canada (2006) shows first generation immigrants' challenges to pass down their mother tongues to their children. It indicates that 60% of the second generation and 90% of third generation immigrants have lost their heritage languages. Particularly, children of parents who have different mother tongues have more possibilities to lose their heritage languages (Harrison, 2000).

Among the participants in this research, Seyoung, Hyerim, and Inja have passed down Korean language to their children so far³⁵. However, all of the participants except Inja claimed that their children tended to lose their interest in Korean language once they started going to a daycare, preschool or kindergarten (Cummins, 1997; Kouritzin, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991). They often became reluctant to speak Korean and to even listen to their mothers speaking Korean, in some cases. With this reason, Eunsung, Subin, Mijin, and Ran were concerned about whether they should continue to speak Korean to their children or not. They tended to speak more English as their children grew up. As a result, English naturally became a family language. Eunsung shared the following:

Although I usually spoke English to my children from birth, I spoke Korean to my son and I asked him to speak Korean at one point when he was younger. But then, he seemed to ignore me when he started going to a preschool because I spoke a "strange language". I guess he found out that everyone spoke English. (Eunsung, February 19th, 2013, p. 9)

³⁵ Although Seyoung and Hyerim said that their children can understand and speak Korean, I noticed that their children are also in the process of losing Korean language because they often speak English to their mothers based on my observation and they are still young. Therefore, it is hard to measure their bilinguality. Moreover, Inja's case is different from other participants' because Korean is her son's first language.

In my case, my son³⁶ also showed me his reluctance to speak Korean language when I asked him to do so a few times as he grows older. However, it did not unsettle my language plan but it did make me concerned about my son's Korean language. As previous research studies on heritage language maintenance discuss (Cummins, 1997; Kouritzin, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991), most participants attributed their children's Korean language regression or loss to the school environment. In particular, Eunsung's comment resonated with Wong Fillmore's (1991) questions and statement regarding the force of language socialization in the school environment:

Consider what happens when young children find themselves in the attractive new world of the American school. What do they do when they discover that the only language that is spoken there is one that they do not know? How do they respond when they realize that the only language they know has no function or value in that new social world, and that, in fact, it constitutes a barrier to their participation in the social life of the school? (p. 325)

Although other participants did not express their thoughts on specific reasons for their children's Korean language regression or loss after starting schooling, Wong Fillmore's (1991) statement seems to explain the reasons well, which confirms language socialization as a site of struggle over power relations (Lam, 2004). In the Western Canadian context, English is the medium language for socialization hence it is a language of power. Therefore, it makes sense why children of minority parents do not choose to speak their heritage languages despite their parents' great effort to pass it down.

More importantly, Wong Fillmore's (1991) statement not only reflects the participants' children's Korean language regression or loss, but also explains the participants' language socialization in Canadian society. The linguistic environment influences the participants'

³⁶ As I mentioned in my autoethnography, his dominant language became English since he started going to a daycare. He can now understand Korean but does not make a Korean sentence. He usually speaks English and sometimes puts Korean words in English sentence frame.

language choices in that they are required to understand and speak English to interact with others in Canada. Eunsung seemed to try hard to learn English in order to gain linguistic capital in her new world (Bourdieu, 1992). She discussed her effort to speak only English to her husband and children to assimilate into Canadian society quickly as soon as she immigrated to Canada.

For the first few years, I didn't speak Korean on purpose to improve my English. I was hungry for English, so I always spoke English. I spoke only English with my husband and children in order to learn and improve English. So, my children don't speak and understand Korean. (Eunsung, February 19th, 2013, p. 8-9)

Through Eunsung's comment, it is evident to note that immigrant parents' language socialization is in conflict with their children's heritage language maintenance. To assimilate into Canadian society, the participants try to learn and practice their English. But then, they often realize their children do not get opportunities to be exposed to Korean language during their language socialization processes. On the other hand, when they try hard to pass down Korean language by speaking only Korean to their children all the time, they realize their English does not improve a lot because of a lack of practice. This conflict is resonated with Kouritzin's (2000c) study on immigrant mothers regarding their English learning as she mentions that immigrant mothers have ambivalence about learning English because they feel responsible for passing down the heritage language and culture to their children.

Likewise, social environment considerably affects one's language learning and shift even more than a family member, as learnt through the eight women's stories. In addition to a failure to pass down their mother tongue to their children because of an English environment, all of the participants attributed the improvement of their English to living in an English environment and interacting with English speaking Canadians every day. They mentioned that they became more

comfortable and felt more relaxed to speak English, regardless of their fluency and accuracy, thanks to their WDCESCBM. However, they were not motivated to study English by their husbands. Rather, they seemed to be unmotivated to study English after they had interacted with their husbands. Seyoung, Subin, Eunsung, Hyerim, and Inja mentioned that their husbands understood what they were saying most of the time, in spite of their imperfect English (Ervin-Tripp, 1968).

I have improved my English because of my husband in a sense that I communicate with him only in English. But the problem is that he understands what I was saying although my English was not very good. So, I don't know if my English improved because of him or not. (Subin, February 11th, 2013, p. 13)

Through Inja's story, it is safe to assume that a social and linguistic environment affects one's language learning and choice more than a family member does. Inja has been married to her WDCESCBM for almost 20 years, but she lived in Korea with him for most of their marriage. In terms of her English, she mentioned:

If I had learned and studied English hard, I would speak English well now. But I didn't have much difficulty... I'm not sure... probably, my husband had a difficult time because my English wasn't very good. Language wasn't a huge problem in general though. I didn't really study English hard when I lived in Korea because I didn't have to... There was no motivation. (Inja, August 9th, 2013, p. 12)

Both Subin's and Inja's comments emphasize the importance of being exposed to social environments during language socialization (Duff, 2007; Leung, 2001). Leung (2001) compares second language acquisition in a language classroom and in a social environment and argues that second language learners may not acquire specialized discourse types and sociocultural

knowledge sufficiently in the language classroom. Although the context of my participants' cases is not an English classroom but English speaking households, both cases suggest the importance of the wider social and linguistic environments in language socialization.

What is interesting and ironic is that the general notion of second language socialization theory does not seem to support the participants' WDCESCBM's Korean language socialization, because most participants' husbands do not understand and/or speak the Korean language. Even though some of them³⁷ have lived in Korea for a longer period (See Table 1), they do not understand fully nor speak fluently. It seems that they did not even try to learn Korean language in Korea based on the women's life histories.

My husband understands daily Korean through his feelings...he feels ashamed of [his Korean competency] because he does not speak Korean fluently although he lived in Korea for 20 years just like my English is not that good although I live with an English speaking husband. (Inja, August, 9th, 2013, p. 14)

The only way I can interpret and explain this contradiction is through the concept of second language socialization as a site of struggle over power relations (Duff, 2007; Lam, 2004; Leung, 2001; Norton, 1995, 1997). Lam (2004) argues that in the process of second language socialization,

Language practices are governed by and used to produce configurations of power that determine the norms of conduct and the diverse affiliations or socialization experiences of the learner interact with each other to influence how the learner is socially positioned in any specific language learning context. (p. 46)

³⁷ Seyoung's, Eunsung's, Mijin's, Inja's, and my husband have lived in Korea despite different lengths of stay.

Bourdieu (1977) also argues that socialization causes power relations because those who are socialized with particular linguistic and cultural dispositions have privileges by means of the power structure of society. Because English has linguistic power in today's world, the participants' husbands probably did not even feel the necessity to learn Korean language when they lived in Korea. With the same reason, both the participants and their husbands tend to take English as a family language for granted without thinking about how linguistic power works in society (Bourdieu, 1992; Crystal, 1997; David, 2008; Fairclough, 2001; Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004). It seems that the participants naturally thought that they had to learn English to be able to communicate with their husbands and children instead of thinking of the reverse option. Of course, it could be because they already learned English at a secondary school in Korea. However, it is still because English has linguistic power so Korean people were required to study at an elementary and secondary school. Another reason can be a living environment. Because the participants live in Canada, they may have naturally thought they had to learn English. These reasons are plausible; however, it is important to be aware of the power relations attached to one's language because language is intricately interwoven with culture and identity (Brown, 2000; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Jabri, 2004; Lee, 2002; Liddicoat et al, 2003; Miller, 1997; Norton, 1995, 1997; Schecter & Bayley, 1997). Consequently, it can cause linguistic and cultural inequality in intercultural families and can fail to raise children as bilingual and bicultural.

Mutual language assimilation: code-switching and code-mixing. Linguistic assimilation was not only one-way, but also bidirectional in the participants' intercultural families, although the degree of assimilation was unbalanced (Berry, 2005; Burgoon, 1995; Duff, 2007; Leung, 2001). It was not only the participants who linguistically assimilated into intercultural families and Canadian society, but their WDCESCBM also learned some Korean words and expressions

through their Korean wives and, in some cases, through their children. Seyoung, Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, and I mentioned our WDCESCBM often code-mixed and code-switched within the limits of their Korean vocabulary (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2004; Grosjean, 1982). Furthermore, participants who were married for a longer period mentioned that their husbands seem to understand parts of their Korean language, although they did not learn or study Korean before. Hyerim, who has been married for 18 years, said she was sometimes surprised at her husband's understanding in Korean language.

I was talking to my children in Korean and my husband was listening to what I told them.

I said to them, “밥 먹고 빨리 이빨 닦어” (Brush your teeth after eating) and then, my

husband also said to them the exactly same thing in English like, “Yes, you should brush your teeth after eating.” (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 15)

Interestingly, all of the participants except for Ran also mix English and Korean and switch the two languages back and forth in family conversations within the limit of their husbands' and children's understanding of Korean. There were differences in perception, frequency, and reasons of code-mixing and code-switching, depending on each participant. Eunsung and Mijin seem to think code-mixing and code-switching are negative linguistic phenomena as Eunsung considers them as “broken English” and Mijin considers them as a “side-effect.” She was also concerned that her children were confused by mixing two languages. On the other hand, Seyoung and I accept code-mixing and code-switching as natural phenomena in our bilingual family:

Mixing English and Korean? It is okay. Kids in [intercultural family] naturally mix two languages together when they grow up. I think it is not a problem because it is a natural

phenomenon and children are naturally exposed to it and they eventually mix two languages too. My daughter also mixes Korean and English sometimes. I just let her do it. (Seyoung, February 6th, 2013, p. 22)

It seems that participants who support bilingualism and have a bilingual child have a positive perception on code-mixing and code-switching, while participants who did not strongly believe in their children's heritage language maintenance have a negative perception on code-mixing and code-switching (see the Mothering section). Seyoung is one of the participants who has a strong desire to pass down Korean language to her daughter and supports heritage language maintenance in general. As a result, her daughter speaks both English and Korean. On the contrary, Eunsung and Mijin do not believe it is necessary to pass down Korean to their children if they do not have any interest in it. Also, their children do not understand and speak Korean very well.

The frequency and amounts of code-mixing and code-switching also varied depending on each participant. It seems to be related to the level of their husbands' and children's understanding of Korean. In Inja's case, her husband lived in Korea for 20 years and her son was born and raised in Korea, so she often mixed and switched between Korean and English. Seyoung and I also tended to code-mix more often than other participants because both of our husbands have lived in Korea for a few years within the past 10 years, so they can understand and make simple Korean sentences.

Finally, each participant has different reasons for code-mixing and code-switching. Most participants except Mijin and Ran usually mix and switch the two languages unintentionally. We mentioned that Korean words or expressions come out of our mouth without thinking and knowing because it is our mother tongue. However, Seyoung, Subin, Eunsung, and Hyerim said

that they sometimes code-mix and code-switch for certain reasons. Eunsung mentioned that she code-mixes in order for her husband not to forget some Korean words and expressions and for their children to learn Korean words and expressions. Seyoung thinks that code-mixing allows her to express her feelings and thoughts more explicitly and accurately because there are English words that do not translate into Korean (Grosjean, 1982; Fishman, 1965). Hyerim mentioned she tries to code-mix and code-switch so as not to make her husband feel isolated from the conversation with their children, as she usually speaks Korean to their children.

Once, my husband told me that he couldn't understand what my children and I were talking about when we had conversation in Korean. Then, I came to know that he felt isolated from our conversation. So I usually speak English right after Korean since then.

Or sometimes, I mix Korean and English. For example, “슈퍼스토어 (Superstore)에 갔는데 너무 비지 (busy)해가지고...” (I went to Superstore and it was busy). Then, he roughly knows what I am talking about. (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 14)

Taking the aforementioned aspects into consideration, code-mixing and code-switching are inevitable phenomena in intercultural families (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2004; Buettner, 2009; David, 2008; Grosjean, 1982; Hamers & Blanc, 2000; Piller, 2000; Takahashi, 2010). It is a salient indicator of linguistically interactive assimilation because it shows our WDCESCBM also naturally assimilate into Korean language. Finally, it is evidence of creating a Third Space (Bhabha, 1990, 1994) in a linguistic domain as I found that bilinguals usually code-mix or code-switch because they were comfortable with both languages (Grosjean, 1982; Kim, 2006; Pennington, 1995).

Culture.

Acculturation through assimilation and integration. Before I discuss the participants' enculturation and/or acculturation, I have to confess that I had the most difficult time analyzing and interpreting whether the participants have been acculturated, whether their acculturation has taken place because of their WDCESCBM or the living environment, if so, and how they have been acculturated, for various reasons. First, I confronted challenges of defining Canadian culture because of hybridity in Canadian culture. Second, I could not exclude individual cultural factors although I acknowledge a group culture, such as Asian culture, or Korean culture.

To explore the participants' acculturation, I define 'Canadian culture' in this particular research as White Canadian middle class male culture and/or North American male culture.³⁸ It is not because I believe Canadian culture equals White Canadian male culture or North American male culture but because I juxtapose the cultures of the Korean women to the white middle class cultures of the WDCESCBM. This is also why I recruited Korean women with WDCESCBM (see Ch. 4). In terms of individual cultural variables, I attempted to indicate them. However, I explored the participants' acculturation based on the general group culture.

Keeping this in mind, I found all of the participants seem to have been acculturated since they met their WDCESCBM and immigrated to Canada. They admitted that a part of their thoughts, attitudes, and lifestyles have been changed by means of their WDCESCBM and the social environment (Berry, 1997, 2005; Burgoon, 1995; Gordon, 1964; Hong, 1982; Roer-Strier & Ezra, 2006; Sam & Berry, 2006; Tseng, 1977).

The participants' thoughts on privacy and individualism have been changed. Seyoung, Mijin, and Hyerim mentioned they respected other people's privacy more than before and they

³⁸ I would like to mention that White Canadian male culture and North American male culture can be different in general but I include both in the definition of Canadian culture in this research because the participants' husbands were also born and grew up in North America.

did not care about what other people thought about them in Canada as much as they did in Korea. For instance, Mijin expressed her uncomfortable feelings of not having personal space between people in Korea. Seyoung mentioned comfortable feelings of not caring about others' views on her way of dressing. Moreover, Hyerim said that she preferred the Canadian way of treating a family member rather than the Korean way. When she and I discussed differences in daughter-in-law and mother-in-law relationships between Canada and Korea, she mentioned as follows,

Eunhee: (as an insider) I think the family relationship, especially daughter-in-law and mother-in-law's relationship is different. I can actually see Canadian individualist culture a lot from family relationship. In Korea, we have a notion that yours is mine and mine is yours if we are family. However, it is not like that here, I think.

Hyerim: Yes, that is right. However, if you get used to that culture, it is much more comfortable. I think, not just family relationship, every relationship should have a boundary. In that way, the relationship maintains longer. (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 8)

Subin said she came to learn to wait and be patient in Canada because Canadian society itself was slower than it was in Korea. Eunsung said she also became more patient and easygoing consequently, she could respect and help other people more in Canada. It seems Subin and Eunsung both got used to a slower Canadian society and people.

Seyoung, Hyerim, and Ran also mentioned their ways of dressing has changed and they often realized it when they visited Korea. Fashion and dress code is indeed different between Korean and Canadian society. In my observation, Korean people tend to dress up more than Canadian people do for work and school. Fashion trends also change frequently in Korea and

most people tend to follow the trend to fit into society. On the other hand, in my perspective, Canadian people tend to wear more casual clothes and they seem to consider practicality and individuality more than appearance and conformity in fashion. Therefore, some of the participants mentioned they were becoming more like Canadians when they found themselves dressing more like Canadians. Ran told me,

When I went to my hometown (a Korean community in China) last time, somebody gave me a nickname, "Canada" because she said my style was Canadian style. You know Korean people always dress up and have full make-up when they go out. But I was wearing comfy running shoes and casual clothes. I didn't put on any make-up. One of my friends said, "can I buy you clothes or shoes?" (Ran, December 20th, 2013, p. 26)

Analyzing their experiences, all of the participants seem to naturally accept a different culture and their acculturation was a natural phenomenon that they usually accept instead of resisting it as long as they can still maintain and observe a part of Korean culture in their lives. However, I wonder if they actually negotiate between the two cultures with their husbands and find a comfortable zone, or if they are unconsciously forced to accept the different culture because they live in Canada without realizing it. Roer-Strier and Ezra (2006) indicate that adjustment (not acculturation) usually occurs to people who move to their partners' country and live in that country because they have more opportunities to interact with their partners' culture (cf. culture of a majority and dominant group) than their own cultures (cf. culture of a minority group). Much like their linguistic integration through language socialization, the participants may take their acculturation for granted in their intercultural families and Canadian society. Therefore, the main reason for their acculturation can be social environment.

The other reason for the participants' acculturation can also be language. As Brown (2000) states "a language is a part of culture and a culture is a part of language; the two are intricately interwoven so that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture" (p. 177), the participants have been acculturated more easily and quickly because they have usually spoken English since they met their husbands and immigrated to Canada. Second language socialization theory also supports a correlation between language and culture through a second language socialization process (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Leung, 2001). Leung (2001) argues that the fundamental principles of (second) language socialization underpins the interdependence of language and culture, and identity since linguistic and cultural competence is required to become a competent member of the society. In this regard, second language socialization theory also contributes to producing cultural power relations between the participants and their WDCESCBM.

Finally, power relations between a wife and a husband can affect one's acculturation. An individual who has less power tends to follow an individual who has more power in any society (Berry, 1997, 2005; Roer-Strier & Ezra, 2006). Hence, it is important to acknowledge power relation and analyze its factors such as race, language, gender, nationality, economy, and context. Considering the factors, an assumption can be made that the participants have less power than their WDCESCBM in accordance with Bourdieu's (1986, 1992) theory of habitus and cultural capital because they are Asian females whose first language is Korean and they do not live in their own country. In addition, most of them do not have a job, so they have less economic power than their husbands and even if they have a job, they seem to get a less paying job in Canada because of a lack of linguistic, cultural, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1992).

Mutual acculturation. As the Korean women have been acculturated into White European Canadian middle class culture, it seems their WDCESCBM have also been acculturated into Korean culture by interacting with their Korean wives to a certain degree, regardless of whether or not they had experience living in Korea. Although Hyerim's husband has never lived in Korea, she mentioned her husband often ate Korean food like a Korean person. Subin's case was similar to Hyerim's since she also mentioned her husband ate Korean food for most meals, even though he has never lived in Korea before. In addition, Seyoung mentioned her husband respected and even practiced some Korean superstitions which she believed will bring bad luck into their family.

Through mutual acculturation (Berry, 1997; Tseng, 1977), Seyoung, Subin, Mijin, and Hyerim seem to create their own Third Space (Bhabha, 1990, 1994), as well as that of their families, which is neither Korean nor Canadian (Berry, 1997, 2005; Burgoon, 1995; Gordon, 1964). Seyoung said,

There is no solid boundary between two cultures. It naturally became **another one** and we are trying to live according to **the new one**. (Seyoung, March 14th, 2013, p. 39)

Interestingly, the participants' definitions of a "Third Culture" (e.g., Third Space) in their family were similar yet different. It seems they do not sense they are living with two cultures and do not feel that "this is Korean culture and that is Canadian culture" at all because of their third culture. Rather, they are more likely to feel that "this is our culture", that is, "our family culture and our couple culture" (Molina, Estrada, & Burnett, 2004).

Notwithstanding, my interpretation of the participants' mutual acculturation is somewhat conflicting with Berry's (2005) argument that acculturation is more likely to occur as an interactive process rather than a one-way process. I do not deny mutual acculturation in the

participants' families. However, when “who is more acculturated to what” is taken into consideration, it can also be deemed as one-way acculturation because the participants seem to be more assimilated into Canadian culture than their WDCESCBM are to Korean culture. Although their WDCESCBM have learned, accepted, and practiced part of Korean culture in their lives, the culture they met is merely the tip of the iceberg, such as Korean food. On the other hand, Korean women mentioned that they went through acculturation as their thoughts, attitudes, and lifestyles have been changed.

Of course, I have to mention that it is merely Korean women's perspectives because I did not interview their husbands. If I had included their husbands' perspectives, my observation and interpretation may have been different. However, from my insider researcher's vantage point, it seems that acculturation between the participants and their husbands is not balanced. Therefore, I argue that power relations still exist in the participants' acculturation and there should be balanced mutual acculturation in their families to avoid cultural conflicts and marginalization.

Seyoung also deemed mutual acculturation and creating a “third culture” (Bhabha, 1990, 1994) necessary to maintain a good relationship between Korean wives and WDCESCBM, as she explains:

Since my husband is also open-minded to Korean culture and both of us know that we are living with two cultures and trying to negotiate between those two cultures, we can live as a husband and a wife. If one person always gives up her or his culture, he or she wouldn't be able to live. It will be too hard (for the relationship) if only one side is pressured to learn the other side. (Seyoung, February 6th, 2013, p. 14)

Although Seyoung did not literally mention power relations between two cultures in intercultural marriages, her thoughts and comments indicate that power relations usually exist between two

different cultures and it should be equal and balanced in an intercultural marriage. To sum up, a balanced “mutual acculturation” in intercultural families can be a consequence, as well as evidence of balanced power relations in intercultural marriages just as Berry’s (1997) acculturation strategies demonstrate (see Ch. 3).

Identity.

Ethnic and national identity. I assumed the linguistic and cultural minority members of the intercultural couples would go through identity shift through their linguistic and cultural integration based on the previous research (Brown, 2000; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Jabri, 2004; Lee, 2002; Liddicoat et al, 2003; Miller, 2000; Norton, 1995, 1997; Schecter & Bayley, 1997). However, my assumption started changing through observation of others and my own identity after I started this research. Now, after analyzing the data, I realized that the findings were both confirming and contradicting the literature.

Seyoung, Inja, and I asserted that our ethnic and national identities have not been shifted but strongly maintained in Canada (Phinney et al., 2001). We also seem to try hard to hold onto our Korean ethnic identity just as Phinney (1990) argues that first generation immigrants tend to try to keep their ethnic identities and they want their children to maintain the same identities in a new society. Some participants mentioned that they want their children to keep part Korean identities (see the Mothering section). According to Seyoung and Inja, it seems their ethnic and national identities would not be changed in the future even after they live in Canada longer than they lived in Korea because they have a strong desire and mindset to maintain their Korean identities.

I don’t think I am becoming a Canadian as I live in Canada. I no longer feel any inconvenience in a Canadian life, but it doesn’t mean that I am becoming a Canadian. It

cannot happen because it is like giving up myself. I mean, I feel like I have to give up myself in order to be a Canadian. I can't give up myself. (Seyoung, March 14th, 2013, p. 49)

I like to be a Korean. I don't want to lose my Korean [identity].... (Inja, August 9th, 2013, p. 32)

I started feeling afraid of losing my heritage language, culture and identity deep down in my heart as I immigrated to Canada, considering that I am more likely to live here for good. I found myself trying to hold onto my language, culture and identity very firmly, not to let them go. (Eunhee, a graduate course paper. 2009, p. 26)

Seyoung's and Inja's comments on their identities as Korean people remind me of Anderson's (1983) notion of imagined communities since they perceive themselves as Korean at present and they even imagine themselves as Korean in the future, although they do not and will not have any contact and interaction with a majority of Korean people in Canada. Therefore, their strong desires and mindsets of maintaining their Korean identities in Canada is a result of constructing their imagined national communities and vice versa (Anderson, 1983).

In addition, my new desire and attempt to hold onto and maintain Korean identity in Canada are not uncommon among first generation immigrants according to the literature. Phinney (1990) argues, through the study on immigrants' ethnic identity, that first generation immigrants tend to try to maintain their ethnic identities as they live in Canada over time because they are afraid of losing it due to the long period of residency and interaction with mainstream people (Phinney, 1990). Considering Phinney's (1990) statement, I wonder whether the participants try harder to hold onto their Korean identity than other Korean immigrants who are

not members of intercultural families, since interaction with their WDCESCBM every day may cause more fear of losing their Korean identity.

In Mijin's and Subin's case, they also mentioned that they do not consider themselves as Canadian. However, they expected their identities would be changed in the future as they live in Canada for the rest of their lives.

I don't feel like a Canadian yet because I feel more comfortable to speak Korean now. However, if I become 60s or 70s, I might say that I am a Korean-Canadian. If someone asks me when I travel to a different country, then I would say I am a Korean-Canadian. (Mijin, March 8th, 2013, p. 29)

I say I am a Korean now, but I think I would be neither a Korean nor a Canadian when I get old and continue to live in Canada. Although I think of myself as a Canadian in the future, people here wouldn't think of me as a Canadian (because of physical appearance and accent). I think I will be confused with my identities at some point later in my life. (Subin, March 20th, 2013, p. 23-24)

Different from other participants, Eunsung and Hyerim mentioned they consider themselves as more Canadian than Korean and they usually tell other people they are Canadians. It seems what makes them Canadian is a relatively longer period of time in Canada with Canadian citizenship. Both Eunsung and Hyerim have lived in Canada for more than 15 years and obtained Canadian citizenship.

As time goes by, I feel comfortable to live in Canada and I feel like I am a Canadian. I felt that especially after I changed my citizenship. It is different. If I go to the States, Americans see me as a Canadian. And I think I should say I am a Canadian because I have Canadian citizenship now. (Eunsung, April 9th, 2013, p. 20)

I say I am a Canadian if someone asks me these days. Before I didn't have Canadian citizenship, I said, "I'm a Korean, but I live in Canada." After obtaining the citizenship, I am just Canadian. However, I usually say "I am a Canadian but I am originally from South Korea." because they will get to know that I am not a (Canadian-born) Canadian through my accent. (Hyerim, August 2013, p. 23)

In Eunsung's case, it is obvious that she felt more like a Canadian after she obtained Canadian citizenship. Hyerim also felt the same as Eunsung, but it seems she was still negotiating her identity between her self-identity and others' definition of her identity, like Subin pointed out.

Speaking of Subin and Hyerim's distinction of personal and self identity from social identity³⁹ (Rummens, 2001), it is noteworthy to see that one's identity is constructed and negotiated interactively. Subin and Hyerim mention other Canadians would not admit she is a Canadian, although she might think of herself as a Canadian in the future (Nagel, 1994). Norton's (2000) study on immigrant women in Canada shows a similar case. One of the participants in her study, Mai perceived a "perfect Canadian" to be one who was both White and English-speaking, and she also told her nephew who changed his Vietnamese name to anglicised one to fit into Canadian society, "With your hair, your nose, your skin, you will never be perfect Canadians" (p. 149). Both Subin's and Hyerim's comments and Norton's study resonate with immigrants' difficulties of belonging to the dominant Canadian society because they are usually deemed different due to their different ethnicity, race, and accents.

³⁹ Rummens (2001) suggests three types of identity: personal identity, self-identity, and social identity. Personal identity refers to the consequence of an identification of self, by self, with regard to others. Self-identity is referred to as how an individual perceives or understands him/herself in terms of his/her life experiences. Social identity is defined as the result of an identification of self by others based on social factors such as ethnicity, culture, socioeconomic status, religion, race, education, and so on.

Similarly, Leung (2001) argues that second language learners (e.g., immigrants) may not be accepted as “full-fledged members of society” (p.9) and rarely consider themselves competent members of society although they gain communicative and cultural competence because of linguistic, cultural, and racial differences. The gap between the participants’ self identities and social identities can be explained through Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of habitus. To elaborate, other people in Canadian society do not think that they live the same habitus with the participants because the participants’ linguistic, cultural, and racial habitus are different from theirs. Consequently, the participants have difficulty assimilating into Canadian society.

In addition, it is important to discuss the impact of language on one's identity (Jabri, 2004; Miller, 2000; Norton, 1995). Mijin mentioned that she does not feel like a Canadian yet because it is more comfortable for her to speak Korean. Mijin’s comment shows that she connects Korean language to her Korean ethnic identity (Lee, 2002). Hyerim also considered language as one of the salient factors of constructing one’s identity (e.g., social identity) as she mentioned she would not be thought of as a Canadian-born Canadian because of her English accent (Bresnahan, Ohashi, Nebashi, Liu, & Shearman, 2002; Jenkins, 2005; Lippi-Green, 1997; Marx, 2002; Momenian, 2011; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Hyerim’s comment highlights many research studies that focused on the impact of the L2 accent on their social identities. In her book, *English with an Accent*, Lippi-Green (1997) argues that “the evaluation of language effectiveness – while sometimes quite relevant – is often a covert way of judging not the delivery of the message, but the social identity of the messenger” (p. 17). Bresnahan and colleagues (2002) also contend that an individual who speaks with a foreign accent is identified as a member of an out-group by others and it can cause negative stereotypes. That is, an ethnic accent can be an obstacle to gain membership into the mainstream society. As a result, some individuals with a foreign accent try

to obtain native-like accents so that they can gain access to the new community and its membership (Norton, 1995), and increase the value of their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

After analysing and interpreting the participants' comments on their identities, and reviewing literature regarding language and identity, I wonder if the participants' identities could be changed in the future even if they live in Canada for good because one's identity is not only determined by self, but it is also identified by others in society. Moreover, language is not the only external identity marker. Physical appearance is also one of the prominent determinants just as Subin mentioned, "Although I think of myself as a Canadian in the future, people here wouldn't think of me as a Canadian [because of physical appearance]." Therefore, I think it is unlikely for the participants to abandon their ethnic and/or national identity in the future, albeit for a long period of residency in Canada, frequent use of English, and constant contact with their husbands' White European Canadian culture.

Othering

Othering describes the participants' overlapping experiences of being different and discriminated against by their intercultural families, dominant-culture Canadians, and even Koreans in both Canadian and Korean societies because of their Korean and/or hybrid languages, cultures and identities. Othering in this research refers to a comparison of ourselves to other people, distinction between us and them, and even distancing ourselves from them (Palfreyman, 2005). According to Boreus (2006), there are always those who other (e.g., oppress, discriminate) and those who are othered (e.g., oppressed, discriminated) in society since distinctions between groups are always made and there are ongoing processes of othering in resulting groups. It is also important to note the axis of othering can be many factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, language, culture, political power, ideology, socio-economic status, and geography (Boreus,

2006; Palfreyman, 2005; Spivak, 1985). Othering is the evidence of any power relations between the groups and the manifestation of abuse of power and privilege (Jensen, 2011; Spivak, 2005). Therefore, othering is usually modified with the words, “inferior”, “marginalized”, and “discriminated” (Jensen, 2011).

In order to analyze the participants’ linguistically othered experiences and find emergent themes, I employed language socialization theory (Duff, 2007; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984), and Bourdieu’s (1977, 1992) habitus and cultural capital theory. I attempted to explore how and why the participants were linguistically othered in both Canadian and Korean societies. Through the analysis, I came up with three emergent themes: English as a divider (Bourdieu, 1992; Crystal, 1997; Norton & Toohey, 2002), a loss of voice (Norton, 1995), and marginalized Korean language (Cummins, 1997; Kouritzin, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991). Finally, I discussed each theme with various research studies.

As for cultural othering, I also analyzed and interpreted the data through Berry’s (1997, 2005) acculturation strategy theory and Bourdieu’s (1992) cultural capital theory. In this othering section, I focus on Berry’s (1997, 2005) acculturation through separation and marginalization strategies. I identified three emergent themes, namely acculturation through separation and marginalization (Berry, 1995, 1997, 2005), a lack of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Erel, 2010), and culture’s in-between (Bhabha, 1996).

In the identity section, I explored the impact of linguistic and cultural othering on the participants’ specific identities (Brown, 2000; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Jabri, 2004; Lee, 2002; Liddicoat et al, 2003; Miller, 2000; Norton, 1995, 1997; Schechter & Bayley, 1997). Based on a thorough observation and analysis, I discussed the participants’ othered identities through the two emergent themes, social identity and racial identity.

Language.

Language as a divider. Despite the participants' linguistic integration through socialization (Duff, 2007; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984), it seems the participants still feel like others because of their non-native-like English in intercultural families and society (Bourdieu, 1992; Crystal, 1997; Norton & Toohey, 2002). This is not only because of a lack of their language skills, but also because of an inability to interpret messages based on their partners' culture (Seto & Cavallaro, 2007) and their English accents (Lippi-Green, 1997; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). As a result, the participants confronted challenges of being completely assimilated into their intercultural families and Canadian society (Bourdieu, 1977; Leung, 2001).

Inja, Subin, and Mijin discussed their difficulties and challenges of not being able to completely communicate with their husbands because of a language barrier. Hyerim also expressed her challenges regarding her husband's misunderstanding toward her attitude because of different nuances of Korean and English.

I feel frustrated when some Korean words and expressions can't be translated into English. Of course, sometimes it is a problem because I don't know all of the English words but I found there were cases which I couldn't even translate exactly what I intended to express because there were no English words and expressions for certain Korean words and expressions. It is inconvenient because our mother tongues are different. (Inja, August 8th, 2013, p. 15)

Seyoung, Inja, and I also mentioned that we felt sorry that we could not share our favourite Korean television programs and/or funny jokes with our husbands because of a language barrier and cultural aspects attached to the language. Some people might think it is a small part of our lives; however, I argue, as an insider, that it does cause frustration, isolation, and separation

between a wife and a husband. In my experiences, I also felt frustrated and sorry when jokes became no longer jokes because of a limit of translation, or because of my husband's inability to understand cultural aspects attached to the joke, as well as the Korean language.

It seems language (e.g., Korean and English) is not only a divider between the participants and their husbands, but it also separates their husbands and children from their Korean families. Seyoung, Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, Inja, Ran, and I mentioned that our husbands and children could not interact with our Korean families, especially our parents because of a language barrier. We also felt guilty about our husbands and children not being able to communicate with our parents on the phone and face to face⁴⁰. Therefore, the participants had a strong wish that their husbands and children could communicate with their parents in Korean language.

I can't do anything after talking to my mom on the phone because what she said to me kept resonating in my mind, "please teach Korean to the kids."... Then, I feel very guilty. (Eunsung, February 19th, 2013, p. 12)

The participants' guilt and wishes for their husbands and children to understand and speak Korean was one of the themes which continued to occur throughout their life history interviews. It kept me thinking about why their husbands did not come to learn Korean language or did not make efforts to learn Korean, and why Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, and Ran failed to raise their children bilingual. Although, as an insider who has the same issue, I understand that the participants' husbands probably were not easily motivated to learn and/or study Korean language when they were busy with their lives, I wonder why and I cannot help but think of the linguistic

⁴⁰ The participants' guilt and strong wishes are connected with Korean family-centered culture (Lee, 1999) and particularly, Korean traditional values related to filial piety (Sung, 1990). Koreans tend to think of their family members almost as same way they think about themselves. Also, in Korea, filial piety is one of the main social norms. It is believed that parents should be respected all the time and they should be taken care of by their children when they become old.

capital (Bourdieu, 1992) and power of the language (Crystal, 1997; Fairclough, 2001; Ngo, 2009) as fundamental reasons. As Korean language is a minority language, which has less power than English in Canada as well as in the world, the participants' husbands probably did not necessarily feel that they had to learn Korean even if some of them resided in Korea⁴¹.

Moreover, I acknowledge it is challenging to raise children bilingual in intercultural families when the one language has more power than the other in the society (Campbell & Christian, 2003; Shin, 2010). Nevertheless, I still wanted to find out specific reasons. Based on my experiences and literature, I wondered if the participants had strong determination to pass down Korean language to their children (De Houwer, 1999; Jeon, 2008; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). I wondered if the reason they failed was because the participants were too busy to settle down linguistically, socially, and financially in the new country (Campbell & Christian, 2003; Shin, 2010). I was also curious whether they were too tired to be consistent with the Korean language particularly when they were the only people who could give Korean language input to their children in the family (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Takeuchi, 2006), or if they even made efforts to expose their children to a Korean community (Döpke, 1992; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984; Shin, 2010; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Throughout the life history interviews, I came to know that Eunsung and Ran deliberately chose other languages such as French over Korean language because they thought French was more useful than Korean in Canada (Bourdieu, 1992). Mijin also chose to support her children in doing other activities like sports, music, and art rather than learning Korean language because she valued such activities more than the Korean language (Bourdieu, 1977). On the other hand, Seyoung, Subin, and I had a strong desire to pass down Korean language to our children, but we

⁴¹ Seyoung's, Eunsung's, Mijin's, Inja's, and my husband lived in Korea (see Table 1).

seemed to struggle with many obstacles and circumstances because of the dominant English environment (See the Mothering section for details).

To summarize, I found Eunsung's and Mijin's wishes and choices for their husbands and children's Korean language contradictory. They showed their wishes for their husbands and children to understand and speak Korean like other participants; however, their choices did not correspond to their wishes. Of course, I cannot exclude the impact of language socialization (Duff, 2007; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984) and linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1992) on their husbands and children in Canada. However, I think it is as if Eunsung and Mijin just wanted their children to maintain Korean language without any effort. Language can be a divider in intercultural families, but the divider can also be removed through family members' efforts, albeit gradually and not completely.

A loss of voice. The other type of their linguistically othered experiences is to become voiceless and marginalized in Canadian society. Because of their non-native like and imperfect English, the participants tend to put up with many disadvantageous situations instead of voicing their opinions, thoughts, and feelings. Norton (1995) argues that language learners' social identity is affected by language learning and target language speakers. She also indicates that power relations between a language learner and a target language speaker play a critical role in social interactions. Similarly, it is evident that the participants' social identities have been changed because of their imperfect English and they have also been affected by linguistic power, which rendered them voiceless and marginalized in society (See the identity section).

There were many cases that I put up with because of language although things were wrong because I couldn't explain or argue as Canadians did. (Eunsung, April 9th, 2013, p. 14)

Some may assume that the participants became voiceless and passive because of their poor English abilities or their passive and introverted personalities. The assumption may sound plausible as Brown (2000) discusses the impact of language learners' personality on language learning. However, through life history interviews and observation, it is evident that the participants' English and personalities were not the main reasons why they became voiceless in Canada. In my observation, the participants have communicative competence in English. During the interviews, the participants mentioned that they were not voiceless and passive when they spoke English to their husbands and children, as well as when they spoke Korean. The participants even questioned why they became voiceless and passive when they interacted with other Canadians in society. Their question reminded me of Norton's (1995) research on immigrant women's social identity and language learning. I came to acknowledge that the fundamental reason was power relations in social interaction between the participants and others whose first language was English. Even if the participants' self-confidence with English and personalities caused them to be voiceless, passive, and marginalized, it is critical to consider power relations as the fundamental reason just as Norton (1995) argues that "affective factors⁴² are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in a single individual" (p. 12).

Marginalized Korean language. The participants are also linguistically othered in their intercultural families and Canadian society because of their Korean mother tongue. Subin and Eunsung confessed they were linguistically othered by their children because their children did not want to speak or listen to their mothers' Korean or they could not even understand and speak Korean. As it was mentioned in the 'Becoming' section, Seyoung's, Subin's, Eunsung's, Mijin's, Hyerim's, and my children started speaking more or only English once they started going to

⁴² Affective factors in Norton's (1995) article are personality, motivation, self-confidence.

school (Cummins, 1997; Kouritzin, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991). Seyoung, Subin, Eunsung, and Mijin mentioned they did not approve of their children's reluctance and refusal to speak Korean. However, they could not force their children to speak and learn Korean because they were concerned their children would end up having negative feelings about the language by being forced to learn and speak it. Moreover, Subin, Eunsung and Mijin were concerned they became distant from their children because they spoke a different language to them or forced them to speak Korean. With these reasons, they said they tried not to force their children to speak Korean and, consequently, they ended up speaking English to their children or allowing their children to speak English in order not to be othered by their children.

I am concerned that my daughter's friends would say to her, "how come your mom can't speak English well?" Even these days, they sometimes don't understand what I say to them (because of my pronunciation). My daughter is okay with my English now, but she might get hurt if her friends talk about my imperfect English and she may wonder, 'why is my mom different (from other moms)?' I am actually concerned about it because she can be teased. She may even ignore me because of my imperfect English when she becomes a teenager. (Subin, February 11th, 2013, p. 30)

Both Subin and Eunsung explicitly expressed their concerns about being othered by their children because of their Korean language. Subin was concerned her daughter may get hurt from peers because of her imperfect English. Eunsung mentioned she was afraid she could not have a special bond with her son because of being linguistically different from him.

However, not every participant expressed similar thought. While Subin and Eunsung mentioned they were linguistically othered by their children because of Korean language, Hyerim had a completely different experience and thought as she mentioned:

Children can feel embarrassed about their moms who can't speak English like other Canadian moms. However, I think (immigrant) mothers can explain 'why' to their children. For example, we can say, "you know I wasn't born in Canada, so my English pronunciation is not as good as yours. It is the same as you can't speak Korean as well as I do. But I can basically communicate with other people in English, so I am proud of myself... Therefore, you should be proud of me." If children don't have any problem in a relationship with their moms, they could understand it... Do you know what I say to my children? I say, "Don't you think that mommy is awesome? I speak both English and Korean." (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 30)

Hyerim asserted that immigrant mothers whose mother tongue was not English should be proud of themselves for speaking both English and their own languages, even if their English was not too good, so that their children could also be proud of their mothers. It is indeed a reasonable assertion as it conveys positive thoughts on bilingualism and, accordingly, children can be encouraged to learn both coexisting languages in their families.

Through Subin', Eunsung', and Hyerim's experiences, I was reminded of the influence of parents' language ideology on children's heritage language maintenance (De Houwer, 1999; Jeon, 2008; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Kouritzin, 2000a). According to Fairclough (2001), language ideology is a means of legitimizing linguistic power in social relations. In Subin' and Eunsung's cases, they do not seem to legitimize Korean language because they are concerned about being linguistically othered by their children although it has not happened yet. It shows that they reinforce Korean language as a minority language, and legitimize English as linguistic capital. On the contrary, Hyerim values Korean language and treats it equal to English. She further emphasizes the positive notion of bilingualism.

De Houwer (1999) argues that parents' language ideology determines their linguistic choices and interaction strategies. I also noticed that the participants' beliefs and attitudes toward Korean language influenced parents' consistency of their chosen language policies and plans from their children's birth, which is an extremely important factor in heritage language maintenance (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Pan, 1995; Takeuchi, 2006). In Eunsung's case, she was not consistent in her language plan with her children. She first spoke only English to her children because she was in the process of learning English in Canada and she also lived with her parents-in-law when her first son was young. She then switched to Korean after they moved out from her parents-in-law's place and realized that she should teach Korean to her children (see Eunsung's life history). At that time, she felt like her son treated her just like a Korean lady, not a mom. Consequently, she switched back to English. There was no consistency of the language plan in Eunsung's case. On the other hand, Hyerim made great effort passing down Korean language to her children and she said she had spoken only Korean to her children since their birth. I was able to confirm her remarks when I visited her house for the interview and stayed there one night. In sum, parents' language ideology influences children's heritage language maintenance. Furthermore, consistently speaking a minority language from birth will prevent minority parents from feeling or being linguistically othered by their children.

Subin and I also confessed that we were linguistically othered by our in-laws because of our Korean language. We both mentioned we were not comfortable speaking Korean to our children freely in front of our husband's family because of their negative thoughts on, and concerns with, speaking two languages to children from birth.

My father-in-law was concerned that my daughter wouldn't be able to understand and speak English when I kept speaking Korean to her at first. But then, she can speak

English now so he isn't concerned about it. Yeah, he had a negative thought at the beginning. I don't usually speak Korean to my children in my parents-in-law's place though. (Subin, February 11th, 2013, p. 17)

Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, Hyerim, and Inja indicated their linguistically othered experiences by others in society. A prominent experience is Hyerim's linguistically discriminated experience because of her Korean language, and she expressed that she was furious at that time.

You know Korean people talk in loud voices. One time, I was talking to my children in Korean, then, my Canadian neighbour told me that I ignored my children and she would report me to the police. (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 16)

Hyerim's experience is ironical. Even if Hyerim's tone may have been more like yelling than talking to her children, how could her neighbour know what Hyerim was talking to her children in the Korean language? Both Subin's and Hyerim's neighbors' negative comments and attitudes toward Korean language (e.g., minority language) was an act of ignoring and marginalizing the participants' habitus (e.g., Korean language and culture), legitimize power relations (e.g., linguistic and cultural capital), and inequalities created by differences between habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; Lawler, 2004).

Culture.

Acculturation through separation and marginalization. During the life history interviews, I questioned if the participants would eventually be able to integrate into their intercultural families and Canadian society. It seemed impossible when I heard Seyoung's comment.

I can communicate in English without difficulties. After living here for 10 years, I can ask everything I want to ask in English and I also know what is going on almost all the time. But, I always feel like there is a divider (between dominant-culture Canadians and me), as if a film of oil is floating on the surface of water. (Seyoung, March 14th, 2013, p. 55)

As Seyoung likens her isolated feelings to a film of oil floating on the surface of water, there seems to be almost no way that she can be completely assimilated into a Canadian family and society. In Seyoung's case, a divider does not seem to be language since she said she can interact with others in English without any difficulties. Then, what is a divider that hinders Seyoung from assimilating into Canadian society? I thought it was culture because "culture is a complex system of concepts, attitudes, values, beliefs, conventions, behaviours, practices, rituals, and lifestyle of the people who make up a cultural group, as well as the artefacts they produce and the institutions they create" (Liddicoat et al., 2003, p. 45). Culture can divide an individual between 'us' and 'them' based on which cultural group an individual belongs to. Therefore, I came to realize that cultural othering also greatly affected the participants' separation and marginalization (Berry, 1997, 2005).

Seyoung, Subin, Mijin, and I seemed to choose a separation strategy in terms of diet during our acculturation process because we ate Korean food at most meals and/or our husband and children ate something else at the same meal. Although we did not avoid eating Western food⁴³, we did not seem to make a great effort to eat the same food that our WDCESCBM ate. Rather, we made two different dishes or fusion dishes that everybody could enjoy.

⁴³ It is actually hard to say what Canadian food is, hence, I wrote western food but it is, more specifically, typical North American food in this context.

Seyoung and Subin kept the separation strategy for the diet in order to expose their children to the Korean food and encourage them to get used to the taste so that their children would be able to eat and enjoy the Korean food. According to Berry (1990a), immigrants tend to deliberately keep their cultural customs to maintain their heritage cultures. In a similar vein, Phinney (1990) also indicates that first generation immigrants tend to be more traditional than people in their home countries because they are afraid of losing their heritage cultures. Therefore, they usually make a greater effort to keep it and even force their children to observe their cultures and languages in their new countries (Buettner, 2009; Phinney, 1990). Seyoung's comments on insisting on Korean food resonate with Berry's (1990a) and Phinney's (1990) arguments as she mentioned;

I am cooking and seeking Korean food more for my daughter because she wouldn't know its taste if I don't give it to her. If she doesn't know the taste of Korean food, the problem is that she eats her food and I eat my food at meals.....my daughter must be able to eat Korean food. (Seyoung, February 6th, 2013, p. 11)

It is also interesting to note that Seyoung and Ran mentioned they became upset, frustrated and even guilty when their children did not like to eat Korean food and/or made negative comments about it. Seyoung mentioned she felt indifferent when her husband did not eat Korean food, but on the other hand, she felt sad when her daughter did not eat it and even felt angry when her daughter talked about the smell of Korean food negatively. Ran also expressed sad feelings about her daughter not being able to eat Korean food and she felt guilty about it.

I often feel okay when my husband doesn't want to eat Korean food, but I feel sad when my daughter doesn't want to eat Korean food. I made it for her, but she sometimes says

that it smells strange or what [weird] smell is it? Then, I feel even angry. (Seyoung, February 6th, 2013, p. 12)

Through Seyoung's and Ran's comments, I found Phinney's (1990) argument more confirming because I could see their sense of responsibility for introducing Korean food to their children. Seyoung felt frustrated not being able to carry out her responsibility of making her daughter get used to the taste of the Korean food. Similarly, Ran felt sad and guilty about not being able to make her daughter enjoy the Korean food because she felt that she did not fulfil her responsibility to pass down her culture to her daughter.

Subin also mentioned that she was careful with the smell of Kimchi and other Korean side dishes⁴⁴ when her parents-in-law visited her places.

I put Kimchi and Kimchi stew in the [Kimchi fridge⁴⁵] and try to get rid of the smell if my parents-in-law said they are coming to our house... If I had a Korean mother-in-law, she would make Kimchi for me and our family. (Subin, February 11th, 2013, p. 16)

It may look like Subin is considerate towards her Canadian parents-in-law, but at the same time, she may have been careful because she may have received negative comments about the smell of the Korean food or felt that her parents-in-law did not like the Korean food. Subin further mentioned that immigrant mothers should be careful about what they pack for their children's lunch:

We should be careful with what we pack for our children's lunch. For example, Kimbab⁴⁶ looks dark and it also smells somewhat strong. (Subin, March 20th, 2013, p. 30)

⁴⁴ Kimchi is one of the Korean side dishes that Korean people eat almost at every meal with rice and other side dishes. And Kimchi has a strong and pungent smell because its main ingredients are fish sauce, garlic, pepper powder and furthermore, it is a fermented food. There are many Korean side dishes which have strong smells like Kimchi.

⁴⁵ There is a special fridge for only Kimchi and other side dishes in Korea.

⁴⁶ Korean sushi

Although Subin's remark about the Korean food may sound too sensitive, it can happen in reality. In fact, her comment reminded me of one Korean immigrant boy's story that indicated discrimination against the ethnic food in public school. When a little Korean newcomer boy brought Kimbab for lunch to school, he could not eat it because his classmate teased him saying that it looked like garbage. After the incident, his mother never packed Korean food in his lunch box. Immigrants can be isolated and marginalized because of their ethnic food choices in Canada.

A lack of cultural capital. The other emergent theme for cultural othering is a lack of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). A lack of the participants' cultural capital caused them to feel frustrated and marginalized in their intercultural families and society (Erel, 2010). Particularly, some participants indicated their isolated feelings when they watched Canadian TV and/or sports with their husbands and children because they did not know Canadian TV programs, sport stars, or pop songs.

I don't know many pop singers and pop songs, so I often feel that I can't engage in their conversations when my husband and children talk to one another. Plus, I don't know what they are talking about even when I try to engage... also, although they explain to me, I still don't understand sometimes.... That is cultural difference... especially in our family, our kids play hockey so we often talk about hockey players, their history and background. My husband knows all about it. I often ask him about it. I am still learning. If I had lived here and been interested in hockey, I would have known better. (Eunsung, April 9th, 2013, p. 17)

Eunsung admitted she could not understand even though her husband and children explained what they talked about because of a lack of her cultural knowledge. However, Eunsung seemed

to make an effort to fit into her family by learning hockey players from her husband although it took time.

Ran demonstrated her othered experiences regarding her daughter's school event in her intercultural families. Ran mentioned she felt frustrated when her daughter had to carve pumpkins for Halloween and took them to the preschool because she had no idea about Halloween. She further said that the Halloween event became a great conflict with her husband.

It was when my daughter was four years old. One day, she brought three small pumpkins from the preschool and said she had to make a Jack-o-lantern for Halloween. I had no idea how to make it so I asked my husband to help me make it as soon as he came to from work. I just wanted to make my daughter happy. But then, he said he didn't have time and then he complained why I asked him right after he came back home, saying that he just came back home from work. When I heard that I felt frustrated and vicious. So I told him, "I came here only because of you and I have been trying my best to live here well. But saying like that is too much. I am doing this for our daughter. Think about it" After the argument, he carved the pumpkins, but I was really mad at that time. (Ran, December 13th, 2013, p. 14)

Ran's remark shows that she has been making an effort to assimilate into the Canadian family and society by trying to gain cultural capital in Canada. However, it seems she felt disappointed towards her husband when he did not help her and she also felt frustrated and tired of learning the new culture for her family. Furthermore, she was probably angry because she might have felt like a helpless and incapable mother. As I mentioned in my autoethnography (see Ch. 6), I also felt like an incapable mother when my son asked me to sing English children songs together. At

that time, I was also concerned that my son would think his Canadian Daddy could do everything that he learnt from the daycare while his Korean Mom could not.

In addition, Heyrim and Ran discussed their culturally othered experiences as a lack of cultural capital when they visited their parents-in-law's places. Ran expressed her uncomfortable feelings about visiting her parents-in-law's house for holidays for the first three years of her marriage because she did not know what to do, or how to cook Canadian holiday food according to the Canadian culture. She said she apologized to the Canadian family for not being able to help them cook holiday food.

For the first three years, I didn't know what do to and how to act...between Western and Asian cultures. For example, I don't live only with my husband in this world...When I visited my parents-in-law's house for holidays, you know, I didn't know how to cook holiday food. So I didn't know what to do and felt awkward. I wanted to help them, but I didn't know... (Ran, December 13th, 2013, p. 12)

Although Ran did not express her isolated feelings explicitly, it seems she felt isolated in her Canadian family because she did not know the Canadian culture at the beginning of her marriage. Similarly, Hyerim also mentioned she felt uncomfortable when she visited her parents-in-law's house and she even felt tired after visiting them, although she did not do any work. She further emphasized that a relationship with parents-in-law in a Canadian family was very different from that of a Korean family⁴⁷.

...I tried to do some house chores (to help my mother-in-law) or to have conversations with my mother-in-law, she always said, "no, no, no, you are the guest. It is your

⁴⁷ In Korea, it is very natural and common for daughters-in-law to do lots of house work to help their parents-in-law when they visit their parents-in-law while parents-in-law usually take a rest.

vacation.” That is all I remember about visiting my parents-in-law. So, the relationship with in-laws is very different (from that of Korea). (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 7)

Through Subin’s, Eunsung’s, Hyerim’s, Inja’s, and Ran’s comments on othered experiences due to a lack of cultural capital in Canada, I noticed that the participants usually felt uncomfortable and awkward to stay with their parents-in-law at the beginning of their marriages, but they came to feel more comfortable and capable as they gained cultural capital over time. Therefore, the participants may feel less different, discriminated, and marginalized as they continue to reside in the new field and gain new habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) in the future. Until then, their othered experiences are more likely to continue because of a change in their habitus.

Previous studies (Carliner, 2000; Hou & Beiser, 2006; Mesch, 2003; Norton, 1995) suggest that as immigrants’ time in Canada increases, so does linguistic and cultural integration, thereby reducing power relations as well. Norton (1995) in her study of immigrant women, discusses that an immigrant woman obtained more opportunities to practice English over time and that her linguistic integration changed her self-identity from an “illegitimate speaker of English” (p. 23) to a “multicultural citizen with the power to impose reception” (p. 24). Hou and Beiser (2006) also indicate that the longer newcomers reside in Canada, the better their English becomes. They also argue that the newcomers’ linguistic integration over time results in cultural integration because they believe that language and culture are interconnected.

Moreover, members of intercultural couples who move to their partners’ countries lose power because they become minority members in the society, have to make an effort to learn the dominant languages, and adjust to the dominant cultures (Breger & Hill, 1998; Killian, 2003; Kim, 1998; Kouritzin, in press; Qian, 1999). Even if they completely change their habitus in Canada, it is, however, hard to say if they would not have any othered experiences (e.g.,

marginalization) because they might lose their Korean habitus by then, which is considered marginalization, according to Berry's (1997, 2005) acculturation strategy theory.

Culture's in-between. Othering is a “dualist process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between ‘us’ and ‘them’ – between the more and the less powerful – and through which social distance is established and maintained” (Lister, 2004, p. 101). Thus far, drawing on this definition, I demonstrated and discussed the participants’ othered experiences in Canada because they were a linguistically, culturally, and socially minority in Canada. However, surprisingly, the participants were also othered by their Korean families and society. They mentioned they did not feel a complete sense of belonging to the Korean family and society any more. Instead, they seemed to be in between ‘us’ and ‘them’, namely, in culture’s in-between (Bhabha, 1996).

Seyoung talked about her sense of belonging to Korea and Canada and expressed that she felt like she was hovering between Korea and Canada. Seyoung’s comments resonate with Li’s (2006) discussion on the notion of “home” and “homelessness”. In Li’s (2006) study, Chinese international students expressed that they felt like they were “homeless” in Canada and they were hovering in the air just as Seyoung mentioned.

I thought that I would go back to Korea and live there anytime. But I thought about the time when I become very old. I mean, I thought about where I would be buried, in Korea or Canada. But after my father passed away, I felt like I was hovering in the air.....
I realize that there is no place that I could go in Korea after my parents pass away. It will be just a short visit...I just feel like I am hovering between Canada and Korea. Then, I feel lonely. (Seyoung, February 6th, 2013, p. 10)

Berry (1997) and Berry and Kim (1988) indicate that many immigrants tend to lose a sense of belonging in both their countries of origin and their host countries when they try to assimilate into the host countries, but they become marginalized in the home countries at the same time. In short, they belong to culture's in-between (Bhabha, 1996) instead of Third Space. According to Berry (1997) and Berry and Kim (1988), Seyoung went through marginalization strategy because she did not have a sense of belong in both Korea and Canada. In my view, Seyoung, at the time when I interviewed her, seemed to use the integration strategy because she said she felt comfortable following a Canadian way without negative feelings. She also observed and tried to pass down Korean culture to her daughter (Berry, 1997, 2005). Therefore, I think it is common that immigrants stay in "cultures' in-between" as well as Third Space during and through acculturation.

Hyerim, Seyoung, Eunsung, and Subin also indicated their culturally othered experiences in Korean society. Hyerim and Seyoung realized that they did not dress like Korean people when she visited Korea. Eunsung felt uncomfortable when strangers touched her children even as an act of friendliness on the streets in Korea.

When I went to Korea with my children, people touched them without permission. So, I thought that they were ill-mannered. I thought that I had better live in Canada. (Eunsung, April 9th, 2013, p. 19)

Subin also realized her way of childrearing was different from that of her Korean friends. She said her friend even told her that she was strange because she did not sleep with her children.

When I went to Korea and talked with my friends, I realized that the Korean childrearing style is very different from that of Canada. I personally thought it was weird. You know, I have learned a Canadian style. I think it is strange for Korean moms sleeping with their

children on the same bed and dads sleeping on the floor for a long period of time. When I told my friends that it was weird, they rather thought of me as a strange and cold mom.

(Subin, February 11th, 2013, p.8)

As an insider, I understand why Subin's friends told her that she was a strange and even a cold mother. One of the most common mothering cultures in Korea is sleeping with children in the same bed while fathers sleep on the floor or in a different room until the children feel comfortable sleeping by themselves. I think this mothering culture is derived from the traditional gender role in Korea, which makes women main caregivers of the children in the family. Therefore, mothers who prioritize their children and even sacrifice their lives for them are perceived as good mothers. However, in Canada, I noticed it is more common for parents to let their children sleep in a separate room and it does not seem that the perception of a good mother is the same as that of Korean. I also noticed that such different mothering cultures between Korean and Canadian (e.g. White and English speaking) societies result in people's perceptions. For instance, as Subin heard from her friends, most Korean people tend to think that the Canadian way is cold and not beneficial for children's emotional stability. On the other hand, the majority of White Canadian people seem to think that Korean way is not beneficial for children's independence or a couple's relationship.

Unlike Subin, I had challenges with this issue when I became a mother. As a Korean mother, I could not let my son sleep in a separate room. Accordingly, I negotiated with my husband that we would sleep with him in the same room until he turned two months old. When he was two months old, I still could not let my son sleep in a separate room so I moved to his room and slept on the floor until he turned six months old. During this time, my husband seemed to eventually accept the Korean mothering culture; however, my parents-in-law did not seem to

understand it. I felt like I was perceived as an “emotionally weak mother” rather than “affectionate mother” in Canadian family and society. More interestingly, when my Korean families, friends and/or acquaintances found out that my son was sleeping in a separate room after he became six months old, they gave me negative comments about it. Then, I was perceived as a “cold and harsh mother” rather than an “emotionally strong mother”. I was also in culture’s in-between (Bhabha, 1996).

In short, the participants realized that they were different from other Korean people after they lived in Canada for years, which led them to acculturate into Canadian society. However, it does not mean that they are not othered in Canada (see the previous sections). Perhaps, they are still more othered in Canada than in Korea because of linguistic and racial differences. Therefore, they are in culture’s in-between (Bhabha, 1996) and I think being in culture’s in-between is not necessarily negative, but a natural outcome of ongoing acculturation.

Identity.

Social identity. I found that linguistic and cultural othering also influences their social identity negotiation. More importantly, the participants also felt othered during the process of negotiating their social identities. According to Tajfel (1981), social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 255).

Interestingly, Seyoung, Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, and Hyerim mentioned they felt they did not belong to Korean society or Canadian society when we discussed social membership and belongingness. It seemed that they were in the process of negotiating their social identities

between Canadian and Korean societies, or they were not accepted by both Canadian and Korean societies because of their duality and hybridity.

I say I am a Korean now, but I think I would be neither a Korean nor a Canadian when I get old and continue to live in Canada...Although I think of myself as a Canadian, people here wouldn't think of me as a Canadian. I think I will be confused with my identities at some point in my life. (Subin, March 20th, 2013, p. 23-24)

As I discussed distinction between self-identity and social identity in the Becoming section (see ethnic and national identity in the Becoming section), it is significant to note that Subin cared about what other people thought about her identity because she mentioned Canadians would not think of her as a Canadian regardless of her self-identity. In short, Subin assumed that her social identity would be othered by a majority of people in Canada. After discussing with the participants regarding social identity, I thought about why the participants' social identities could be othered and hence, negotiated and reconstructed. I think the main reason is language as many research studies indicate that language is a salient marker of one's social identity construction and negotiation (Lippi-Green, 1997; Norton, 1995; Schiffrin, 1996). Hyerim's comment on her social identity (e.g., national identity)⁴⁸ describes how the participants' social identities can be othered because of their different English.

I say I am a Canadian if someone asks me these days. Before I didn't have Canadian citizenship, I said, "I'm Korean but I live in Canada." After obtaining the citizenship, I am just Canadian. However, I usually say "I am a Canadian, but I am originally from South Korea." because they will get to know that I am not a native Canadian through my accent. (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 23)

⁴⁸ According to Hinkle and Brown's (1990) notion of social identity which is that social identity is identified based on membership in and affiliation with a variety of social groups, national identity is one of the social identities because nation is a big social group.

It seems Hyerim came to negotiate her social identity through changing citizenship; however, it is apparent she is still uncertain about her social identity because of other Canadians' views of her accent. Through Hyerim's remark, it is evident that language is a salient marker of othering one's social identity as well as one's social identity construction and negotiation (Lippi-Green, 1997; Norton, 1995; Schiffrin, 1996). In a similar vein, immigrants can have a difficult time negotiating their social identities in Canada, although they want to try to negotiate it because they are not accepted as Canadians due to their foreign accents (Bresnahan et al., 2002; Jenkins, 2005; Lippi-Green, 1997; Marx, 2002; Momenian, 2011; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007), and ethnicity and race (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007) in some cases.

Language is also a reason for the participants' social identity shift, which caused a feeling of being different, isolated, and even marginalized in Canada. Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, Inja, and I confessed that because of a different language, we had experiences of being voiceless and passive after they immigrated to Canada.

Even yesterday, I went to Costco and ordered chicken at the cafeteria. They gave me only one pack of mustard. I wanted to tell them to give me one more but I ended up not saying anything. I became very passive. I became voiceless. (Subin, February 11th, 2013, p. 10)

It is obvious that the participants' self-esteem suffered. Their experiences manifest that language is "the most salient way we have of establishing and advertising our social identities" (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 5). They could not establish and advertise their new social identities in Canada at the beginning of their lives in Canada. It is also crucial to note that Subin, Mijin, and Inja did not have a sense of belonging to Canadian society and self-esteem because of their imperfect English, but they came to negotiate it as they became more comfortable and fluent.

Their experiences of social identity shift resonate with Norton's (1995) research on immigrant women. Norton (1995) argues that immigrants' social identities are changing over time because they learn how to negotiate them as they become more fluent in English and accumulate cultural capital.

Finally, Seyoung, Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, Inja, and I indicated we became more dependent on our WDCESCBM in Canada mostly because of English and, as a result, we felt we were becoming incapable and helpless. It is common for one to depend on the other more, especially when they live in their spouses' countries. They do not know the system of the society and they are afraid of being unsuccessful because of their imperfect languages and lack of knowledge of cultures and systems in the society (Breger & Hill, 1998; Qian, 1999). Therefore, intercultural couples often entrust their spouses, who are from the country, with many tasks. I found that the participants in this research also entrusted their WDCESCBM with many family matters. Consequently, they felt dependent, incapable, and helpless in Canada.

I don't really know what to do in many parts of Canadian life. I guess I allow myself to live without knowing things at present. If I try to learn things more and deeper, it just gives me headache. But then, if I happen to be separate from my husband, I would be lost because I know nothing. I will be a fool with no money and no knowledge of Canadian society. I should gain some knowledge of this society but I feel like I am lagging behind.

(Subin, March 20th, 2013, p. 27)

Mijin expressed her frustration because she could not lead many things for her family in Canada as she did in Korea. She also mentioned that she could not be completely satisfied with her Canadian life because she could not lead it fully. Subin seemed to considerably depend on her husband as she mentioned she would not know what to do without him.

Furthermore, Seyoung, Inja, and I also described becoming dependent on our husbands and we felt ignorant after moving to Canada. However, we tended to empathize with our husbands and tried to learn the system, since we were entrusted with many family matters when we lived in Korea. Consequently, we knew how hard it was to do everything by ourselves.

When we lived in Korea, I did everything such as banking and doing administrative work for our family. I was (my husband's) personal secretary. He just taught English and met my family sometimes. That was it. I had to do everything related to government documents and banking. But in Canada, it is his job. He does everything such as banking, doing tax work, and so on. If I do and something goes wrong with those kinds of work because I misunderstand it, then it is a big trouble. I make the doctor's appointment these days though, but I don't do the important work... I didn't even make doctor's appointment before. But one day, my husband told me that I tended to ask him to do everything although I could do it. I thought about it and I thought it was too much for him. You know, he worked all day and he still had to do lots of things for our family after work so I try to do little things by myself these days. (Seyoung, March 14th, 2013, p. 40)

When I heard the participants' stories about dependence on their WDCESCBM, I was wondering if it was only because of English or something else. Although I tried to understand as an insider, initially, I felt like some participants lacked motivation to learn the Canadian system because they seemed to take their dependence for granted as they were foreigners and immigrants in Canada. However, I thought about other possible reasons. It can be a lack of their English competency and knowledge in Canadian system. It can also be family dynamics. Moreover, it can be that the participants were busy raising children and adjusting to the new

society at the same time, as most participants were stay-at-home mothers whose main role was to take care of their children and the family while their husbands were in charge of family finances.

It is also interesting to see the role reversal between the participants and their WDCESCBM depending on where they live. Through Mijin', Inja' and Seyoung's comments and my own experiences, it is evident that the participants who lived in Korea with their husbands were leading the family in Korea, speaking their own language and having knowledge of the social system. On the other hand, their roles became reversed in Canada because of their limited English competency and a lack of knowledge in Canadian systems. I found the role reversal in this research has parallels with role reversal between immigrant parents and children (Chu, 1999; Kanu, 2008; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Renzaho, McCabe, & Sainsbury, 2011; Umaña-Taylor, 2003). Chu (1999) and Kanu (2008) indicate that many immigrant children play a significant role in facilitating communications for their parents who cannot speak the language of the host country, and doing every day activities such as banking, paying bills, submitting governmental documents, or going to a doctor. As a result, immigrant parents become more dependent on their children (Kanu, 2008; Umaña-Taylor, 2003) and it even affects the family member's identity (Renzaho et al., 2011).

I think the role reversal in this research also explains power relations in intercultural families since it occurs based on one's linguistic, cultural, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Although the participants did not explicitly mention power relations or family dynamics, I believe the participants became more dependent on their WDCESCBM, not only because of their English, but also because of their husbands' leading role in the family due to their linguistic, cultural, social, and economic capital.

In summary, Seyoung, Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, Inja, and I have experienced our social identity negotiation and shift, which seem to be more negative than positive. We mentioned we became more voiceless, passive, ignorant, and dependent. After discussing both linguistic and cultural othering, I believe the main reason that the participants' social identities are othered and marginalized is linguistic othering rather than cultural othering. It is obvious that they became voiceless, passive, and dependent because of English (or English accent) in general. Therefore, I believe the participants' social identities have been considerably influenced by English as previous research studies on the impact of language on social identity indicate and discuss (Lippi-Green, 1997; McNamara, 1997; Norton, 1995).

Racial identity. The other emergent theme regarding participants' othered identities is the participants' racial identities as Asians in Canada. As South Korea is such a racially-homogeneous country, participants did not have many chances to be aware and reminded of their race. However, it seems that the participants were reminded of being racially different in their everyday lives in Canada. They also indicated that they were racially othered by society more than their family members and felt more offended in such cases.

I think there is subtle racism in Canada. For instance, a few days ago, I slept in. So my daughter and I were still wearing PJs. Then, somebody was knocking the front door.

When I saw her through the window, I thought she was some kind of religious person so I didn't go out. But then, my daughter kept calling me and she noticed that we were home.

At last, I went out and opened the door. An old Caucasian Canadian lady was standing there. And then, she asked me if I was an owner of the house or just working in the

house. I didn't want to be bothered by her, so I just told her I was working in the house.

Then, she asked me to give a sheet of document to the owner...I think she thought that I

wasn't an owner because I am Asian. (Subin, March 20th, 2013, p. 23)

It seems that older generation White Canadians tend to treat racialized minority people more differently than younger generation Canadians do. Of course, I cannot exclude individual factors. However, I assume the one possible rationale may be that Canada, at present, is more diverse and younger generations live with diverse populations. In addition, they obtain more education on diversity and multiculturalism at school. And the other rationale can be the participants' children may have not yet had racialized experiences.

The participants' racial identities were more othered when they were with their racially mixed children, particularly if their children looked more like their WDCESCBM. Hyerim shared her experience of being mistaken for her son's nanny at a clinic because she was an Asian woman and her son looked more Caucasian. She mentioned that some Canadian people tended to think that every Asian woman with babies and/or children was a nanny.

In Canada, what happened was when I was pregnant with the second baby, I went to see an obstetrician with my husband and my first son. My son was in a stroller and I was pushing the stroller. But then, a nurse asked my son, "where is your Mommy? You know, many Asian women, especially Filipino women, are nannies, so every Asian woman is a nanny to them. So, I said, "I AM THE MOM." Then, she apologized to me. (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 26)

Subin's story above can also explain a potential reason why an elderly Canadian woman asked Subin if she was the owner of the house or working in the house in that she may have thought of Subin as an Asian nanny because of Subin and her daughter's racial differences. It is a mere assumption, but it is possible and plausible reasoning. Furthermore, it is significant to note the different social views on Asian women and Caucasian women with their hybrid children. In

reality, it seems that Asian women with their hybrid children tend to be mistaken for nannies while Caucasian women with their hybrid children tend to be mistaken for adopters (Kouritzin, in press). Therefore, racial othering does exist toward non-white parents in intercultural families.

Mothering

Mothering indicates prominent aspects of how the participants deal with their linguistically, culturally, and racially hybrid children's languages, cultures, and identities. The biracial children in interracial families often question their racial identities when they move to different locations and confront comments concerned with their physical appearances from other people (Gaskins, 1999; Twine, 1996). They may also question their ethnic identities if each of their parents speaks a different first language and is from a different country and culture (Khanna, 2004; Phinney, 1990). Therefore, several studies on biracial and bicultural children argue that the parental role is important, and they should help their children construct a positive hybrid identity (Twine, 1996; Young, 2009). In this section, I intended to find out and discuss the participants' challenges of mothering racially, culturally, and linguistically mixed children and their strategies to help their children construct positive hybrid identities (Kouritzin, in press; Twine, 1996; Young, 2009).

In order to discuss how the participants deal with their children's languages, I analyzed and interpreted the data through language socialization theory (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984) and a variety of literature on heritage language maintenance (Cummins, 1997; Döpke, 1992; Kouritzin, 1999; Lee, 2002; Wong Fillmore, 1991). I first attempted to find out whether or not the participants have passed down the Korean language to their children. Then, I explored how language socialization theory (Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984) affected the children's heritage language maintenance. Finally, I

discussed how heritage language maintenance influenced the participants' intercultural families and their children in terms of constructing hybrid identities.

For the cultural aspects in the participants' mothering processes, I found three emergent themes: the impact of heritage language on heritage culture, the participants' responsibility to pass down heritage culture, and the children's Third Space. In the following sections, I discussed the impact of heritage language maintenance on their heritage cultures (Brown, 2000; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Kouritzin, 2000a; Lee, 2002; Schecter & Bayley, 1997). I also examined the participants' responsibility to pass down the Korean culture to their children, connecting to Kouritzin's (2000) study on immigrant mothers. In addition, I explored the children's Third Space relevant to their hybridity and hybrid identities drawing on the literature of the notion of Third Space (Bhabha, 1994; Kapchan & Strong, 1999).

Finally, I explored and discussed the participants' perceptions on their children's racial, social, and hybrid identities based on the participants' life histories. Particularly, I emphasized the children's hybrid identities and I also attempted to explore how the participants dealt with their children's hybridity and how they helped them construct positive hybrid identities.

Language.

Korean and/or English? I noticed that every participant had different thoughts about and attitudes toward heritage language maintenance. However, the common theme was that the participants' language ideologies and attitudes toward heritage language determined whether their children would and could maintain heritage language (Chen, 2010; De Houwer, 1999; Jeon, 2008; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Kouritzin, 1997). I also noted that all of the participants except for Ran wanted to pass down their Korean mother tongue to their children as a heritage language, although how much effort each participant made to accomplish this varied.

Among the participants, Inja, Hyerim, Seyoung, Subin, and I had a strong desire to pass down Korean language to our children. For Subin and me, it was hard to measure our children's bilinguality compared to other participants' children because our children were younger. However, it was evident that Inja, Hyerim, and Seyoung so far had passed down their mother tongue to their children as a heritage language. Particularly, Hyerim and Seyoung strongly believed that it was considerably valuable and important for their children to be able to understand and speak the Korean language. Accordingly, they have been trying hard to pass down Korean language to their children. Inja's son speaks Korean fluently, but Inja's case is different from Hyerim's and Seyoung's because her son was born and raised in Korea. Hence, she did not seem to make as great of an effort as Hyerim and Seyoung did for their children's Korean language development in Canada.

On the other hand, other participants who did not believe in the significance and necessity of heritage language maintenance did not pass down Korean to their children. For instance, Eunsung, Mijin, and Ran valorized linguistic practicality more than heritage language maintenance (Bourdieu, 1992). They believed that their children did not have to necessarily learn Korean simply because their mothers spoke Korean. Instead, they preferred their children to learn French or other languages they were interested in. In fact, Eunsung and Ran enrolled their children in French immersion schools and they strongly believed it was more beneficial for their children to learn French in Canada.

I think what language they use here (in Canada) should be the number one reason, so my children go to a French Immersion school... We thought that French is very useful if they learn. In Canada, some government jobs require people to speak English and French. So, this is also one of the reasons. (Eunsung, February 19th, 2013, p. 10-11)

Although Mijin agreed with Ran and Eunsung in the sense that it was not necessary for her children to learn Korean, her reason was more for respecting her children's preferences. A part of Ran's opinion regarding heritage language maintenance also coincided with Mijin's thought, as she mentioned that language was not everything in life.

I think my children should spend time doing what they like for 24 hours instead of learning and practicing Korean. That can be Italian, or not even language, but can be dancing. If they like to dance, they should dance. I don't think it is good to ask them to learn Korean only because their Mom's language is Korean. (Mijin, February 21st, 2013, p. 14)

Eunsung's, Mijin's, and Ran's choices support Bourdieu's (1992) theory of linguistic and cultural capital and attribute Bourdieu's (1977) 'symbolic power' to English and French. Particularly, Eunsung connected French with more job opportunities in Canada, which eventually would lead to accumulating economic capital (Bourdieu, 1992). In fact, it is not surprising because many immigrant parents value French more than their heritage languages for this reason according to previous research on heritage language maintenance (Babae, 2014; Chen, 2010; Dagenais & Berron, 2001).

It is also important to note that only the participants who supported their children's heritage language maintenance mentioned they have spoken only or mostly Korean since their children's birth to expose their children to Korean language in an English environment. As discussed in the Othering section (see 'marginalized Korean' in particular), it is evident that each participant's language ideology determined consistency of their chosen language policies and plans (e.g., speaking only Korean to their children) from their children's birth (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Pan, 1995; Takeuchi, 2006).

Other than language ideology, the other reason why the participants always spoke Korean to their children was instinct, authenticity, and convenience. They mentioned they could express and deliver their true emotions and meanings to their children without any effort and/or challenges. According to Kouritzin (2000a), mother tongue is “the language of the heart” (p. 314), as it is deeply connected with one’s thoughts and feelings (Gutfreund, 1990). Kouritzin (2000a) further demonstrates her difficulties and challenges to translate her emotions toward her bilingual children into her second language, Japanese. She mentioned she felt like her expressions of love towards her children in Japanese was not the same as other Japanese mothers’ expressions of their love to their children. Much like Kouritzin’s (2000a) experience, Seyoung, Subin, Hyerim, Inja, and I mentioned that we did not feel we delivered our true heart and emotions to our children when we spoke English.

I always speak Korean when I communicate with my son because I can’t speak English as I speak Korean. It isn’t real. (Inja, August 9th, 2013, p. 10)

Moreover, it is interesting to note that only the participants who support heritage language maintenance mentioned the notion of Korean as “the language of the heart”. Seyoung, Subin, Heyrim, Inja, and I said we felt superficial when bonding and building a relationship with our children in English. Therefore, speaking participants’ mother tongue to their children could be a means of building true mother-child bonding, expressing their language ideologies, and passing down Korean language to their children.

Double-edged language socialization for heritage language maintenance. In the Becoming section, language socialization was a manifestation of the participants’ integration into Canadian society. However, I also found that language socialization was one of the challenges concerned with the participants’ children’s heritage language maintenance. Unlike other Korean

immigrant children, the participants' children do not have many chances to be exposed to Korean language at home because the main communicative language in the family is English, and even the participants who support their children's bilinguality adopt the one parent one language approach (Baker; 2001; Döpke, 1992; Hamers & Blanc, 2000). As a result, the only Korean input that the participants' children receive is from their Korean mothers, Korean television programs, and/or Korean communities such as a heritage school and religious organizations. Romaine (1995) indicates that children who grow up with the one parent one language approach usually understand both languages, but they only speak the language of their societies because the input of the minority language they receive from one of their parents is not enough. Kravin (1992) also found that the input of one parent is not sufficient to develop children's heritage language. Therefore, children in intercultural families have more challenges to maintain the heritage language than children in other monolingual immigrant families do (Harrison, 2000).

In fact, Mijin, Hyerim, and Inja mentioned it was difficult to keep speaking only Korean to their children because they were concerned their husbands would feel isolated in the family. Although they did not directly attribute their husbands as the cause of their children's Korean language regression or loss, it seemed they considerably influenced their children's Korean language regression.

I have always spoken Korean to my children since their birth because it was more natural and comfortable for me to speak Korean than English and my husband let me and my children communicate in Korean back then. However, as the kids grew, it seemed that he felt isolated because he once told us that he couldn't understand our conversation. So, I realized that my husband also felt like an outsider. (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 14)

Hyerim's comment indicates that partners' thoughts and attitude influence language choice in intercultural families. Hyerim mentioned she was able to speak only Korean to her children because her husband was neutral about her doing so. However, she tried to speak both English and Korean after she came to know of her husband's isolated feelings as their children grew up. Therefore, it is important for intercultural couples to speak each other's languages in order to pass down the minority language to their children and have linguistic and cultural equality in their families, as Berry (1997) argues that "a mutual accommodation is required for integration strategy to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples" (p. 10).

The other challenge of Korean language maintenance because of language socialization is children's schooling in Canada (see also the Becoming section). All of the participants except for Inja mentioned schooling was a starting point for confronting more challenges because their children tended to lose Korean language and/or interest in learning or speaking it, as other research studies have previously explored (Cummins, 1997; Döpke, 1992; Kouritzin, 1999; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

My daughter understands Korean, but I don't know why she doesn't speak. It is after she started going to a preschool. (Subin, February 11th, 2013, p. 14)

Wong Fillmore (1991) argues that language minority children are forced to assimilate into the English-speaking classroom to be accepted and belong. She further asserts that the younger children have the greater chances to lose their heritage languages (e.g., first language, minority language) because children in the preschool period are the most susceptible to these assimilative forces (Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Even if parents do not send their children to an English speaking preschool and have them at home, it seems that they still confront this challenge once the children start going to school. In Hyerim's case, she did not send her children to preschool or even kindergarten. However, she mentioned her children started speaking English mostly to her when they started going to an elementary school, although they were able to speak Korean. It is probably because children realize that teachers' and other peers' habitus in the school field is different from that of theirs and their mothers' in their house field (Bourdieu, 1977). To socialize with teachers and other peers, they have to speak English. Lawler (2004) indicates that "the habitus has its particular force because it conceptualizes power as working such that it is not what you do or what you have, that is marked as wrong or right, normal or pathological, but *who you are*" (p. 112). In this light, they try to reduce power relations by negotiating their habitus and identities. Through negotiation and socialization, they also become more comfortable with English.

Power relations in Canadian schools and society should also be considered in understanding why the children switch to English when they start schooling. Despite supports for bilingualism and heritage language maintenance in recent years, unequal power relations, because of different language and culture, still exist in Canadian public schools and society (Babae, 2014; Cummins, 2001). Babae (2014) indicates in her study that many Farsi students avoided speaking Farsi at public schools because of other non-Farsi speaking students' and teachers' displeasure and resentment. In a like manner, language plays a role of exercising symbolic power in Canadian schools and society (Bourdieu, 1992).

Finally, it is ironic that English language socialization is a great device for participants to assimilate into their intercultural families and Canadian society. On the other hand, it can be harmful for their children to learn and maintain Korean language in Canada. Eunsung even told

me that she did not care about passing down Korean language to her children at the beginning of her life in Canada because it was more urgent and important for her to be able to understand and speak English first (see Eunsung's story). Mijin also mentioned she tended to speak English with her children at home rather than speak Korean because she wanted to improve her English for her work. I can empathize with Mijin because a few times, I personally felt that my English became bad after I had my son and spoke mostly Korean to him at home. I was concerned about my English for my career. Kouritzin (2000c) indicates, through her study on immigrant mothers' access to ESL classes, that immigrant mothers have ambivalence toward learning English in Canada. On one hand, they know the importance of learning English to assimilate into Canadian society. On the other hand, they also want to instill their languages and cultures in their children and they know that it is difficult (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Therefore, English language socialization causes an irony and contradiction between the participants' process of becoming like Canadians, and mothering bilingual children in Canada.

Thus far, I discussed language socialization as a challenge of heritage language maintenance. I will now discuss the other side of language socialization, a strategy of heritage language maintenance. Through Hyerim' and Seyoung's cases, I realized that language socialization theory (Duff, 2007; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984) could also be used as a strategy for heritage language maintenance when the target language is a minority language (e.g., Korean language), and the context of socialization is a minority language context (e.g., Korean society or Korean community in Canada). Hyerim and Seyoung always spoke Korean to their children, regardless of time and place. They also tried to expose their children to Korean society as often and as long as they could. Hyerim tried to visit Korea with her children as frequently as she could. Seyoung even moved to Korea for one year and she was willing to move back there again.

Furthermore, both Hyerim and Seyoung enrolled their children in a school system in Korea. Hyerim sent her children to a private institute or a public school for a short time. Seyoung sent her daughter to a preschool while they lived in Korea. They both believed it was the most effective way of having their children learn and practice Korean.

I always speak Korean to my children at home and I often visited Korea with them... almost once a year. Whenever we visited Korea, I always sent them to a public school or a private institute in order for them to learn Korean language. I also read lots of Korean books and if they spoke English instead of Korean, I didn't respond to them. I sometimes pretended I didn't hear... (Hyerim, August 8th, 2013, p. 27)

Hyerim's and Seyoung's strategies and their results support the language socialization theory (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984), as their children maintained their heritage language by interacting with that language. That is, what linguistic environments they are surrounded by and with what languages they are socialized are crucially important for individuals to learn and acquire a language. Therefore, living in the linguistic environment and interacting with the language is the most effective way for young children to learn a minority language and become bilingual.

However, it is not easy to carry out this strategy in reality because it requires time and money. To move to Korea and live there for a year or so, like Seyoung's family did, the couple needed to quit their jobs in Canada or take a leave from work. To visit Korea almost every year and send the children to private or public school costs a lot of money as well. Thus, this strategy is more feasible when the parents have higher socioeconomic status. In fact, some studies indicate correlations between parents' socio-economic status and children's heritage language maintenance (Babae, 2013; Guardado, 2002). Guardado (2002) found, through his case studies

of Hispanic children's heritage language loss and maintenance, that most children of parents with higher socio-economic status and better educational background maintained their heritage languages. Hyerim's and Seyoung's cases support this research finding because both families have relatively higher socio-economic status and more post-secondary education.

Language socialization theory can be used as a double edged knife in heritage language maintenance. Although the participants' and their children's language socialization in Canada hinders them from passing down Korean language to their children, they can still adopt the language socialization theory for their children's Korean language maintenance by exposing them to Korean communities in Canada and/or visiting Korea frequently. As Kravin (1992) argues, parental input is not sufficient to develop their children's heritage language particularly when the input is from only one parent. Rather, a linguistic environment or a larger linguistic community is necessary to raise the children bilingual in an intercultural family (Guardado, 2002, p. 345).

Heritage language maintenance as a bridge of Korean root and two worlds. Despite challenges of passing down Korean language to our children in Canada, Seyoung, Subin, Hyerim, and I still try mainly because we want our children to be connected with our own parents and siblings in Korea. We believe Korean language is a medium of connecting with our extended family members who do not speak English. This finding highlights one of the benefits of heritage language maintenance which was discussed in previous research studies (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998; Cunningham, 1999; Shin, 2010; Wong Fillmore, 2000). Shin (2010), through her study on mixed heritage adults' heritage language maintenance, found those who maintained heritage language had a deeper connection with the heritage language speaking parents and extended family members.

I feel bad when I talk to my Mom because I miss her and she often asks me to teach Korean to my children. Then, I feel guilty...My Mom always wants to talk to my children on the phone but then, they don't understand. (Eunsung, February 19th, 2013, p. 12)

In Eunsung's case, she felt guilty because her children were not able to understand and speak Korean. In fact, Eunsung did not make a great effort to pass down Korean language to her children because she believed that it was not necessary. However, she mentioned she felt guilty about her children disconnecting from her parents in Korea. Seyoung also explained the importance of heritage language maintenance for the family relationship, since she talked about her mother's joy at connecting and socializing with her daughter through Korean language. Furthermore, Ran's remark reinforced the notion that a motivation of heritage language maintenance was to connect with the participants' extended family members, as she mentioned she was not motivated to pass down her Korean language to her daughter due to her parents' passing.

I don't have to think about handing down my mother tongue to my daughter in order to communicate with my family members. My parents passed away earlier and my sister can speak English. Moreover, all of my siblings live so far away that we don't see each other often. (Ran, December 20th, 2013, p. 19)

Moreover, the participants also wanted to culturally connect and socialize with their children through Korean language (Wong Fillmore, 1991) since they also believed that language was intricately interwoven with culture (Brown, 2000) and cultural identity (Giles & Coupland, 1991; Lee, 2002; Schecter & Bayley, 1997). In Inja's case, she could share Korean cultural events and aspects with her son because he understood and spoke Korean. Inja could watch

Korean television programs with her son and she also confessed that she felt happy to have someone with whom she could share her culture within the family.

Although I can't share many cultural things with my husband, for example, we can't watch Korean TV together; I can do that with my son so I am happy. I am happy that I have someone whom I can share with... (Inja, August 9th, 2013, p. 15)

I noticed here that Inja was not culturally left alone in her intercultural family. As a result, she would not feel as isolated or lonely as other participants who did not have someone they could share their culture with. Similarly, Seyoung also mentioned she attempted to pass down Korean to her daughter because she wanted to share Korean sentiments with her.

Affection, feelings, language...language tells all. I mean, Korean language has Korean sentiments. I want my daughter to be able to feel these sentiments. That is the reason why I try hard to teach Korean to my daughter. Like nuance, I want her to understand Korean nuance. I wish she could feel exactly how I feel about something...If she doesn't know my feelings, I would feel sad. That is why language is the most important...sometimes when she speaks Korean, she expresses this special Korean sentiment. Then, I really like that. (Seyoung, March 14th, 2013, p. 50-51)

Seyoung's comment reflects Wong Fillmore's (1991) argument that language is a "crucial link between parents and children" (p. 343) because the parents can convey their cultures, values, beliefs, understandings, wishes to their children and develop intimacy through a shared language. During the interviews, I noticed several times that Seyoung was afraid she would not be connected with her daughter because of different language and culture. She seemed to strongly believe in the connection between language and culture and its impact on the mother and daughter relationship (Brown, 2000; Kouritzin, 1999; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

The participants who could not share many Korean cultural aspects with their WDCESCBM may have felt lonely or more homesick. Although I could not find any previous studies on this issue, from my personal observation, I noticed that many of the participants tended to miss Korea more than other Korean immigrant women who had Korean husbands. However, I think if their children could speak Korean, this homesickness and loneliness could be alleviated as they can share more Korean things with their children. Therefore, hybrid children's heritage language maintenance is necessary because heritage language is a device for socializing and connecting with immediate family and extended family in Korea.

Finally, heritage language maintenance in intercultural families often helps the children play a role of mediator, a socializing agent, and a translator in that they bridge the gap between two different languages in their families (Cho, 2000; Mcquillan & Yse, 1995; Tse, 1996; Young, 2009). For example, a child could be a Korean language teacher to his or her Canadian family, as well as a Korean-English interpreter to both families. Although many previous studies on language brokering focuses on immigrant families rather than intercultural families (Golash-Boza, 2005; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Tse, 1996), they resonate with the participants' children's language brokering experiences between the two linguistically different worlds. Furthermore, it seems to bring positive effects to the participants' families. Seyoung mentioned her husband tended to learn Korean thanks to her bilingual daughter, and her daughter also played an interpreter role between her husband and her mother. Seyoung mentioned that her husbands' families often asked her and her daughters what certain Korean words meant when she spoke Korean.

My husband tends to learn Korean from my daughter. Because my daughter is still young, her Korean is not very difficult. So, he listens to her Korean and understands it

although he can't speak...She plays a mediator role many times. She likes to teach Korean to her Daddy. She also tries to interpret for him..... She sometimes interpreted for my husband and my Mom in Korea too. (Seyoung, March 14th, 2013, p. 33-34)

Bilingual children in intercultural families can promote and advertise coexisting languages to family members. Their bilinguality can increase family members' interest in each other's languages and provide them opportunities to learn the language. Therefore, it is beneficial to pass down heritage language to children in intercultural families, although it requires a great effort.

Culture.

The impact of heritage language on heritage culture. All of the participants wanted to pass down Korean culture to their children. However, Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, and I seemed to have a difficult doing it without passing down Korean language. The participants' children who could understand and speak Korean tended to observe Korean culture more authentically and profoundly in their everyday lives than those who did not know Korean language. This finding highlights Lee's (2002) study on the relationship between the second generation Korean immigrant children's heritage language maintenance and their Korean cultural identity. According to Lee (2002), the higher the Korean language proficiency, the stronger the identity was with Korean culture. Kouritzin (2000c) also indicates that immigrant mothers cannot teach the heritage culture through a second language. Hence, this finding suggests that language and culture are deeply connected (Brown, 2000; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Kouritzin, 2000c; Lee, 2002; Schecter & Bayley, 1997).

Even though the participants' children could not understand and speak Korean language, Eunsung and Ran tried to teach Korean culture to their children. However, they tended to teach only a superficial level of culture such as food, Korean traditional dresses, and Korean traditional buildings. Therefore, their children could not learn the Korean way of thinking and Korean sentiments unless they spoke the Korean language. In Ran's case, she did not attempt to pass down Korean language to her daughter. Nonetheless, she tried hard to pass down Korean culture even though her daughter could not eat (Korean) food. On the other hand, Inja mentioned that her son, who spoke fluent Korean was more like a Korean person as his language, behaviour, attitudes, and even way of thinking was Korean.

My son speaks English only at home with his Dad, but everything about him is

Korean...speaking, acting, thinking...he is so Korean. (Inja, August 9th, 2013, p. 7)

Although Inja's son was born and raised in Korea, I think his fluent Korean language caused him to act and think like other Korean people, which confirms to literature on the connection between language and culture (Brown, 2000; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Kouritzin, 2000c; Lee, 2002; Schechter & Bayley, 1997). Moreover, Mijin's life history made the deep connection between language and culture more evident because Mijin's son was also born and raised in Korea, like Inja's son, but he does not speak Korean. Therefore, it is evident that language and culture cannot be separable, they are intricately interwoven (Brown, 2000) and consequently, it is difficult to teach heritage culture through a second language (Kouritzin, 2000c).

Responsibility to pass down heritage culture. In spite of the participants' failure to pass down Korean culture to their children at a profound level, all of the participants except for Mijin and Inja seemed to feel responsible to teach and pass down Korean culture to their children. Ran mentioned that she even felt sad and guilty about her daughter not maintaining Korean culture in

her life. The participants' sense of responsibility here resonated with Kouritzin's (2000c) research on immigrant mothers' access to ESL classes. According to Kouritzin (2000c), immigrant mothers in her study had ambivalence about learning English because they felt responsible for passing down the heritage culture to their children. Particularly in this study, Seyoung emphasized her responsibility to instill Korean culture in her daughter because she was the only person who could. She had a strong desire to share Korean sentiments with her daughter.

I just try to teach everything that I know about Korean culture. I want my daughter to be able to feel what I feel...emotions because I will be alone if even my daughter can't feel. My husband can't feel 100%, although he could try to feel my emotions. That is why I want my daughter to be able to feel what I feel. I want her to taste the same as I taste. I want her to smell the same as I smell. So when I get old, I hope my daughter understands me. (Seyoung, February 26th, 2013, p. 25-26)

Through Seyoung's remarks, I noticed one of the reasons that participants tried to pass down Korean culture to their children was to bond and unite with them by sharing the same culture. As it is shown in the Othering section, the participants felt culturally othered from time to time because they could not share the same cultural aspects with their WDCESCBM and/or their Canadian families (Breger & Hill, 1998; Qian, 1999). As a result, they could feel lonely and isolated in Canada (see the Othering section). Considering this and inferring from it, they have a strong desire to pass down Korean culture to their children so that they can share many parts of their lives and feel more connected to their children.

Hybrid children's Third Space. Based on participants' perceptions, some participants' children tended to create their Third Space by knowing and observing both Korean and Canadian cultures (Bhabha, 1994; Kapchan & Strong, 1999; Kramsch, 1993). It also seemed that their

Third Space brought positive aspects to their intercultural families. Inja mentioned that her son played a role as a cultural mediator between her and her husband through his Third Space.

Hyerim also discussed it was beneficial for her children to know both cultures and create their own third culture so that they could learn positive aspects from each culture and apply it to their learning.

Sometimes my son compares sports between Korea and Canada. And he asks my husband, “why does Canada not participate in the World Cup?” Then, my husband said Canada is good at hockey instead. Because my husband is Canadian, of course, he talks good things about Canada. However, I think my son is in the neutral position because sometimes I also brag about Korea and criticize Canada. Then, my son talks about good things about Canada. (Inja, August 10th, 2013, p. 35)

Literature on the Third Space speaks to mixed heritage and race children’s hybridity. Inja son’s Third Space resonated with Bhabha’s notion of Third Space associated with communication, since it allows the meaning of the communication to be hopeful for either co-construction of interpretation or new hybrid meanings. Through his Third Space, Inja’s son mediated power relations between two different cultures in conversations, similar to Sakamoto’s (1996) statement that “[a] borderline culture of hybridity is a powerful and creative Third Space through which ‘newness enters the worlds’, subverting the authority of the dominant discourse (p. 116). Seyoung’s daughter also seemed to create her Third Space as a site of negotiation and translation between the two cultures (Bhabha, 1994). In addition, Hyerim’s children seemed to create the Third Space that Bolatagici (2004) discusses through her work on multiracial artists’ photography. According to Bolatagici (2004), being in a hybridised space and creating a Third

Space allows multiracial artists to have a unique perspective, and enables them to provide counter-narratives that defy colonialist representation.

Much like Bolatagici's (2004) notion of Third Space, I also found that the Third Space the participants' children created was positive. Their Third Space was not a liminal, ambiguous, and in-between space (Turner, 1969), but a point of contact, which bridges two different cultures and helps them to construct positive hybrid identities in their intercultural families (Luke & Luke, 1999). Therefore, I strongly believe it is significantly important and beneficial to teach and pass down heritage culture to children in intercultural families. I also believe it is a starting point for hybrid children to create their Third Space. Moreover, the Third Space can resolve any tensions and conflicts caused by two different cultures in the family because children can become a mediator, a socializing agent, and a translator through their Third Space.

Identity.

Hybrid children's racial identity. One of the emergent themes on the children's racial identity is location rather than physical appearances. Not many participants discussed whether their children identified themselves as Asian or Caucasian, but they talked more about how a location affects raising racially hybrid children (Bailey, 2000; Luke, 2003; Twine, 1996; Young, 2009).

All of the participants seemed to conclude that living in Canada helped their children to construct and negotiate their racial identities in a more positive way because Canada is more racially diverse than Korea. Also, people's perceptions and attitudes toward racially hybrid individuals were more accepting and open than those of Korean society. Despite the influx of foreigners in Korea nowadays, it is still not as racially diverse as it is in Canada. Interracial marriages have been viewed negatively among older generations in Korea because they are

considered outcomes of Korean War in 1950s (Hong, 1982). Thus, the perception of “colonial or war bride marriages” (Cottrell, 1990, p. 153) still exists for Korean women who married White men, even sixty years later. Therefore, many racially hybrid individuals tend to get too much attention from the public because they are different from other Koreans. They may get negative glances or hear comments from other people who have negative views on interracial marriages. Seyoung, Subin, Mijin, Hyerim, and Ran mentioned that their children often received too much attention from other Korean people when they lived or visited there and they did not approve of the public attention. They even expressed that their children were like “monkeys and/or animals at the zoo”.

I had great stress as a mother of racially mixed children when we lived in Korea.

Regardless of whether it was positive or a negative, I didn't like the public glance toward my children at all. Sometimes, people even looked around to see my children. I don't think it is good. Here (in Canada), nobody looks at us with curiosity. I don't think it is beneficial for children to get lots of attention only because of their different appearances. It wouldn't be good for them to construct their personalities and identities. That is why I decided to move to Canada. (Mijin, February 21st, 2013, p. 6)

In Mijin's case, her children were born and raised in Korea before they moved to Canada. Mijin mentioned that one of the main reasons they decided to move to Canada was because of her children's positive personality and identity construction. Hyerim, Subin, and Seyoung also discussed the negative impact of too much attention on their children's personality and identity construction.

It is noteworthy to discuss how racially hybrid children question their racial identities, how they negotiate it, and how their parents can help them to construct their racial identities. Inja discussed her son's unexpected questions regarding his racial identity and how she dealt with it.

It was when he was about 7 years old. When I put him in the bed at night, he asked me, "Umma, what am I? I am not a Canadian, White, or Asian." When we moved to Canada, he also told me that, "I am not completely a Caucasian. Why am I so ambiguous? Why am I not this or that but just in the middle?" He talks a little bit about his (racial) identity. But then, at schools in Canada, there are many kids like him... like black moms and white dads... there are many racially mixed children. And they seem to accept it very naturally when my son continues to see them. So, he became adjusted to it. (Inja, August 10th, 2013, p. 22)

Since Inja's son⁴⁹ was an immigrant youth from Korea when he moved to Canada, it seemed that he was going through racial identity negotiation as a racially hybrid child. In fact, none of the participants except for Inja mentioned moments of their children's own racial identity negotiation. It is probably because Inja's son came to Canada as an immigrant youth while most participants' children were born in Canada. Through Inja's life history interviews, it is evident that her son felt different from other Canadian teenagers and questioned his racial identity more as a racialized minority, who was also trying to fit in with his peers, as literature on immigrant youth indicates (Hébert, Wilkinson, & Ali, 2008).

His othered feelings are also manifested through such words that he expressed about his racial identity like "ambiguous", "middle", and "not a White or Asian", similar to Turner's (1969) notion of "liminal space", "betwixt and between" and "neither here nor there", which represents

⁴⁹ Inja's son lived in Korea for 11 years since his birth, so he was used to Korean people more than Caucasian Canadian people.

a period of ambiguity, or marginal and transition (p. 95). Turner further argues that people who stay in the liminal space (e.g., threshold people) “are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space” (p. 95). Reflecting on Turner’s (1969) notion of “liminal space”, Inja’s son seemed to exist in a liminal space (Turner, 1969) because he identified himself as “neither Asian nor Caucasian”, and also expressed racial ambiguity and marginality through transition of his location and status as an immigrant youth.

However, it seems that a more racially diverse population at his school helped him to negotiate his racial identity as part Asian and part Caucasian as time went by. His experience of negotiating a racial identity also resonates with Young (2009)’s autoethnography as a Korean-American hybrid researcher, self-identified as White unconsciously forgetting about her Asianness when she lived in a dominant White community in Midwest, United States. Similarly, Twine (1996) also discusses that African-descent girls construct their White identity when they live in suburban communities, and they reconstruct their Black or biracial identity after they move to different residential, cultural, and ideological communities.

Likewise, location is a significant factor of hybrid identity construction and negotiation because it is a field in Bourdieu’s term (1977) and it develops individuals’ habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). For hybrid individuals, it is also a critical milieu where they can construct racial identity. Racial identity is situated, relational, and relative by being compared with dominant racial groups of people in the location (Twine, 1996; Young, 2009). Furthermore, it is the impact of a location’s political power on hybrid individuals’ racial identity construction (Luke, 2003; Twine, 1996; Young, 2009). Hybrid individuals can be racially discriminated against only because they are situated as a minority in the location. Luke (2003) argues that “racism is always

geographically and culturally situated and always in relation to dominant cultural stereotypes and historically dominant hegemonic narratives of the other” (p. 381).

Through these findings and discussions, it is worth noting that racial identity among hybrid individuals can be relational and changeable depending on locations of where they live and stay as previous literature has indicated (Bailey, 2000; Luke, 2003; Twine, 1996; Young, 2009). It is also important to discuss how racial diversity in society helps racially hybrid children construct and negotiate their racial identities since they do not notice their racial differences prominently, and they do not receive as much attention from the public. On one hand, as an insider, I agree with the participants’ positive thoughts on raising hybrid children in racially diverse society (Twine, 1996; Young, 2009). On the other hand, despite racial diversity, the children may lose opportunities to construct positive hybrid identities if they only live in one location, especially without learning and maintaining the other location’s language and culture (Luke, 2003). Therefore, it is critical to introduce both habitus to hybrid children by staying in both locations (e.g., field).

Hybrid children’s hybrid identity. Seyoung, Subin, Hyerim, Inja, and I wanted our children to construct Canadian and Korean hybrid identities. And yet, only Seyoung, Subin, and Inja seemed to try and help their children construct their hybrid identities in real life. Inja decided to move to Canada after living in Korea for almost 45 years in order to help her Koreanized son have a balanced identity as part Korean and part Canadian. Subin tried to visit Korea every two year and wanted to send her children to Korea to learn Korean language and culture in the future. Seyoung also put her Korean last name in her daughter’s name to mark her daughter’s Koreanness. She has also attempted to teach her daughter Korean language and culture because she believed it was necessary. Furthermore, Hyerim thought hybrid individuals should accept

their hybridity and live with it positively. She argued that other people's views on hybrid people should be changed, so that they are not isolated from both societies.

The reason why we decided to move to Canada?... many reasons were combined... I wanted to have new experiences in a new place and I didn't want my son to be too Korean-ized. He speaks English only at home with his dad but everything about him is Korean... speaking, acting, thinking... he is so Korean. I mean, he is part Korean and part Canadian but I thought that he has grown up as only Korean. I wanted to seek balance... (Inja, August 9th, 2013, p. 7)

Inja and Subin seemed to believe location was one of the most influential factors in hybrid identity construction (Luke, 2003; Twine, 1996; Young, 2009). Inja moved to Canada to help her Korean-ized son to develop his hybrid identity, and Subin planned to send her Canadian-ized children to Korea to construct their hybrid identities. Seyoung seemed to think language and culture played significant roles in helping hybrid individuals to construct their hybrid identities (Bailey, 2000; Khanna, 2004; Moreman, 2009; Nagel, 1994; Young, 2009) as she tried hard to pass down Korean language and culture to her daughter. Furthermore, Hyerim seemed to emphasize that social perception plays an important role in hybrid identity construction and negotiation (Jackman et al., 2001; Sanchez & Boman, 2009) because she mentioned that with changes in people's view, hybrid people can belong to both societies.

Most of all, I believe that a Korean mother's role is the most important to help their children construct hybrid identities because of their knowledge and experiences with Korean language and culture. Inja argued that it was important for Korean mothers to remind the children about the benefits of living with two languages and cultures. Seyoung also implicitly

emphasized a Korean mother's responsibility to pass down Korean language and culture to her children in order to help them construct hybrid identities.

If I don't teach [Korean language and culture], nobody can do it for my daughter. I may make a big deal of it but I am also willing to move back to Korea and live there again... For about one year when she grows up. When she becomes an elementary or middle school student, I want to move there and show her many places and let her try to experience many things she can't do here. I want her to know about where I was born and raised. Whether she likes it or not, she is part Korean and part Canadian. She can't change it. (Seyoung, February 6th, 2013, p. 12)

As Subin, Eunsung, Mijin, and Ran confessed, it was challenging to raise their children as part Korean in Canada because Korean language and culture were a minority, thus it was difficult to help them construct a part-Korean identity without any effort. Connecting to Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) theory of field and habitus, the participants describe having difficulty mothering their racially, culturally, and linguistically hybrid children as part Korean and part Canadian in Canada because they reside in the field (Bourdieu, 1977) which does not support the Korean way of thinking, speaking, and behaving. Consequently, the participants and their children have difficulties and challenges obtaining Korean habitus in Canada. Finally, it hinders the children from constructing positive hybrid identities as part Korean and part Canadian.

However, Anderson's (1983) notion of imagined communities can make up for the influence of field and habitus on the children's hybrid identity as it can contribute to constructing positive hybrid identities just as it helps Seyoung and Inja maintain their Korean identity in Canada (see the Becoming section). Despite not immediately tangible or accessible (Kanno & Norton, 2003), participants can attempt to instill pride in their children about being part Korean

by bringing a sense of community and belonging, passing down Korean language and culture, and helping them construct hybrid identities as part Korean and part Canadian.

In this chapter, through the participants' Becoming, Othering, and Mothering experiences, I discussed emergent themes related to their linguistic and cultural integration, and marginalization and its impact on their identities and mothering. I also discussed how this particular group of women dealt with their children's dual languages, cultures, and hybrid identities. In the next chapter, I conclude this research with a summary and implications based on the discussion.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

I started this research journey with many questions about Korean immigrant women's experiences in their intercultural families in Canadian society. Through this journey, I have gained new knowledge and have more questions, which I believe will improve my knowledge in the future. Furthermore, I was able to find answers to my research questions, to come up with implications for intercultural couples, immigrant mothers, and society, and to realize what could have made this research more rigorous. Therefore, I close this research journey by summarizing what I have found, providing recommendations, and noting what limitations they have.

Summary

To summarize my findings and discussions (see Ch. 5, 6, & 7), I revisit my four research questions: (1) How do the Korean immigrant women who have White dominant culture English speaking Canadian-born spouses describe their linguistic and cultural integration into their intercultural families and Canadian society? (2) How do they negotiate and reconstruct their identities? (3) How do they describe their strengths and challenges as foreign wives and immigrant mothers in intercultural families and as immigrants in Canadian society? and (4) How do they deal with their children's dual languages, cultures and identities?

I attempted to fill a gap in the literature on intercultural families by investigating linguistic and cultural minority members' points of view, as well as my own through an insider perspective. Many studies on intercultural families have been conducted for clinical and counselling reasons through surveys and/or short (semi-)structured interviews, only addressing linguistic and cultural conflicts and providing negative images of intercultural families (Cottrell, 1990; Hong, 1982; Hsu, 1977; Sullivan & Cottone, 2006). However, this research tries to explore linguistic and cultural power relations in the family and society and the consequent impact on

minority members' (particularly Korean immigrant women) integration, challenges and childrearing in intercultural families and the host society. Particularly, through the life history method, more detailed findings with thick descriptions of each participant's experiences and voice can fill those gaps in the literature. With "invitational texts" (Kouritzin, 1997, p. 40), this research can also attract more readers both in academic and non-academic contexts and accordingly, the minority members' voices are more widely heard.

To answer the first research question and discuss the findings, I adopted (second) language socialization theory (Duff, 2007; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1984), habitus theory (Bourdieu, 1977), and acculturation strategy theory (Berry, 1997, 2005). All of the participants in this study have tried their best to linguistically and culturally integrate into their intercultural families and Canadian society (Bourdieu, 1977; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1986). As a result, their English speaking abilities have improved and their cultures changed. One of the confirming aspects of language socialization and habitus theory in this research is that all of the participants credited their linguistic and cultural integration to the Canadian society in which they physically lived, instead of their WDCESCBM, despite their everyday interactions with them. They also believed in the impact of English on their acculturation, as the second language socialization theory suggests (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Leung, 2001).

The length of residence in Canada also influenced the participants' linguistic and cultural integration as they had more opportunities to become socialized through English and by spending time with people from the dominant culture (Carliner, 2000; Hou & Beiser, 2006; Mesch, 2003; Norton, 1995). Consequently, it appeared that they experienced a change in habitus with the result that their new situations seemed to help reduce power relations in their families and Canadian society (Norton, 1995). Particularly, a longer period of residence and

marriage helped the couples experience bi-directionality of language socialization (Duff, 2007; Leung, 2001; Song, 2007). They frequently code-mixed and code-switched, and they discussed how, over time, their family cultures became a complex mixture with Korean and Canadian cultural elements, much like creating a Third Space (Bhabha, 1990, 1994) and adopting Berry's (1997, 2005) integration strategy. However, bi-directionality of language socialization does not appear to be consonant with the participants' linguistic and cultural integration in Canadian society because they gave no evidence of bi-directionality in language socialization. Rather, the participants were linguistically and culturally assimilated, separated, or marginalized in society (Berry, 1997, 2005).

In spite of their linguistic and cultural integration, the participants still faced many challenges and difficulties integrating into Canadian society. More importantly, their language socialization and acculturation did not contribute to gaining social competence in Canada (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 2011) because most participants became passive and voiceless due to a lack of linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1992). Although they did not mention explicit power relations during the interviews, I argue that power relations between the participants and their husbands fundamentally resulted in challenges just like power relations occurring between novices (e.g., immigrant, second language learner) and experts (e.g., host society, native speakers) during the process of second language socialization. As Lam (2004) indicates, second language socialization is a site of struggle over power relations; participants were struggling over linguistic and cultural power relations in their families and society.

Their status as racialized minorities also seemed to reinforce power relations in their families and Canadian society, thereby hindering their integration. Although the participants did

not overtly discuss the impact of race and racism on their linguistic and cultural integration, it is evident, through their comments on social identity negotiation, that their racial differences made them think that they could not be accepted as “full-fledged members” (Leung, 2001, p. 9), despite their extended effort, and linguistic and cultural integration. Therefore, racial difference and racism is another challenge to fully integrating into Canadian society.

According to Berry’s (1997, 2005) acculturation theory and the participants’ linguistic and cultural integration, Berry’s four strategies can coexist in the process of one’s acculturation. Therefore, it was difficult for me to describe the participants’ linguistic and cultural integration with only one acculturation strategy. In their intercultural families, most participants used an integration strategy since they created their own Third Space in their families. However, in society, they adopted or were forced to adopt more of an assimilation or separation strategy. Some participants tried hard to assimilate into Canadian society by speaking only English, trying to avoid meeting Korean people, and raising their children in a Canadian way. Other participants emphasized only Korean language and culture by networking with only Korean people and not trying to integrate with linguistically and culturally dominant groups of Canadians. Furthermore, all of them seem to go through the marginalization strategy because of linguistic, cultural, and racial power relations in both their families and society, whether it was explicit or implicit. Therefore, Berry’s (1997, 2005) acculturation theory fails to explain the complexity of the participants’ linguistic and cultural integration in intercultural families and Canadian society. I believe that this research can fill the gap on this theory with regard to acculturation of immigrant members in intercultural couples and the impact of linguistic and cultural power relations on their acculturation.

Second, I attempted to find out how the participants negotiated and reconstructed their identities through linguistic and cultural integration by adopting interconnectedness of language, culture, and identity suggested in the language socialization theory and other literature (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Gee, 1996; Jabri, 2004; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Leung, 2001; Miller, 2000; Norton, 1995, 1997). At the beginning of the research, based on the aforementioned theory and literature, I had an assumption that the participants' cultures and identities have been influenced by their second language (e.g., English) because they always interacted with their family members and others in society in English. However, the finding was contradictory with my assumption, as well as some aspects of the language socialization theory while it was also confirming in other aspects.

The contradictory aspect is that linguistic and cultural integration did not affect the participants' national and ethnic identities while they acknowledged that they have been acculturated partly because of their linguistic integration. In fact, most participants identified themselves as Korean. More interestingly, they did not think their national and ethnic identities would be changed in the future no matter how long they live in Canada. It was as if they had built their imagined Korean communities in Canada (Anderson, 1983). On the other hand, a few participants who have lived in Canada for a relatively long period of time and obtained Canadian citizenship mentioned that they told others they were Canadian or Korean-Canadian. Nevertheless, they mentioned that other people in Canada would not consider them as Canadian because of their non-native like English accents. Therefore, the longer period of residence in Canada may result in linguistic and cultural integration, thereby reducing power imbalances; however, it does not seem to change the participants' social identities as full-fledged Canadians.

The confirming aspect is that language does have an impact on one's social identity (Buettner, 2009; McNamara, 1997; Norton, 1995). As the participants indicated, the reason that they could not be a full-fledged Canadian was because of their non-native like English accents. This means that they could not be considered Canadian because of others' perceptions of the linguistic conditions of "full-fledged" Canadians. Some people may justify the reason with Bourdieu's (1977) theory of habitus by arguing that the participants' English accents do not accord with Canadian habitus. However, it is important to acknowledge that habitus constitutes and legitimizes power relations and social inequality (Lawler, 2004).

Furthermore, the linguistic hindrance to belong to the Canadian society manifests language as "symbolic power" (Bourdieu, 1992) in Canadian society. All of the participants discussed their passive and voiceless experiences due to a lack of linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) particularly at the beginning of their Canadian lives. This suggests the more linguistically the participants assimilate into Canadian society, the more they belong to Canadian society, and the more they become a Canadian (Norton, 1995). However, I wonder whether the participants can be fully Canadian unless the symbolic power dissipates.

Third, I found the participants' challenges more than their strengths as foreign wives and immigrant mothers in intercultural families and as immigrants in Canadian society. Only few participants mentioned that their strengths are to be bilingual and have opportunities to learn different cultures and interact with them in their intercultural families and Canada. They also thought that their abilities to introduce two languages and cultures to their children are their positive sides as immigrant mothers.

I noted that linguistic, cultural, and racial power relations caused by the different habitus are the source of the participants' challenges, as foreign wives and immigrant mothers in

intercultural families and as immigrants in Canadian society (Bourdieu, 1977; Lawler, 2004). When participants' difficulties and challenges are interpreted through Berry's (1997, 2005) marginalization strategies and Bourdieu's (1986) cultural capital, all of the participants seemed to go through the marginalization strategy in both their families and society. Whether it was explicit or implicit, they all expressed their linguistically, culturally, and racially othered experiences during the interviews (see the Othering section in Ch.7)

One of their challenges as wives in intercultural families was language choice. Language choice shows a type of implicit marginalization in a sense that couples tend to choose a language that has more power in the society to which they belong (Berry, 1997, 2005; Bourdieu, 1977, 1992). In this study, it appeared that English had more power than Korean, as most WDCESCBM who lived in Korea for a long time cannot speak Korean fluently, which is contradictory with the language socialization theory (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1984). Therefore, Korean women are seen as linguistically marginalized. More importantly, since language is intricately interwoven with culture (Brown, 2000; Fishman, 1977; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Kouritzin, 1997), it is safe to assume that their personal version of Korean culture is also marginalized.

Linguistic power relations in the family also results in participants' challenges as foreign or immigrant mothers because it is more challenging for them to pass down Korean language to their children when English is the family language (Kravin 1992; Romaine, 1995). Thus, participants can implicitly experience linguistic marginalization because raising their children in English will bring more linguistic and cultural power to their families. Therefore, raising children as balanced bilingual and bicultural can happen only when linguistic and cultural power

between two existing languages and cultures is distributed equally in intercultural families and society.

The other challenge as immigrant mothers is a lack of their cultural capital in Canada (Bourdieu, 1986), which is also implicit marginalization. Many participants mentioned feeling isolated from their families because they did not have cultural knowledge about Canadian sports, pop stars, or television programs. They also expressed helpless and incapable feelings about not knowing everything that their children learned from Canadian schools and societies. Moreover, some participants were concerned about being ignored by their children because Korean culture and traditions are not valued in Canada (Wong Fillmore, 1991).

Participants also faced explicit marginalization through a residue of racial discriminatory social systems (e.g., anti-miscegenation laws, one drop rule) and/or other people's discriminatory comments and attitudes toward their children's racial hybridity (Rockquemore, Brunsmas, & Delgado, 2009). Some received negative glances towards them and their children in Korea because of people's negative views on interracial marriages and hybrid children. Some participants were mistaken for their children's nannies in Canada because they looked different from their children. Such racialized mothering experiences hindered the participants from integrating into Canadian society and exacerbated power imbalances, regardless of their efforts to the contrary.

Their challenges as immigrants are also results of linguistic, cultural, and racial discrimination and marginalization in Canadian families and society. The challenges manifest both implicit and explicit marginalization (see Ch. 5-7). One of the challenges as immigrants is their social identity shift. All of the participants admitted their social identities had decreased because of linguistically othering (Buettner, 2009; McNamara, 1997; Norton, 1995). They

became passive, voiceless and dependent on their WDCESCBM because they did not speak English, or know the social system as well as their husbands did. The other challenge was the experiences of overt discrimination against their language, culture, and race which was a result of power relations caused by different habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; Lawler, 2004).

Finally, I attempted to find out how the participants dealt with their children's dual languages and cultures and hybrid identities. Many participants believed in benefits of dual languages and cultures and hybrid identities in their children's lives. However, most participants expressed challenges to raising their children bilingual and bicultural in Canada because their children were socialized largely in English (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Scheieffin & Ochs, 1986a). Most participants mentioned that their children refused to speak and/or even listen to Korean language once they started going to school (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Although a few participants kept trying to speak Korean to their children, they said their children did not seem to develop or maintain Korean because their home language was mostly English. Consequently, only few participants were in the process of actively passing down Korean language and culture to their children and many participants seemed to stay dormant because of these challenges.

These findings resonate with the existing literature on heritage language maintenance (Babae, 2014; Chen, 2010; Cummins, 1997; Kouritzin, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991) as discussed in the previous chapter. However, it is important to note that the participants' experiences of passing down Korean language to their children are different from experiences of minority parents in monolingual Korean families and those reported in some other ethnic groups. The participants in my study appeared to confront more and greater challenges to having the Korean language as a home language because their WDCESCBM could not speak (and did not wish to learn) the Korean language. They also experienced more challenges in finding larger

Korean communities that they could participate in with their children, perhaps because the Korean group is still a small minority ethnic group in Canada, despite the increasing Korean population. Therefore, the participants seemed to struggle more and/or fail to pass down Korean language to their hybrid children.

Their children's languages, cultures and identities resonate with the interconnectedness of language, culture, and identity (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Gee, 1996; Jabri, 2004; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Leung, 2001; Miller, 2000; Norton, 1995, 1997). The children who spoke and understood Korean language observed Korean culture, and seemed to negotiate their identities as part Korean and part Canadian. Many participants also strongly believed in the impact of Korean language on their children's Korean culture preservation and hybrid identity construction. Therefore, the main reason that some participants tried hard to pass down the Korean language to their children was to instill Korean culture and help them construct hybrid identities.

To develop their children's hybridity in language, culture, and identity, a few participants utilized the language socialization theory for Korean language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a) and the theory of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) by providing their children opportunities to live and socialize in both societies. As the influence of habitus and language socialization was discussed earlier in many sections, living in both locations was the most effective way to pass down Korean language and culture, and help their children to negotiate and construct their hybrid identities (Luke, 2003; Twine, 1996; Young, 2009).

Notwithstanding, I argue the most important factor of developing hybridity in hybrid children is the intercultural couples' awareness of power relations, and their ideologies and attitudes toward minority languages and cultures in the family, because it opens the door to

utilize the interconnectedness of language, culture, and identity (Duff, 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Gee, 1996; Jabri, 2004; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Leung, 2001; Miller, 2000; Norton, 1995, 1997), helps to understand the ambivalence the language socialization theory (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a), and the theory of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). Furthermore, it will help the children build their imagined hybrid communities as part Korean and part Canadian (Anderson, 1983). Lastly, these findings will fill the gap in literature related to factors of developing hybridity and constructing hybrid identity in hybrid children of intercultural couples.

Implications

This research explored eight Korean immigrant women's Becoming, Othering, and Mothering experiences as foreign wives, mothers of hybrid children, and immigrant women in Canada. Broadly, this research sheds light on concerns and issues associated with globalization such as intercultural marriages, hybridity, immigration, and multiculturalism as they relate to inter/multicultural families and their hybrid children's languages, cultures, and identities.

Findings of this research indicate the impact of power relations on intercultural couples' potential discord, and suggest the significance of equalizing linguistic and cultural power relations in intercultural families. Throughout the research, linguistic and cultural power relations were constantly emerging and discussed. Although the participants did not mention power issues explicitly, their linguistic and cultural challenges of assimilating into Canadian families and mothering their children as part Korean and part Canadian manifest existing linguistic and cultural power issues in their families. It was unfortunate that they did not realize the impact of such power relations. Rather, they seemed to take the dominance of English and their WDCESCBM's cultures for granted in their families. Consequently, it seemed to bring

discord to the couples, whether it was implicit or explicit. Therefore, this research identifies the significance of equalizing two existing languages and cultures in intercultural families.

This research also highlights the importance of developing hybrid children's hybridity in their languages, cultures, and identities. Because of the linguistic and cultural power relations, the participants had challenges passing down Korean language and culture to their children in Canada. Accordingly, many children did not develop their hybridity as part Korean and part Canadian, which resulted in the participants' guilt and regret, and disconnection between their children and families in Korea. Moreover, it caused more linguistic and cultural inequality in their families.

Furthermore, this research brings attention to the circumstances of linguistically, culturally, and racially marginalized minority people in Canada. Immigrants of minority groups tend to be marginalized from the dominant language and culture in Canadian society (Ngo, 2009). As a result, they end up losing their languages and cultures (Kouritzin, 1999; Kouritzin, 2006), and/or have difficulty passing down their languages and cultures to their children in order to assimilate into the mainstream society just as this research suggests. Both dominant-culture Canadians and minority people can obtain awareness of how linguistic, cultural, and racial hegemony marginalizes linguistically, culturally, and racially minority people in Canada. It further provides dominant-culture Canadians with a better understanding of other ethnic groups' attempts to maintain their first languages and native cultures throughout generations in Canada.

Based on the participants' life histories and discussion, I suggest a few recommendations for intercultural couples, immigrant mothers, mainstream society, and future research. My hope, in regards to intercultural couples and mainstream society, is to provide them with insights into how to resolve tensions between two languages and cultures and how to improve our society to

become more aware of diversity, and bring linguistic and cultural equality through research. For researchers, I hope to suggest a future direction for intercultural and cross-cultural research in the field of applied linguistics and second language acquisition,

For intercultural couples. The most important implication for intercultural couples is the attempt to equalize and balance linguistic and cultural power relations between the two languages and cultures in their families by speaking both languages and practicing both cultures, regardless of location of residency. Through this research, I found that Korean women have challenges because of linguistic and cultural power relations in their Canadian lives. Most WDCESCBM do not understand or speak Korean. As a result, these Korean women feel limited to share Korean culture with their husbands and it sometimes brings isolation and loneliness. Furthermore, it not only affects the Korean women, but it also influences their children's languages, cultures and identities. As Seyoung mentioned in her life history, "if one person always gives up her or his culture, he or she wouldn't be able to live. It will be too hard [for the relationship] if only one side is pressured to learn the other side" (February 6th, 2013, p. 14). Therefore, it is significant to balance the linguistic and cultural power relations in mothering their children as well as maintaining a happy and healthy intercultural relationship.

For minority parents in intercultural families. It is significant to bring awareness to confront and try to reduce and/or discard linguistic and cultural power relations caused by habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) and linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1992), which empower dominant language and culture and marginalize minority language and culture. It is also important to change their ideologies and attitudes toward English and their mother tongues. Many minority parents in intercultural families tend to think of themselves as incapable, imperfect, and inferior parents because they do not speak the dominant language and they are not

familiar with the dominant culture. There are challenges to mothering their children in a different language and culture in a foreign country. However, it is important to think of Korean and English as languages with equal status and think of themselves as “proud parents” who speak both languages and/or try to learn a different language and culture every day in a different country. Such ideologies and attitudes will influence their children’s heritage language and culture maintenance in that their children can gain more positive views on heritage languages and cultures in their families. As a result, it will become more desirable to learn and maintain the heritage language and practice heritage culture and, furthermore, they can construct their hybrid identities.

For Korean community. The Korean community can contribute to Korean immigrant women’s linguistic and cultural integration into Canadian society and their children’s Korean language maintenance. It is important for Korean communities in Canada to help Korean immigrant women linguistically and culturally integrate into Canadian society through various educational programs and seminars. Although the traditional gender role has been changed in modern Korean society, mothers taking care of children is still the cultural norm. Hence, Korean immigrant mothers’ linguistic and cultural integration can be delayed. Due to their limited English and passive attitudes, they also have difficulty participating in programs and seminars provided by the Canadian government. Therefore, I believe immigrant mothers will have more benefit and success in integrating into Canadian society, by participating in programs in their Korean communities at the beginning of immigrant lives. It is also important for Korean communities to promote Korean language and culture in Canadian society, and to organize many activities such as ethnic festivals and cultural seminars. By doing so, Korean language and

culture will be more valued and Korean immigrant children will be exposed to Korean language and culture. Consequently, they will construct more positive Korean ethnic identities.

For Korean heritage language school. In order to promote Korean language and culture and help Korean immigrant children maintain Korean language in Canadian society, Korean heritage schools should acquire some sort of professional designation, and provide more frequent classes. At present, schools are run by the Korean association, utilizing volunteer teachers with classes offered Saturday mornings. I observe that schools always confront difficulty in finding teachers and that teachers and their administrators frequently change. Furthermore, it is not sufficient for students to learn and practice Korean language only once a week. Therefore, it is important for Korean heritage schools to gain legitimacy by hiring professional full-time teachers and providing weekday classes.

For mainstream society. By looking into the issue of language and power and its impact on culture and identity through Korean-Canadian intercultural couples and families, this research implicitly provides insights into how a multilingual and multicultural society, like Canada, could establish an equal and harmonized society, despite the many diverse ethnic groups. In order to make Canadian society more harmonized, dominant-culture Canadians should have a better understanding of diverse ethnic groups' efforts to maintain their heritage languages and cultures. As this research explains, heritage language and culture are connected to homeland and family. If immigrants lose their languages and cultures, they lose themselves. Furthermore, dominant-culture Canadians should acknowledge how challenging and difficult it is to live in a foreign country. More importantly, it is important to understand that immigrants can be marginalized and discriminated against because of linguistic, cultural, and racial differences in the process of adjusting to their new lives in Canada.

For education. Education plays an influential role in improving our society. Through this research, I noted that there should be more meaningful education in various contexts such as immigrant education, public education, and faculties of education. First, many language and settlement programs are offered for newcomers; however, there are few, if any, programs specifically for immigrant mothers who have lived here for some time but were unable to take advantage of the programs while their children were young. Such women are embarrassed that they have lived in Canada for a long time, but still do not speak English fluently. Programs should be developed for all specific minority members in immigrant households—not merely mothers, but also the elderly, for example.

Second, public education (e.g., K-12 education) should incorporate minority languages such as Korean, Japanese, Tagalog, Mandarin, Arabic and so on in the additional language education curriculum, that is, specific opportunities to discuss linguistic, cultural, and racial power relations and how they are enacted in society.

Third, faculties of education should strive to train pre-service teachers who are open-minded and respectful toward linguistic, cultural, and racial diversity by offering teaching English as an additional language, diversity education, and multicultural education as mandatory courses. With such training, teachers may become more aware of linguistic, cultural, and racial power relations in our society and become respectful toward the many diversities that their students bring into the classrooms. They will also be better able to deal with conflicts caused by power relations in their classrooms.

For further research. A suggestion and hope for further research is to scrutinize linguistic and cultural power relations in intercultural families, seeking to understand their impact on immigrant and hybrid children's identity development. While reviewing previous

research, I was not able to find sufficient literature regarding the impact of linguistic and cultural power relations on hybrid children's linguistic and cultural hybridity, or their hybrid identities. Most research on intercultural couples and families were conducted in the counselling and social work field, with more focus on the surface of couples' dissonances and conflicts than on the linguistic and cultural power at work. In particular, it is recommended that researchers scrutinize existing racism toward racialized minority groups and hybrid individuals in Canadian society. My research has revealed evidence suggesting that racism still exists in Canadian society; however, it does not go further to provide insight into how racism can be reduced and/or eliminated in Canadian society. Therefore, further research on racism toward racially hybrid children as well as racialized minority groups is needed.

The other recommendation is to explore issues of language, culture, and identity in intercultural families through linguistically and culturally dominant partners' and hybrid children's perspectives. In this research, all of the life histories were told only by the linguistically, culturally, and racially minority members of the intercultural couples because the focus was to explore how the minority members of the couples deal with their linguistic and cultural integration and mothering hybrid children in a foreign country. The other reason is to highlight Korean women's perspectives on mothering hybrid children in Canada because mothering culture in Korea is different from that of Canada. Research will enhance conformability and neutrality if the dominant partners' and children's perspectives are included in the research. To have multiple perspectives will also help readers to understand the situations and conflicts in intercultural families better by looking at all sides.

Finally, studying intercultural families' aspects of language, culture, and identity and childrearing without limiting ethnicity or nationality is also one of the recommendations for

further research. In this particular research, I explored only Korean-Canadian intercultural families because it is an underdeveloped research area, and because I wanted to use my insider status to gain richer data and write a thick description on each participant's life history. However, unrestricted nationality and ethnicity of the intercultural couples for participants will lead to better findings.

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Appendix A: Interview Frames

These questions are interview frames rather than interview protocol as I did not ask these questions to my participants directly and in that order. However, I had them in mind so that I could check if my participants talked about the issues throughout the interviews. The first interview question was based on the section 1 as I asked them their life histories in general and related to their intercultural relationships and immigration.

Section 1: Background about their intercultural relationships and immigration

1. Tell me the story of how you came to be in an intercultural marriage.
2. Tell me about your difficulties and challenges of being in an intercultural relationship.
3. Tell me the story of how you came to be living in Canada.
4. Tell me about your difficulties and challenges of settling in Canada.

Section 2: Language Choice

1. Tell me the story of how you learned English.
2. Could you please give me examples of difficulties and challenges of learning English?
3. Could you please explain how your relationship with your Canadian husband has affected your English?
4. Tell me about your partner's Korean language.
5. (to a participant whose husband can't speak Korean) Can you explain why you wish your husband could speak Korean?
6. Tell me about language choices in your intercultural relationship.
7. Could you please give me examples of mixing and/or switching both Korean and English and/or creating a new language much like a 'private language' for yourselves?
8. Could you please explain what the role of your first language is in your intercultural family and Canada?
9. Could you please explain how your first language has influenced your husband's Korean or language in general?
10. Could you please give me an example of difficulties and challenges of living in Canada because of your language?
11. Could you please give me an example of any disadvantages you have experienced because you are not a native English speaker?

Section 3: Acculturation

1. Tell me about conflicts you encounter in your intercultural relationship because of your different culture.
2. Could you please explain how you deal with conflicts with your husband, your husband's family, and Canadians because of your different culture?
3. Could you please explain how your partner's culture has affected you and your relationship?
4. Could you please explain how your culture has affected your partner's culture?
5. Could you please give me examples of benefits of living with two cultures?
6. Tell me the story of how you and your husband adopted both cultures in your relationship.
7. Could you please give me examples of difficulties and challenges of living with two cultures?
8. Tell me the story of how you have assimilated into Canadian culture.
9. Could you please give me specific examples of acculturation you have experienced?
10. Could you please give me examples of disadvantages you have experienced because of your Korean culture in Canadian society?

Section 4: Identity

1. Tell me about how you defined yourself before you met your husband and you immigrated to Canada.
2. Tell me about how you would define yourself now.
3. Tell me about how you will define yourself in the future.
4. Could you please explain how you feel about yourself when you speak English?
5. Could you please explain how you feel about yourself when you speak Korean?
6. Tell me the story of how your relationship influenced your sense of identity.
7. Could you please give me an example of the biggest change in terms of your identity since you met your partner or you immigrated to Canada?

Section 5: Their children's languages, cultures, and hybrid identities

1. Tell me about your child(ren).
2. Could you please tell me how it is being a mother of racially and culturally hybrid child(ren)?
3. Could you please give me examples of difficulties and challenges of being a mother of racially and culturally hybrid child(ren) in general and in Canadian society?
4. Tell me about your child(ren)'s language and culture.

5. Tell me the story of how you have tried to expose your child(ren) to Korean language and culture and teach them Korean language and culture.
6. Could you please explain when you think your child(ren) is (are) more Korean or Canadian? Could you give me specific examples?
7. Could you please explain how your children's hybridity has affected their languages, cultures, identities, and worldviews?
8. Could you please give me examples of disadvantages your child(ren) has (have) experienced in educational settings and/or society because of their hybridity?

Appendix B: Recruitment Poster

Are you a Korean immigrant woman who has a Canadian spouse and at least one child?

캐네디언 배우자를 따라 캐나다로 이민오시고 자녀분이 있으신 한국 여자분이십니까?

Are you interested in discussing issues regarding language choice and culture in Korean-Canadian intercultural families and raising biracial and bicultural children based on your personal experiences? If so, you might be interested in this research project.

캐네디언 배우자를 두신 한국 여성분으로서 가정에서 두 언어와 두 문화를 어떻게 다루시는지 그리고 자녀들의 언어, 문화, 정체성은 어떻게 교육시키고 다루시는 지에 대해서 나누기를 원하십니까? 그러시다면, 이 리서치 프로젝트에 관심이 있을 수도 있을 것입니다.

I am Eunhee Kim-Buettner, a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. I am currently looking for Korean immigrant women who have Canadian spouses and at least one child for my dissertation research. More specifically, I attempt to explore how Korean immigrant women who have Canadian husbands assimilate into their intercultural families and Canadian society and how they deal with their children's dual languages, cultures, and identities in Canada.

저는 매니토바 대학교 교육 대학원 박사 과정에 있는 김은희라고 합니다. 요즘에 캐네디언 배우자를 따라 캐나다로 이민오신 한국 여성분들이 그 분들의 다문화 가정과 캐네디언 사회에 어떻게 동화되시며 또 그 분들의 자녀들의 두 언어, 문화, 정체성을 어떻게 다루시는지를 연구하기 위해서 캐네디언 남편과 아이들을 두신 한국 여성분들을 찾고 있습니다.

As a Korean immigrant woman who has a Canadian spouse and has a biracial and bicultural child, I am interested in listening to other Korean women's experiences of being foreign wives, mothers of racially and culturally mixed child(ren), and immigrants.

저또한 캐나다 남편을 따라 캐나다로 이민 온 한국여자로서 캐나다 배우자를 두신 한국 여성분들께 외국 부인으로서 다문화 자녀의 어머니로서 그리고 캐나다에서 이민자로서 그분들의 경험과 의견을 듣기 원합니다.

Each person will have at least three interviews in either English or Korean according to their preference and each interview will take approximately three hours. The interview will be conducted from February, 2013 to June, 2013. Your identity and privacy will be protected since participants will be anonymous.

한명씩 따로 세 시간 정도의 인터뷰가 적어도 세번 있을 것이고 언어는 본인들의 선택에 따라 영어나 한국어를 선택하실 수 있습니다. 인터뷰 기간은 2013년 2월 시작하여 6월에 끝낼 예정입니다. 그리고 장소와 시간은 본인들이 원하시는 때와 원하시는 장소에서 이루어 질 것입니다. 인터뷰는 신원과 사생활 보호를 위해서 익명으로 이루어 질 것입니다.

If you want further information about this study and are interested in participating in this project, please contact Eunhee at (xxx) xxx-xxxx or xxxxxxxxxxxx@xxxxx.com

만약 더 많은 정보를 원하시든지 이 연구에 참여하시는 데 관심이 있으시면 저에게(김은희) 전화나 이메일로 연락주세요.

Thank you very much! I am looking forward to hearing from you!

감사합니다. 연락 받기를 학수고대하겠습니다.

Appendix C: Letter of Informed Consent



Research Project Title: Becoming, Othering, and Mothering: Korean immigrant women's life stories in their intercultural families and Canadian society

Researcher: Eunhee Buettner, a PhD Candidate in the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba

My name is Eunhee Buettner and I am a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. I am conducting a research study for my doctoral dissertation. This study is entitled *Becoming, Othering, and Mothering: Korean immigrant women's life stories in their intercultural relationships*. I am requesting your voluntary participation in this study, which I hope will lead to a better understanding of the experiences of Korean immigrant women as foreign wives, mothers of biracial and bicultural child(ren), and immigrants in Canada and provide insights into how dominant-culture Canadians could negotiate cross-cultural misunderstandings with immigrants at work, school, and in society.

The world is getting smaller and the borders between countries are becoming indefinite due to globalization. One of the influences of this globalization phenomenon is a change in marriage patterns and family style as there are more international, intercultural, and bilingual couples in the present than in the past. There are more people who live with more than two languages and two cultures in one family due to these international and intercultural marriages. The purpose of this research is to explore how Korean immigrant women who have Canadian spouses describe their acculturation and assimilation into their intercultural families and Canadian society regarding their language choices, cultures, and identities and to examine how they deal with their children's dual languages, cultures, and identities. In order to study these issues, the following overarching questions will guide the research: (1) How do the Korean immigrant women who have White dominant culture English speaking Canadian-born spouses describe their linguistic and cultural integration into their intercultural families and Canadian society? (2) How do they negotiate and reconstruct their identities? (3) How do they describe their strengths and challenges as foreign wives and immigrant mothers in intercultural families and as immigrants in Canadian society? and (4) How do they deal with their children's dual languages, cultures and identities?

In order to obtain knowledge from the participants, the open-ended, in-depth, and one-on-one unstructured interviews will be the main source of data due to the nature of life history research (Atkinson, 1998; Cole & Knowles, 2001; Kouritzin, 2000). Interviewing will be more like a conversational style rather than a traditional way. Each participant will have five to six interviews from February, 2013 to June, 2013 and each interview will last approximately two or three hours. During the first interview, we will introduce ourselves by sharing our biography and life history in general. From the second interview, I will focus on gaining knowledge with regard to their language choices and acculturation in their intercultural family and Canada and their children's language and identity issues. However, each participant's interviews may take a different direction depending on their first life history interviews since everybody has a different life history. Thus, I will attempt to go with the flow while interviewing them as the interview style is unstructured. I will contact the participants by emails or telephone to arrange interview appointments with their agreement in date, time and place. The participants will be given the choice of having the interview in English or Korean since the participants may feel more comfortable to speak their first language, Korean. The participants will also be asked to choose their pseudonyms so that their identities and privacy will be protected. All of the interviews will be voice-recorded or audio-taped and some of their accounts will be noted down at the same time. However, I will not put a lot of emphasis on general note-taking as it may distract participants and disturb the flow of interviews. Rather, I will focus more on having eye contact with the participants and carefully listening to their stories.

Afterward, I will transcribe the interviews using their chosen pseudonyms. In case they choose to speak Korean, I will transcribe their interviews and translate the parts which will be used for the dissertation into English. Once I have interview transcripts, they will be provided and shown to participants for member-checking so that the participants can have the opportunity to add, delete, modify, and clarify their answers if necessary (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Sandelowski, 2002). Also, they will be provided the final report of the research with a brief summary of the results in about March, 2014 via email or mail depending on their preference. In addition, the feedback will be sincere and trustworthy.

Anonymity and confidentiality of the participants will be preserved during the whole research process. All of the participants will be asked to select pseudonyms for interviews and no real names will be mentioned in the data, the research paper, and future publications and/or presentations. Therefore, there will be no possibility to be identified as an individual to other people. All research data will be stored in a password-protected computer and the interview tapes and transcripts will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my home. Access to the data will be restricted to me and my advisor, Dr. Sandra Kouritzin. All of the interview tapes will be destroyed and the interview transcripts will be shredded or erased after the completion of my dissertation.

There will not be any deception about the research or its purpose. No information will be deliberately held back or misled about the research or its purpose. Also, there are no risks

involved in this study. Direct benefits to the participants include the opportunity to engage in conversations about intercultural relationships and mothering racially and culturally mixed child(ren). In addition, the study results will possibly be disseminated to academics, students, and those who are interested in this topic through presentations and/or publications to raise issues of Korean immigrant women in their intercultural families and Canadian society and to contribute to knowledge development in the related field. Dissemination plans will be agreed to in general by participants and will not jeopardize their rights to confidentiality.

If you decide to participate in this study, please read through and sign the attached consent form.

If you want to withdraw being a participant throughout the study, you may withdraw without penalty at any time. Your freedom of participation and withdrawal will always be respected. If you have any questions or concerns about this study at any time throughout it, please feel free to contact me at xxx-xxx-xxxx or xxxxxxxxxx@xxxxx.com

Thank you so much for your consideration.

Yours Sincerely,

Eunhee Buettner

xxx xxxxxxxxxx xxx

Winnipeg, MB, xxx xxx

----- **You may include the Following Verbatim:** -----

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.

Researcher: Eunhee Buettner

Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

E-mail: xxxxxxxx@xxxxx.com

Project supervisor: Dr. Sandra Kouritzin

Phone number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

E-mail: xxxxxxxxx@xxxx.ca

This research has been approved by the Education Nursing Research and Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

-----Provide for Signatures as Required-----

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher and/or Delegate's Signature

Date

_____ I would like to receive my interview transcript via e-mail:

Address _____

_____ I would like to receive my interview transcript via mail:

Address _____

_____ I would like to receive a summary of the findings via e-mail: Address

_____ I would like to receive a summary of the findings via mail:

Address _____

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please contact the researcher, Eunhee Buettner at

Eunhee Buettner

xxx xxxxxxxx xxx

Winnipeg, MB, xxx xxx

Phone Number: xxx-xxx-xxxx

E-mail: xxxxxxx@xxxxx.com