ABSTRACT

Studying issues of heritage language (HL) maintenance is gaining more significance than ever as our lives become significantly more complex and dynamic because of frequent migration and the transnational diasporas that such migration creates in its wake. HL maintenance is important in multicultural environments because familial relationships depend heavily on successful communication among family members. Viewing HL maintenance as a social practice, this exploratory qualitative study attempts to understand how participants are involved in their children’s HL maintenance by investigating, comparing, and contrasting the participants’ attitudes and practices.

This study recruited eight Korean immigrant families with different lengths of residence in Greater Vancouver, an area that has seen a steady growth in the numbers of Korean immigrants. Combining social practice theory and qualitative research, this study uses discourse analysis to explore the participants’ language ideologies and beliefs about HL maintenance. This study also explored actual parental involvement in their children’s HL acquisition and maintenance. Furthermore, this study examined participants’ technology use as a means of HL acquisition and maintenance. In particular, the participants’ online conversations were examined to explore language use.

This study supports the view that the parental role is important, even paramount, in children’s HL maintenance, but goes beyond this to show how technology can play a positive role in HL acquisition and maintenance. There are three central findings. First, a match between parental attitudes and behaviours concerning HL acquisition and maintenance and contributes to their children’s HL maintenance. Second, a mismatch or inconsistency between parental attitudes and behaviours correlates with children’s HL
attrition or loss. Third, language revitalization can occur through HL and cultural practices in various online activities such as synchronous and asynchronous online communication, including access to Korean websites and playing games in Korean.

To conclude, examining HL maintenance as a social practice offers new insights into the complexity and dynamics of the social practices of HL maintenance in the lives of Korean immigrants in Canada.
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<tr>
<td>ACTFL</td>
<td>American Council in the Teaching of Foreign Languages</td>
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<td>BC</td>
<td>British Columbia</td>
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<tr>
<td>BCSAKS</td>
<td>B.C. Society for the Advancement of Korean Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>C³</td>
<td>Corean Canadian Coactive Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>CALL</td>
<td>Integrative-Computer Assisted Language Learning</td>
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<tr>
<td>CARLA</td>
<td>Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMC</td>
<td>Computer-Mediated Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESL</td>
<td>English as a Second Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOB</td>
<td>Fresh Off the Boat</td>
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<tr>
<td>GVRD</td>
<td>Greater Vancouver Regional District</td>
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<td>HL</td>
<td>Heritage Language</td>
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<td>IMEs</td>
<td>Microsoft Global Input Method Editors</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRCs</td>
<td>Internet Relay Channels</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRP</td>
<td>Integrated Resource Package</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSL</td>
<td>Korean as a Second Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>LCTLs</td>
<td>Less Commonly Taught Languages</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOOs</td>
<td>Multiple-user Object Oriented Domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSN</td>
<td>MicroSoft Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>Second Language Acquisition</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRP</td>
<td>Teacher Resource Package</td>
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<tr>
<td>UBC</td>
<td>The University of British Columbia</td>
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<tr>
<td>VLN</td>
<td>Vancouver Learning Network</td>
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This has been a long and arduous journey. In the end, it all paid off, but sometimes I felt like giving up. Sometimes I felt like it was too hard. But there were always people to get me through; there were always people that were there for me. I could not have done it without them all.

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Thanks to all the support that I received, I completed my journey, all the way to the end, but I know this is just another starting point for a new journey.
DEDICATION

To Parents, Children, Educators, Researchers, and Policy Makers interested and involved in the acquisition and maintenance of Heritage Language
Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Heritage language (HL) is the language associated with one’s immigration history and cultural background. The heritage language can be transmitted from one generation to the next but it may or may not be spoken in the home depending on learners’ integrative and instrumental motivation (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; see 2.2.3 for the definitions). Research has examined the maintenance and loss of HLs and their relation to positive (Cummins, 1989) and negative consequences (Kouritzin 1997, 1999).

In Canada, bilingualism tends to be seen as additive, whereby the native language is secure and the second language serves as a source of enrichment (Lambert, 1975). Canada is a culturally diverse country with a wide variety of languages, religions, and ethnicities which are maintained by its people. Canadian government policies have encouraged the maintenance of cultural heritages, especially since the late 1960s. The primary goal of HL programs in Canada is to promote students’ proficiency in the heritage language (Cummins, 1993). Research has documented the extensive social, psychological, and cognitive benefits of developing balanced bilinguals (Bialystok, 2001; Hakuta, 1987; Lambert, 1975). Moreover, several studies have reported evidence that bilingualism promotes an analytic orientation to linguistic and perceptual structures.

---

1 The Romanization systems used to render Korean are Yale and McCune Reischauer. I use McCune Reischauer to render the names of participants and informants and the Yale transcription system for utterances in Korean. Some proper nouns like Park Jung-hee are rendered as they appear in publications.

2 The term heritage language is employed to refer to both language and culture due to their inseparability. Because language is the most important component of a culture, the word heritage language is associated with its culture.

3 “Additive” bilingualism is a term coined by Lambert (1975) whereby a child learns to speak a second language fluently while retaining the first, while “subtractive” bilingualism is when the first language is not mastered and the second language competes with or displaces the first language.
(Cummins & Mulcahy, 1978; Cummins & Swain, 1986). However, in most cases, immigrants in North America show a pattern of losing their HL completely by the third generation (Fishman, 1985; Krashen, 1996; Veltman, 1983; Wong Fillmore, 1991) even though many researchers address HL learners’ positive attitudes towards the HL rooted in intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005) toward their languages.

With specific reference to Canada, the number of Korean immigrants has shown a gradual increase since the 1960s. While the importance of English is soaring in Korea\(^4\) and with economic relations between Canada and Korea increasing, the number of Korean immigrants arriving in Canada has risen in recent years, and this has been particularly noticeable in the province of British Columbia (BC). Along with this, HL maintenance has arisen as an important issue for Korean immigrants. Children’s maintenance of the HL functions not only as a medium of successful communication within the home, but also as a potential for long-term social and economic benefits (Yang, 2003). Thus, parents pay great attention to language maintenance, and research on Korean HL is in high demand.

However, despite their urgency, studies of the HL issues in Korean language education are still in their infancy. Most researchers to date seem to have over-generalized and uncritically accepted the overt ideals which Korean immigrant parents and children espouse towards Korean language maintenance. Little research has been done on parents’ and children’s actual involvement in the children’s language maintenance. Thus, the purpose of this research is to examine children’s actual behavior towards HL maintenance in relation to the attitudes that Korean immigrant parents and

\(^4\) Korea is defined as the Republic of Korea (ROK) or South Korea.
children express; more simply put, this study is a first step in examining what Korean immigrants say about HL maintenance and what they actually do about it.

1.2 Korean Immigration to Canada

1.2.1 The History of Korean Immigration to Canada

The history of Korean immigration to Canada is relatively short compared to other Asian ethnic groups such as Chinese and Japanese immigrants. The first wave of Korean Canadians in the mid-1960s was comprised of war brides of Canadian serviceman and war orphans adopted by Canadian families (Song, 1997). According to J. Kim (1984), the Korean immigrants who first entered Canada were Korean Christians who had intense personal contacts with Canadian missionaries. The vast majority of Korean immigrants came after Canada liberalized its immigration regulations in the mid-1960s and changed its immigration policy from virtually prohibiting Korean immigration to allowing a selection of those with high educational attainments and professional skills (U. Kim, 1986; Lee & Lehmann, 1986). The early contacts between Canadian missionaries and their Korean flock was the major point of encounter for an increasing flow of Korean Christian immigration to Canada. There were approximately seventy Korean immigrants in Canada in 1966 (J. Kim, 1984). Canadian immigration statistics recorded only 17,689 Korean immigrants during the period from 1965 to 1977, a figure much smaller than the 120,000 Korean immigrants who arrived in the US during the same period (Lee & Lehmann, 1986). However, the number of immigrants grew steadily, and Canadian immigration increased to 25,635 in 1984 (Lee & Lehmann, 1986). Presently, Korea is one of the top ten sources of immigration for Canada, ranking fifth
with 9,608 immigrants in 2001, and eighth in 2006 (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2006; see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: South Korean Immigrants to Canada, 1997-2006

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<tr>
<td>Korea, Republic of</td>
<td>4,001</td>
<td>4,917</td>
<td>7,217</td>
<td>7,629</td>
<td>9,608</td>
<td>7,334</td>
<td>7,089</td>
<td>5,827</td>
<td>5,619</td>
<td>6,178</td>
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| Rank       | 11  | 8   | 5   | 5   | 5   | 6   | 5   | 9   | 8   |

Many Koreans came to Canada hoping to carve out a ‘better life’ (U. Kim, 1986). According to numerous news reports, Canada has in recent years been the most popular destination for Koreans considering emigration. With the influx of ‘globalization’ discourse into Korea (see King, 2007b), a good command of English has come to symbolize global citizenship. A good command of English is becoming a key factor in getting a job for Korean university students, all of whom already experienced the economic crisis in Korea in 1997 and remember the financial humiliation from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The fact that English is one of the official languages of Canada is seen as an attractive benefit for many Koreans considering emigration. It seems that the imminent need to master English brought home through the experience of the IMF crisis in 1997 may have led to the rapid increase in numbers of immigrants to Canada in 2001, with 9,608 immigrants. Above all, the advocacy of multiculturalism makes Canada a unique place in which immigrants’ language and identity can be preserved without the imposition of assimilation by the mainstream host culture.
1.2.2 Demographic Characteristics of Korean Immigrants in British Columbia

There were about thirty Korean families in BC in 1965 (Lee & Lehmann, 1986), the majority of whom were students. Now some 40,000 Korean immigrants live in BC. In 2004, 5,337 immigrated to Canada but almost half of them—2,272 people—settled in BC, as shown in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: South Korean Immigrants to BC, 1990-2004

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<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>1,098</td>
<td>2,167</td>
<td>2,167</td>
<td>2,345</td>
<td>2,272</td>
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The rapid increase of Korean immigrants to BC from the end of 1990s can be seen in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Increase of Korean Immigrants to BC, 1991-2000

According to the report about mother tongue and home language by BC Stats in 2002, the radically increased numbers of Korean immigrants to BC has made Korean the tenth ranked (28,105 immigrants) non-English mother tongue of the BC population.

5 The information was obtained from the Asia Pacific Trade Council. For details, visit http://www.asiapacifictradecouncil.ca/pdf/s_korea.pdf
6 Figure 1.1 is cited from BC Stats: http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/pubs/immig/imm012sf.pdf
The majority of recent immigrants is quite different from the first Korean immigrants who came to Canada 40 years ago in terms of their economic and educational backgrounds. Whereas previous immigrant generations labored hard to establish their families in a new country, most recent Korean immigrants are already well educated and financially affluent when they arrive in Canada. Their major concerns are their children’s education and well-being in Canada. There are three criteria favored by Immigration Canada for Koreans considering immigration to Canada: skilled workers, entrepreneurs (business), and investors. The most recent immigrants from Korea were admitted under the skilled worker or business classes (BC Stats, 2001).

Downtown Vancouver’s Robson Street and the Korean shopping area along North Road on the border between Burnaby and Coquitlam are the central locations where Koreans are easily found. In particular, North Road is known for Korean businesses, where permanent residents, temporary residents with study and work permits, and tourists flock to shop. Since the advent of the six-month visa waiver system between

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7 Figure 1.2 is cited from BC Stats: [http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/pubs/immig/imm023sf.pdf](http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/pubs/immig/imm023sf.pdf)
Korea and Canada in 2004, there has been a rapid increase in the number of short-term visitors from Korea. In particular, ever since the Korean government in May, 2006, began allowing individuals to buy overseas real estate worth up to US$1 million for investment purposes, many wealthy Koreans have targeted Canada in order to increase the flow of dollars out of Korea. Vancouver has been the favorite Canadian destination.

With the increased numbers of Koreans in BC, Korean pride and identity started becoming a focus among the young generation of Koreans. In 2003, Corean Canadian Coactive Society (C3)\(^8\) was launched to build bridges between the Korean and Canadian communities. This association, consisting of mostly young ‘1.5 and 2\(^{nd}\) –generation’\(^9\), Koreans, marked the 40\(^{th}\) anniversary of diplomatic relations between Korea and Canada, and celebrated the 30\(^{th}\) anniversary of the Korean language school (Vancouver’s first Korean school was established in 1973). C3’s active role in defining a Korean-Canadian identity can be found in the roots of Camp Korea. Camp Korea provides young Koreans in the Lower Mainland with a Korean cultural experience during summer vacation.

With Korean pride rising due to the high proportion of business immigrants and highly skilled workers and the growing economic relationship between Korea and BC, Korean immigrants’ attitudes and practices towards HL maintenance have been changing. These issues will be discussed in detail in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.

\(^8\) More than 170 articles relevant to the Korean community in BC are archived in the C3 website (http://www.c3society.com).

\(^9\) Second generation refers to those who were born in their immigrant country; 1.5-generation refers to immigrants who come to a new country before completing high school (Hurh, 1998).
1.3 **Significance of the Study**

Information on Korean immigrants’ language maintenance is very limited. However, the growth in Canada of Korean immigrants has been dramatic. The most recent Korean immigrants aim to ensure that their offspring maintain their HL whereas in the past, many Korean immigrants gave absolute priority to mastering English and acculturating into mainstream Canadian culture.

Moreover, Korean economic growth has helped Korean immigrants understand that their HL plays an important role in their careers. In particular, the advent of technology has turned Korea increasingly into one of the most ‘wired’ countries in the world, and turned Koreans around the globe into some of the most technology-savvy consumers; Internet use has had a profound effect on, and in many ways has radically changed, immigrant lifestyles and patterns, especially among diaspora Koreans. Compared to the past, when technology was not as prevalent as it is now, immigrant life in a new country no longer seems to be lonely and isolated. Before the advent of the Internet, it was believed that immigration meant a radical and permanent separation from one’s own culture due to the distance and remoteness from the home country. This distance from the home country used to thwart the maintenance of heritage languages, cultures, and identities.

However, Korean immigrants no longer sweep aside their nostalgia towards their home country. They use the Internet to stay in contact, make friends, enjoy entertainment, and learn language. They enjoy and live in a new cultural richness made possible by infinite possibilities of cyber-travel to Korea that helps form, restore, and reconstruct their newly presented cultural authenticity. It is commonplace now to say that the Internet
is in our daily life. In other words, “the pervasive, real-world Internet does not function on its own, but is embedded in the real-life things that people do” (Wellman & Haythornthwaite, 2002, p.7). This is particularly true for Korean society, both within South Korea and in Korea immigrant society in North America. In this socio-cultural context, it is very timely that we relate the use of technology to Korean immigrants efforts in language and culture maintenance.

The significance of this research can therefore be viewed in terms of both its theoretical contribution to the fields of HL and its practical contribution to Korean immigrant families, Korean language educators, and policy makers. Many researchers claim that home and ethnic community play a pivotal role in children’s language maintenance, but children’s actual day-to-day language practice has rarely been examined. This study, which views the use of technology as a means of language and culture maintenance from the perspective of social practice, will contribute to language educators and immigrant families in finding effective and dynamic ways of learning language and culture, and constructing identity.

1.4 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. Chapter 2 provides a review of related literature on HL and cultural maintenance as well as on the role of technology and the advent of the Internet, in particular. In Chapter 3 the focus turns to a discussion of the research design and methodology used in the thesis. This chapter establishes a basis for using the qualitative approach, particularly the functional paradigm, and discusses data collection and data analysis. Chapter 4 attempts to answer the research questions for the first paired case, Chapter 5 focuses on the second paired case, Chapter 6 examines the
third paired case, and Chapter 7 centers on the fourth paired case. For the analyses in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7, interviews with parents and children, observations of family conversations, and online conversation logs from the participants’ email, Cyworld\textsuperscript{10}, and Instant Messenger are used. Chapter 8 summarizes the research findings and opens a discussion, addressing limitations of the study. It also offers directions for future research and presents the ways in which the findings may help educators, teachers, policy makers, and immigrant families to understand the complexity of Korean children’s HL and cultural maintenance. The chapter ends with my own reflections on my personal experiences of pursuing this research.

\textsuperscript{10} Cyworld, a popular web-based community portal, uses the kinship term so called “Ilchon.” According to the INSIDE Joongang Daily, Cyworld in Korea has 17 million members as of April, 2006.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will present a review of relevant literature which focuses mainly on heritage language and technologies, particularly computer-mediated communication (CMC). This study deals primarily with parents’ and children’s theories and practices for HL acquisition and maintenance. The participants’ technology use, which is part of their language practice, is also examined. A literature review about HL comes first, followed by one for technology issues.

2.2 Heritage Language Education

The issue of heritage language acquisition and maintenance has been documented from numerous perspectives: ethnicity (Fishman, 1977, 1985); identity (Fishman, 1989; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995; Tajfel, 1972; Turner, 1975; Turner & Brown, 1978); language ideology (González, 2003; Jeon, 2001, 2005; King, 1997; Woodlard, 1998); attitudes towards HL (Guardado, 2002; Lao, 2004; Li, 1999; Park & Sarkar, 2007); parental involvement (Kondo-Brown, 1997; M. Lee, 2000; Shin, 2005); community involvement (Ochs & Shieffelin, 1984); and bilingualism policy (Carey, 1984; Cummins, 2003; Duff, 2007). HL learners’ bilingual abilities are also examined through functions of code-switching: social functions (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1988) and discourse functions (Nishimura, 1997; Poplack, 1980; Romaine, 1995). Within the diverse body of literature, a common interest emerges in improving the quality of language acquisition and maintenance from researchers, educators, parents, and policymakers. Although comprehensive studies dealing with and working on heritage language acquisition and maintenance have been carried out in North America for many
years, numerous immigrants still suffer from the loss of their heritage language. The loss of the shared language between parents and children in turn influences their relationships. The relationship between parents and children plays an important role in fashioning a family’s life in a new land. Fundamental resources for heritage language acquisition and maintenance start in the home. Therefore, it is important to examine and understand the role and function of family for HL acquisition and maintenance.

Unfortunately, among the numerous research studies on HL maintenance, studies looking at Korean immigrants have been few and far between; however, recently some young scholars have turned their research energies to Korean HL issues, and this has become an increasingly active field. Most of the research relevant to Korean immigrants is being done in the US. Few studies have focused on Canada even though multiculturalism and bilingualism are salient issues in Canada. As the size of the Korean immigrant population is growing rapidly in both the US and Canada, there is high demand for this field of research. Thus, it is high time for researchers and educators to pay close attention to Korean HL education here in Canada because 1.5- and 2nd-generation Korean immigrants will soon be playing important roles in our multicultural society and will offer immense potential and resources. Even if theory can be derived from different places, practice should be founded upon actual performance in specific educational contexts. For a number of reasons, HL education policy and practice in the Canadian context is different from that of the US. Canadian political, social, and educational initiatives and Canada’s official policy of bilingualism and multiculturalism have emphasized the value of having speakers learn and retain their heritage languages (Duff, 2007). First, I turn to a definition of heritage language.
2.2.1 Definitions of Heritage Language

The myriad definitions of heritage language need to be discussed in order to understand how the definition is used in this thesis. The term *heritage language* is complex, having been defined differently by different researchers (e.g., Cummins, 1983; Fishman, 1991; Krashen, 1998; Valdés, 2000). Such definitions, however, seem to be mainly concerned with language maintenance in the direction “from home-and-community into the school rather than the school into the home” (Fishman, 1980, p.169). The widely varying terms (e.g., first language, L1, ancestral language, ethnic language, non-official language, community language, native language, mother tongue, less commonly taught language, etc.) are primarily concerned with languages used by immigrants and First Nations peoples. Thus, it can be understood that HL refers to a language which can be transmitted from one generation to the next but which may or may not be spoken in the home or in ethnic communities; such an understanding is in line with that of Fishman (2001). Research in HL maintenance, language shift, and language loss challenges the assumption that a native language is inevitably replaced by the dominant language of English within two or three generations.

Maria (2004), proposes three factors which help to define the definition of heritage language learners: 1) membership in an HL community; 2) personal connection through family background; and 3) linguistic proficiency. The first considers that heritage language learners are individuals who are members of a community with linguistic roots in a language other than English. Their “being associated with an HL community, rather than proficiency in the HL per se, is the determinant of HL learners status”(p. 3). Many Korean immigrants fit this category. The second factor indicates that the learners are “not
active members of a community that is affiliated with an HL” but they “study the HL in an effort to connect with their family or ethnic background” (p. 3). Thus, these learners have a more remote connection to the HL and HC than with the first group. The third factor considers the practical considerations of learners’ linguistic proficiency rather than family or personal connections to the HL. Valdés (2000) defines a heritage language learner as “someone who has been ‘raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken’ and ‘who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language’” (p. 1). The importance of a linguistic proficiency-based definition of heritage language learners can be found in the basis for placement and curriculum development. Due to the difference in language abilities between HL learners and non-HL learners, the development of different curriculum is needed for learners who start with different linguistic proficiency. Details about curriculum issues for HL learners will be discussed later (in 2.2.6.2). According to Kagan (2005), heritage language learners need to be understood as a group with a distinct proficiency profile and thus 1) cannot be dismissed as native speakers who need no instructions, 2) do not need to be placed in beginning language classes, 3) can be tracked and placed according to their background, and 4) need a curriculum with a structure and a set of materials that differ considerably from those intended for foreign language students (p. 215).

Fishman (2001) has an inclusive definition of heritage languages as being languages other than English that have “a particular family relevance to the learners” (p. 81). He then proceeds to characterize indigenous, colonial, and immigrant heritage languages, describing the restrictive and permissive sentiments of different historical
periods in the US. His inclusive definition emphasizing intergenerational transmission seems to be generally accepted by researchers. Wang and Green (2001) astutely propose combining Valdés’ and Fishman’s definitions of heritage language speakers to create an inclusive three-pronged categorization scheme: “students who are new arrivals or migrants; foreign-born students who arrived at a young age but have been in US schools for several years; and US-born students of immigrant or indigenous ancestry” (p. 170). Cummins (1983) defines heritage language as the community ethnocultural language which is not necessarily the child’s first-learned language (or even used in the home). These descriptions connect the HL to one’s ethnicity and its language. H. Kim (2003) adopts a definition “largely based on ethnolinguistic affiliation” in her study (p. 2). The broad and complex characteristics of defining HL are rooted in “the association one establishes between one’s identity and ancestral language” (Kondo-Brown, 2003, p. 2). Thus, it is natural to relate the HL to a home context, which is different from a classroom setting. The difference between heritage language and foreign language acquisition is that “heritage language acquisition begins in the home, as opposed to foreign language acquisition which, at least initially, usually begins in a classroom setting” (UCLA Steering Committee, 2000, p. 339).

HL is also closely related to another term, Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs). Following the classification of the LCTL project funded through the US National Language Resource Center at the University of Minnesota, Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs) are defined as all world languages except English, French, German, and Spanish. LCTLs are sub-classified into four groups according to the
characteristics and concerns shared by each group (Brecht & Walton 1994, as cited in Janus, 1998, p. 165-6). The groups are as follows:

1) The principal less commonly taught languages (Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian): These are generally available at colleges and universities, but their difficulty makes it virtually impossible for students to reach a functional ability solely on the basis of academic programs in this country.

2) The much less commonly taught languages (Armenian, Czech, Hausa, Hebrew, Hindi, Indonesian, Korean, Thai, and Turkish): These consist of approximately thirty non-European, non-North American languages.

3) The least commonly taught languages: These are in a marginal position in the US educational system, and are offered at one or two institutions on an on-demand basis.

4) The rarely (or never) taught languages: Many other of the world’s thousands of languages that can be viewed as critical to US national needs are rarely or never taught in the US.

According to the survey conducted by the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) at the University of Minnesota, “heritage is the primary reason their students enrolled in LCTLs. This response included first or second generation Americans who wanted to solidify ties to their culture and talk to parents and grandparents, and also those whose ancestry is more distant but who are interested in discovering more about their roots or ethnicity” (Janus, 1998, p.167). It is noted that there have been substantial populations of heritage language students whose ancestral languages often fall into the LCTL category. Many of these students, and the communities they represent, are demanding that they receive instruction in the languages of their forebears (Campbell, 1998). The survey also revealed that investment for their future career, and personal affiliation such as a romantic relationship with a native speaker of the target language, were important motivations. To sum up, the term LCTL can convey the meaning of HL due to the commonalities in students’ learning motivation.
Another interesting conceptualization in defining HL is the term “imagined community” coined by Anderson (1991). As Wenger (1998) suggested, the notion of imagined community involves some degree of fantasy, idealization, stereotyping, and reification. HL is certainly associated with both affiliation to one’s family ancestry and engagement in a community, but individual social practice at home and in the target HL community is not always tangible. Kramsch (2002) reexamined the concept of community, arguing that the term itself has come under scrutiny with increased globalization and migration. She classifies communities into lived communities, remembered communities, and imagined communities:

Speakers carry in their heads and hearts a notion of who they are, have been or want to become, the communities to which they belong or strive to belong, the memories of their own experiences and the memories they have inherited from their ancestors, as well as those they project onto their futures or would rather forget. (p. 9)

Thus, when we define HL, we need to discuss the complex nature of HL in light of the larger historical and subjective dimensions of experience. According to the Oxford Dictionary\textsuperscript{11}, “heritage,” which originated from the old French word heriter ‘inherit’ is 1) property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance; 2) valued things such as historic buildings that have been passed down from previous generations; 3) before another noun relating to things of historic or cultural value that are worthy of preservation.

Based on these various meanings in discussing the definition of HL, I can fashion my own definition of HL based on common points shared among most researchers. HL is \textit{the language which is shared for the preservation of ancestral cultural values with not only a tangible and accessible community (e.g., home, Heritage School, and heritage community) members but also imagined community members who are}

\textsuperscript{11} The definitions were downloaded from \url{http://www.askofxford.com}.
beyond one’s current temporal and spatial limits. In this study, the term HL encompasses heritage culture because one cannot be acquired without the other. Language and culture are intricately intertwined with each other. In other words, HL acquisition and maintenance includes heritage cultural acquisition and maintenance.

2.2.2 Identity, Ethnicity, and Language Ideology

‘Identity’ is a highly complex and diverse term used in various fields. Definitions of identity vary depending on the underlying theory embodied by researchers. Among the various conceptualizations of identity, I will briefly go over three: social identity, ethnic identity, and cultural identity. In fact, these concepts have some overlap because of the difficulty of clear-cut boundaries. They are interrelated with each other. First of all, whereas identity refers to individual instinctive attributes, social identity explains “group processes and intergroup relation” (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995, p. 255). Social identity was defined by social psychologist Tajfel (1972) as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of his group membership” (p. 292). The term ‘social identity theory’ was coined by Turner and Brown (1978) to synthesize the various psychological ideas proposed by Tajfel. Ethnic identity is part of social identity (Fishman, 1989, 1999; Giles, 1973; Oakes, 2001). Fishman (1999) stated that “language interweaves the individual’s personal identity with his or her collective ethnic identity” (p. 143). He further explained that language is a symbol of ethnic identity if the language is used within a family that is ethnically distinctive from the surrounding community. The linkage between language and ethnic identity has been examined through how identity is formed, presented, and maintained. Giles and Johnson (1987) introduced an ethnolinguistic identity theory which
was developed on the basis of Tajfel’s (1974). The theory suggests that individuals value their language when they: 1) identify themselves strongly as members of a group; 2) make social comparisons with the outgroup and strive for a better and more stable status; 3) perceive their own group’s vitality to be high; 4) perceive their ingroup boundaries to be closed; and 5) identify strongly with few other social categories. As another concept, ‘cultural identity’ is well described by Hall (1990). He defined identity as being constituted, invented, and transformed. He looked at cultural identity as “a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’” (p. 225). M-J. Park (2005) examined how the cultural identity of young Korean-Canadians forms and transforms over time. Young Korean Canadians experience formative processes within three stages: disruption and rupture between cultures, border-crossing and re-configuring of cultural boundaries, and re-constructing their cultural identity as Korean-Canadian.

In defining ethnicity, many different criteria are adopted. Due to the ambiguity of ethnicity’s characteristics (Ross, 1979), self-identification and identification by others (Barth, 1969) are boundaries which make ethnic units distinguishable. As another categorization, internal (members’ beliefs, expectations, and aspirations with respect to their group membership) and external (e.g., skin color or fluency in the ethnic language) criteria for group membership are used to clarify ethnicity (Breakwell, 1979). In the clarification of the subjectivity and objectivity of ethnicity, language has been emphasized as symbolizing ethnic identity. Fishman, a scholar renowned since the 1960s in the field of language and ethnicity, has defined three dimensions to language and ethnicity: ethnic being (paternity), ethnic doing (patrimony), and ethnic knowing (phenomenology).
Ethnic being is a putative ethnic essence that is intergenerationally continued among “one’s own kind” … Language is part of the authentic “doing” constellation and the authentic “knowing” constellation that are assumed to be dimensions of ethnicity. Ethnic doing and knowing are more mutable. (Fishman, 1985, p. 7)

The paternity dimension of ethnicity deals with questions of “how ethnicity collectivities come into being and how individuals get to be members of these collectivities” (Fishman, 1977, p. 20). The next dimension referred to as “ethnic doing” is the patrimony dimension of ethnicity, which is related to questions of “how ethnic collectivities behave and to what their members do in order to express their membership” (p. 20). Ethnic Phenomenology is concerned with “meanings that [an actor] attaches to his descent-related being and behaving” (p. 23). Fishman (1977) claimed that language is the ultimate symbol of ethnicity by employing all three dimensions: “language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology” (p. 25).

Language is frequently used to rouse the ethnic self-consciousness of group members (Giles & Johnson, 1981; Ross, 1979). In discussing of the role of language in ethnicity, Lewis (1979) suggested there are primary (economic, demographic, and physical) and secondary (ideological, educational, and religious) factors. In recent years, there has been a conceptual move across a variety of fields; from the perspective of identity as fixed, essential, and pre-given to one of identity as contradictory, fragmented, and changing in identification. In particular, the widespread shift to poststructuralist discourse rejects the essentialist notion of identity as a fixed, unitary, and authentic core that remains hidden to one’s consciousness. Instead, emphasis is placed on the process of identity construction, which is spun and interwoven through and by multiple layers.
Ideologies of language are intimately connected with cultural ideologies and histories of given language communities (Campbell & Christian, 2003). Woolard (1998) pointed out that “ideologies of language are not about language alone. Rather, they envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology” (p. 3). From these definitions, language ideology can be synthesized and interpreted as a foundation and source of constructing and forming the identity of a person and his/her community, but it is not static. Silverstein (1979) defined language ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived structure and use” (p. 173). In his definition of language ideology, not only did Silverstein indicate linguistic structure, but he also included language choice or preference of a certain language variety over other varieties. Another shared meaning is that ideology implicates power, the exercise of power, and the reproduction of dominant/subordinate relations (González, 2003). Thus, King (1997) emphasized an understanding of first generation immigrants’ language ideology. The first generation immigrants maintain their national ideology, and their national ideology affects their children’s language education. Jeon (2001, 2005) described her teaching journey toward a better understanding of the conflict between her Korean-American students’ language ideologies and her own. Her research sheds light on the theory and practice of language ideologies through Korean-American students’ learning of Korean and their attitudes towards Korean-English two-way immersion programs. She documented discrepancies in parents’ and children’s attitudes towards bilingualism and in children’s overt and covert ideologies of Korean. These discrepancies in parents’ beliefs about Korean language education for their children and their actual behaviors toward
bilingualism are also found in other studies (e.g., J-S. Lee, 2004). Korean parents’ subtractive view of bilingualism seems to be rooted in Korean nationalist ideologies. Their belief that the Korean language and culture belong exclusively to Korean people connotes that they put their national pride into language at a sentimental level. However, the low level of investment they place in their children’s bilingualism at a practical level is evidence that Korean first-generation parents place high expectations on institutionalized learning, ignoring the importance of parents’ roles in their HL education.

### 2.2.3 Integrative and Instrumental Attitudes

In a social-cultural approach, attitudes play an important role in language learning and maintenance because attitudes “provide a potent reason why some people learn a second language and retain that language” (Baker & Johns, 1998, p. 652). To understand attitudes in language learning, it is necessary to understand Gardner and Lambert’s (1959, 1972) work on motivation. They defined two motivations: integrative and instrumental. Integrative motivation is “a desire to be like representative members of the ‘other’ language community, and to become associated, at least vicariously, with the other community” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 14). McDonough (1981) distinguished the integrative motivation into “assimilative,” which is a strong motivation, and “affiliative,” which is weak yet positive motivation for learning. Instrumental motivation is a “desire to gain social recognition or economic advantage through knowledge of a foreign language” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 14). Integrative motivation thus means willingness to be associated with the culture of the target language, while instrumental motivation treats the target language as an instrument for personal fulfillment or rewards. The two

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12 The distinction between integrative and instrumental attitudes has been discussed by Gardner & Lambert (1972) as an important factor in predicting the success of second language learning. I borrowed these terms to describe attitudes in HL acquisition and maintenance.
motivational concepts were introduced to the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) field in discussing the relationship between motivation and learning a second language. It is known that depending on the type and degree of motivation and attitude, language learning is affected. To understand motivation deeply, it is necessary to understand intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation is about task performance for its own sake, whereas extrinsic motivation focuses on task completion for external rewards (Deci & Ryan, 1985). The latest work done by Jin Sook Lee and Hae-Young Kim (2007) well demonstrates the instrumental and integrative motivations of learning Korean as a HL, and the participants’ attitudes towards their HL. Given the fact that HL acquisition and maintenance is very situational and individual, different motivations and attitudes are expected in different families.

2.2.4 Bilingualism

Just as with HL, the term “bilingualism” has not been used in a consistent way among researchers and theoreticians. Heritage language education “overlaps two traditionally separate fields, bilingual education and foreign language education” (Wang & Green, 2001, p. 170). Roberts (1995) classified the various types of bilingual education programs into three categories: transitional models (exited or mainstreamed into regular English only classes); maintenance models (long-term developmental programs); and enrichment models (two-way or dual-language). Generally speaking, bilingual education was looked upon negatively until the 1960s, but recent research has indicated many positive and advantageous aspects of bilingualism. Bilingual students show better academic performance (see Garcia & August, 1988; Sohn & Merrill, 2007; Willig, 1985). Fluency in a heritage language has also been positively related to psychological
well-being (including self-esteem), more ambitious plans for the future, and self-confidence (Huang, 1995; Garcia, 1985), and positive socio-psychological attitudes towards the speakers’ ethnicity and multiculturalism (Oketani, 1997). From society’s point of view, bilingual and multilingual abilities will become increasingly important for diverse societies that emphasize that “linguistic resources are economic resources” (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). Within the influx of globalization, languages are a special kind of economic resource (Coulmas, 1992; de Swaan, 2001) because language can serve as symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991).

The US and Canada have different attitudes and policies governing HL education. To discuss this issue, the distinction between “transitional” and “enrichment” programs in HL education must be addressed. Transitional programs involve the use of children’s home language as a temporary bridge to help them keep up with academic content. On the other hand, enrichment programs involve the use of the minority language on a longer term basis in order to develop bilingual skills. In the US, bilingual education is aimed at smoothly shifting the minority language to English in order for second language speakers to become full members of society as soon as possible. In Canada, language policy and perspectives towards heritage language education are different. HLs are encouraged more and maintained more in Canada. For example, the purpose of heritage language education in Ontario, Canada, is to promote the values of one’s inherited language and culture so as to promote communication between parents and children as well as between the family and the community. The Ontario heritage language program and French immersion programs in general all qualify as enrichment programs.
The literature on sociolinguistics makes an important distinction between “additive” bilingualism, a term coined by Lambert (1990) whereby a child learns to speak a second language fluently while retaining the first, and “subtractive” bilingualism, whereby one language is dominant and the other is rapidly lost. Positive cognitive and educational effects are associated with additive bilingualism, but not with the subtractive form (Cummins, 1979; Hakuta, 1986). Cummins (1993) emphasized the importance of development of first language proficiency, arguing that:

attainment of a high level of bilingual proficiency appears to depend on the extent to which the first language is developed. Thus, it is extremely important for parents to reinforce the first language in the home if minority children are to develop an additive form of bilingualism. (p. 17)

It is important to note the parents’ role in their children’s additive bilingualism.

An important question is how parents should help their children attain and retain their HL. Dong-Jae Lee (2000) and Miseon Lee (2000), in Studies on Korean in Community Schools, published through the auspices of the NFLRC in Hawaii, discuss the parents’ role and the indispensability of home education for HL education, respectively. Interestingly, Dong-Jae Lee proposed four ways in which parents can create learning environments for their children’s HL education: speaking to children in Korean, speaking to adults in Korean in the presence of their children, using mass media, and watching Korean videos. However, his recommendations were not supported by empirical research. More empirical studies are necessary to reflect the diverse practices pursued at home for Korean HL education.

Looking back on the history of bilingualism, the American style of bilingualism has been unstable and transitional. The roots of this unstable bilingual policy can be found in political regimentation. As the US is a country “lacking centuries-old traditions
and culture and receiving simultaneously millions of foreigners from the most diverse lands, language homogeneity came to be seen as the bedrock of nationhood and collective identity” (Portes, 1990, p. 184). During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, pressures against bilingualism had two distinct strands. The first was due to the political variant represented by Roosevelt—one that saw the continuing use of foreign languages as somehow anti-American. The second was a trend in scientific and educational literature to attempt to demonstrate the intellectual limitations associated with a lack of English fluency. This negative view dominated academic circles until the early 1960s, and still has strong currency in mainstream American political culture. Thus, it seems true that bilingualism in America has been represented negatively, emphasizing that “the primary goal of bilingual education has been proficiency in English, not bilingualism” (Wang & Green, 2001, p. 171).

However, German sociolinguist Heinz Kloss (1998) took a somewhat different approach to the history of bilingualism in the US. In *The American Bilingual Tradition* he presented a continuous bilingual tradition in the US since colonial times. He refuted the supposedly monolingual origins of the nation. He defined two types of language rights: promotion-oriented rights and toleration-oriented rights. Promotion-oriented rights entail the promotion of a minority language by federal, state, or municipal authorities in legislative, administrative, and educational institutions. Toleration-oriented rights involve non-interference by federal, state, and municipal governments with efforts on the part of minorities to make use of ethnic languages in private domains—for example, newspapers, religious practices, secular associations, and private schools. He argued that national minorities have historically enjoyed both promotion-oriented and toleration-oriented
rights in the US and offered detailed accounts and histories of particular US language policies. Kloss unearthed facts about the history of language policy in the US that demonstrate that the country has been multilingual from its inception and throughout its history. This book is an eye-opener to the detailed language policies enforced by the US. Its arguments have forced scholars to reexamine the history of bilingualism in the US.

As for the alleged negative aspects of bilingualism, methodological flaws have been found in much of the fundamental research. An influential study by Peal and Lambert (1962) contradicted prior research conducted over four decades. In this study, the bilingual group performed significantly better than the monolinguals on a wide range of verbal and nonverbal IQ tests. Since then, a positive association with bilingualism has been thoroughly investigated in Canada. Many Canadians associate bilingualism with the Official Languages Act, implemented in 1969 by then Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau. The relationship between two divided national communities, English and French, seemed to be reconciled through a partnership of equals, in the form of bilingualism. Many positive associations have been reported between bilingualism and both general intellectual skills and divergent thinking (Genesee, Tucker, & Lambert, 1978). Moreover, several studies have reported evidence that bilingualism promotes an analytic orientation to linguistic and perceptual structures (Cummins & Mulcahy, 1978).

In conclusion, bilingualism is inseparable from HL education. There seems to be no doubt that there are positive aspects of bilingualism in HL policy. An opinion poll conducted in October and November 2006 found that 81 percent supported the idea that Canada is a bilingual country. However, 56 percent said that Canadians are not bilingual,

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and 76 percent said that there is a lack of interest in learning the other language. Despite finding reasons not to learn French or English, 80 percent said that they believed that being bilingual could help them find a job. The paradoxical contrast between federal bilingualism-related policies and actual practices (Duff, 2007) suggests that we need to rethink bilingualism and practices.

2.2.5 Code-switching

One frequent bilingual activity is code-switching. Code-switching is defined as the use of more than one language in a single communication exchange. In most multi-ethnic communities, code-switching is a discourse behavior. In discussions of code-switching, the distinction between code-switching and borrowing has been an issue due to the unclear boundaries between them. According to Poplack (1993), borrowing is the adaptation of lexical material to the patterns of the recipient language; code-switching is the juxtaposition of sentence fragments formed according to the internal syntactic rules of two distinct systems. Some other researchers base the distinction on the degree of integration of the borrowed items in the base language (Romaine, 1995) or on the length of the fragments that shift from the language being used (Grosjean, 1982). Extensive research has shown the communicative value of code-switching (Gumperz, 1982; Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Shin & Milroy, 2000; Shin, 2005; Zentella, 1997).

Because Korean and English are lexically, morphologically, and grammatically distinct, code-switching between Korean and English may differ from code-switching between two more similar sets of language systems such as English and French. Kang (2003) explored the role of code-switching as a means of contextualizing social hierarchies and of negotiating conflict within the constraints of social hierarchy. For
conflict avoidance (Choi, 1997; Koo, 1992; M-R. Park, 1990; H-M. Sohn, 1981), code-switching is delicately taken into account because of ‘indexicality’ (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1998), whereby linguistic practices and socio-cultural identities are inextricably interwoven. In her theory of indexicality, Ochs states that many linguistic features are associated with “index[ing] social meanings (e.g., stances, social acts, social activities)” (p. 340). In other words, indexicality is defined as a property of speech through which particular stances or acts constitute cultural contexts such as social identities. Therefore, indexicality involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1998) in line with language as social semiotic (Halliday, 1978) in which language is interpreted within a sociocultural context.

Although code-switching behavior cannot be adequately understood without the linkage between micro- and macro-analysis of code-switching behavior, this study focused on macro-analysis of code-switching, which is closely linked to larger social context rather than to linguistic syntactic structures.

2.2.6 Korean Language Education

Some of the participants in this study learned Korean through formal and/or informal learning contexts such as Korean weekend schools and post-secondary Korean programs. Korean weekend schools have provided second-generation Korean children with a major learning context. However, their response to the learning experience varies depending on their own motivation for learning Korean, their parents’ support, and the learning context (e.g., teachers’ teaching methods and learning materials). An institutionalized formal learning environment has both positive and negative aspects
depending on an individual’s motivation. It is obvious, however, that these settings provide a more complex learning context than the context at home. Even though the primary setting of this research is the homes of Korean immigrants, it is still important to understand what kinds of language learning environments are available in the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD).

2.2.6.1 Korean Language Education in BC

Korean language learning in institutionalized learning environments can be classified into two streams: accredited programs and non-accredited programs.

2.2.6.1.1 Accredited Programs

For Korean accredited programs, Korean program for university students at the University of British Columbia (UBC) and the BCSAKS-led Korean language program for high school students as a second language are the most representative programs in the Canadian province of British Columbia.

1) UBC’s Korean Studies\textsuperscript{14} Offerings for University Students

UBC is the only post-secondary educational institution in BC teaching Korean language and culture. The department of Asian Studies at UBC began offering an integrated program of courses in the study of Korean language and culture in 1993 with the appointment of Dr. Donald Baker. When Dr. Ross King filled the position for Korean language and literature in Korean studies in the same department, UBC started offering a wide range of Korean language and literature programs. Through the appointments of Dr. Bruce Fulton in Korean literature and Ms. Insun Lee to a new Korean language Instructorship, UBC’s Korean program expanded the size and content of its programs. The Korean language program has about 80 to 100 enrollments every year from beginner

\textsuperscript{14} Visit the website for details: \url{http://www.asia.ubc.ca/}. 
to advanced classes. One unique feature of this Korean language program is that it has insisted on a two-track system by splitting the language learners into heritage and non-heritage learners. Due to the influence of the Korean Wave\(^\text{15}\), the body of non-heritage Korean learners has shown steady growth since 2003.

2) **BCSAKS\(^\text{16}\) Korean Language Program for High School Students**

One Korean community organization by the name of BCSAKS (the BC Society for the Advancement of Korean Studies), led by Dr. Sungsoo Lee, a professor emeritus from the UBC Faculty of Education, promotes Korean language teaching in the public school system and has developed a Korean Integrated Resource Package (IRP)\(^\text{17}\). As a result of their efforts, Korean as a second language was introduced by the Delta school board in 2005. However, due to low enrollments, the Korean language has thus far not been offered during regular day-time class hours, and is offered instead on Saturdays or after school in certain schools as of February, 2008. Each class size has between 10 and 16 students with no separation of heritage and non-heritage learners. Due to the dearth of textbooks for teaching Korean as a second language in BC, Korean teachers use the Korean Teacher Resources Package (TRP) and supplementary resources prepared individually. Online courses for grades 9 to 11 are also offered through Vancouver Learning Network\(^\text{18}\) (VLN). In the online courses as of the January term, 2008, grade 9 (32 students) has mostly non-heritage students, while grade 11 (16 students) consists of mostly HL learners.

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\(^{15}\) Korean Wave which is called ‘hanlyu’ in Korean is the explosive new popularity of Korean pop culture in East and Southeast Asia since the mid- and late 1990s.

\(^{16}\) Visit the website for details: [http://www.bcsaks.com/](http://www.bcsaks.com/).

\(^{17}\) IRP provides basic information that teachers require in order to implement the curriculum for the BC Ministry of Education.

\(^{18}\) For more details, visit the website: [http://vln.vsb.bc.ca](http://vln.vsb.bc.ca).
2.2.6.1.2 Non-accredited Programs

Saturday language school has been a traditional space in which heritage language learners can learn their heritage language, even though there is substantial evidence, both anecdotal and from research, suggesting that learners usually complain about the lack of resources and the traditional teaching methods. I will discuss five representative Korean Saturday schools in the metropolitan area of Vancouver (Vancouver Korean School, Vancouver Christian Korean School, Fraser Valley Korean School, St. Andrew Kim Parish (Kim Dae Kön Catholic) Korean School, and the Seugwangsa Buddhist Korean School). Although some protestant Christian churches run their own Korean language programs for immigrant families, I chose these five schools because of their higher student enrollment and longer service in the Korean community. The information about the Saturday schools will be discussed in terms of the number of years of operation.

1) Vancouver Korean School

The Vancouver Korean School was established in 1973 by Pyŏng Byŏng Pan (United Church minister), Sŏngun Cho (the seventh president of the Korean Community Association), and Pyŏngun Choe (Consul-General of the ROK at the time). The president of the Korean community association also supported the Korean program until the Korean Language School separated from the Korean community association in 1979. The Vancouver Korean School has been called by its present name since 1981. The School developed its own textbook series, and the majority of the teachers have previous teaching experience in Korea. The Vancouver Korean School has played a crucial role by providing a relatively large program for the Korean community. Thus, the school has been a cornerstone for second-generation Korean Canadians for more than 30 years.
The school has an average of 200 students enrolled every year. The school opened a branch in 2006 in Coquitlam where the largest Korean immigrant population exists.

2) **Vancouver Christian Korean School**

The Christian Korean School was set up in 2001 by Yŏngchŏl, a Protestant minister, and Yangkyun Sin, one of the Vancouver Korean School’s executive members. The spirit of the school is in line with Protestant Christianity, but the school is open to everyone who wants to learn Korean. The school has also had about 200 students every year.

3) **Fraser Valley Korean School**

The Fraser Valley Korean School was opened in 1994 by Cheulseung No. The School has Friday evening classes at 9 pm and Saturday morning classes at 10 am. The faculty consist of a principal, two senior teachers, fifteen teachers, and five extra-curricular teachers. The class time is composed of three hours of class time and one hour of extra-curricular activities such as Korean traditional games. Most teachers have teaching experience or attended teacher training programs in Korea. One unique feature is that the school website provides the students with access to the discussion forum and homework section so that they can continue practicing Korean reading and writing during the weekdays.

4) **St. Andrew Kim Parish (Kim Dae Kǒn Catholic) Korean School**

The school was established in 1999 inside the Kim Dae Kǒn Catholic Korean Church in Surrey. There are eight levels taught by twelve teachers who mostly used to work as teachers in Korea. Religious content is not included in the Korean language.

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19 Visit the website for details: [http://www.fvks.ca/](http://www.fvks.ca/)
20 Visit the website for details: [http://www.daegunschool.com](http://www.daegunschool.com)
program. The School uses textbooks published by the Overseas Korean Foundation in Seoul. This school also provides a discussion forum through the school website so that students can practice their Korean reading and writing.

5) **Seugwangsa Buddhism Korean School**\(^{21}\)

The Seugwangsa Buddhism Korean School opened in 2005. There are five classes with four to ten students each. The teaching staff consists of five teachers and seven volunteer assistant teachers. The teachers have previous teaching experience in Korea. A unique characteristic of this program is the assistant teachers’ one-on-one interaction with students. The Korean program emphasizes not only students’ Korean language learning but also their cultural practice through extra activities such as pottery making, painting, Samul Nori\(^{22}\), and camp. They currently use textbooks purchased from the Korean consulate but are in the process of developing their own textbooks.

6) **UBC’s Faculty of Continuing Education**\(^{23}\)

UBC’s Korean language program in continuing education started in September 2006. Each term consists of ten weeks. There are between ten and thirteen students per class. The content focuses on the practical use of Korean in situations such as introducing oneself, going shopping, and ordering in a Korean restaurant. It is oriented so that grammar learning can be solidified through various activities. A standard textbook is not used but rather various grammar parts and activities are prepared by the instructor. Learners are overwhelmingly non-heritage adult learners.

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\(^{21}\) Visit the website for details: [http://www.seokwangsa.ca/](http://www.seokwangsa.ca/).

\(^{22}\) Samul Nori is a combination of the Korean words Samul (four things) and Nori (play). The ‘four things’ are Korean percussion instruments. The information was downloaded from [http://www.hampton.va.us/parks/icf/pdf/korean_samulnor_info.pdf](http://www.hampton.va.us/parks/icf/pdf/korean_samulnor_info.pdf).

\(^{23}\) Visit the website for details: [http://www.cstudies.ubc.ca/](http://www.cstudies.ubc.ca/).
No institutionalized learning environment can ignore the issue of curriculum because curriculum involves the integration of the entire notion of learning. In the next section, curriculum issues related to Korean teaching and learning as a HL will be discussed.

2.2.6.2 Curriculum Issues

Since enrollment in Korean university courses began to increase in the 1980s in North America, heritage and non-heritage language issues in Korean language teaching have gained considerable attention among Korean language teachers. The overwhelming majority of learners in North American Korean language classrooms are HL learners, necessitating a different curriculum than for non-heritage learners. S-O. Sohn (1995) suggested a two-track system to meet the needs of heritage learners and reported on the successful implementation of a new two-track system in the UCLA Korean program. Sohn’s two-track solution is ideal, but is feasible only within cities such as Los Angeles where a large Korean population resides. According to S-O. Sohn (1997), even at UCLA, the two-track system is used only in the first two years of Korean classes due to insufficient enrollments in the advanced classes, in which all students are merged regardless whether they are heritage or non-heritage learners. Thus, the problem of how to effectively teach heritage and non-heritage learners still remains in many Korean programs that suffer from the lack of funding and low enrollments typical of most university programs.

King (1998a) echoed the need for separate tracks but presents a critique of S-O. Sohn’s (1995) lack of curricular differentiation, pointing out that merely creating separate sections within the same course does not solve the problem. He emphasized running
through at least three years of undergraduate curriculum in a separate track. His article influenced a series of publications that invoke the significance of a two-track system for HL and non-HL learners (relayed discussions followed his paper in studies by C-B. Lee, Ree, and You in the community of American Association of Teachers of Korean).

C-B. Lee (2000) stressed developing innovative teaching methods and new teaching materials instead of insisting on the ideal and expensive two-track programs. He argued for two different approaches in grammar teaching: deductive methods for non-heritage learners and inductive methods for heritage learners. He also put enormous emphasis on a very strict and effective placement test so as to offer a wider range of content-based or skill-featuring courses in Korean language teaching. As a result of his experiences in the difficulty of screening students’ proficiency levels, he urged the development of a Korean placement test based on the authoritative guidelines from the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) (Kondo-Brown, 2003). He offered a practical alternative for HL education, but his approach (deductive vs. inductive) still sounds rather too hypothetical and theoretical, and he also failed to provide actual and detailed examinations explaining specific linguistic features that differ between HL and non-HL learners. More empirical research needs to be done to explain why and how HL and non-HL learners acquire linguistic features differently if a concrete pedagogical plan is to be successfully developed.

Serious discussions of heritage vs. non-heritage learners are on-going and appear repeatedly in other literature. Ree (1998) proposed a resource-sharing approach to overcome the barriers of teaching students with different backgrounds in the same
classroom within existing systems. Ree claimed that if a classroom atmosphere is created in which the heritage learners’ fluency in listening and speaking can scaffold non-heritage students’ learning, then heritage learners will no longer be bored with the slow pace in the Korean classroom. However, certain concerns still need to be carefully addressed, although his efforts to find a feasible and economical alternative can be easily understood. What if the heritage learners complain that they are being used or even exploited for non-heritage students’ learning? To make Ree’s idea workable, a well-prepared plan and detailed syllabi are inevitably needed. However, he did not go into further details in his paper.

Recent work done by Andrew Byon at SUNY Albani (Byon, 2007) recommends various instructional models such as process-driven culture learning and culture portfolios projects for teaching cultural content, and language socialization for teaching Korean honorifics patterns. Through the process-driven culture learning, the students increase their cross-cultural awareness. They “acknowledge the need to have open attitudes when learning new cultures” (p. 84). As another cultural learning activity, the culture portfolio project (Byon, 2007) was employed with the students who took the introductory Korean culture course. The 27 non-heritage students developed their own project hypothesis, and in order to affirm or disprove their hypotheses, they collected data through library research, online research, and/or informal interviews with Korean native speakers. It is reported that this project expanded the students’ understanding of the target culture and their stereotypes were reshaped over the semester. Another of Byon’s instructional suggestions can be found in his illustration of teacher-student interactions (Byon, 2004, 2006). Through socialization between teacher and student, “students are
gradually socialized into the hierarchical sociocultural norm of Korean” (Byon, 2007, p. 284). The socializing effects help the students realize the Korean honorific patterns.

Reviewing what has been done with heritage language issues in Korean language teaching, Clare You (2001), long-time coordinator of the large Korean language program at the University of California-Berkeley, discussed curriculum, text materials, and instructor training. In the discussion of curriculum, she suggested a one-skill-per-semester approach rather than focusing on the development of all four skills (or five including culture) so that HL students can concentrate intensively on one skill at a time without having to worry about other skills. She also suggested a student-initiated curriculum comprised of small groups based on their interests. She claimed that both heritage and non-heritage learners will aspire to learn if they choose their own learning goals. But for successful implementation, very careful planning and detailed organization of the content and methodology are imperative, as she mentioned. The most impressive comment in the paper is the description of a good language teacher. She argued against our assumption that linguists automatically make good language teachers, which is also stressed in King (1998a). Her description follows:

A good language teacher knows how to teach and what to teach; the knowledge and experience of teaching a language are more important than knowing how the deep structure of grammar or complex phonological rules presume to operate in our subconscious minds….We need Korean language teachers with various backgrounds, as in any field where the center of focus is people, especially teaching heritage learners because their interests go beyond language learning. (p. 283)

As seen in the discussions above, there are no perfect solutions to the problem of teaching HL, and all solutions require adequate support from inside and outside
universities. Above all, an immense contribution by Korean language educators is still required to generate ideas that can work.

As in You’s definition of a good language teacher above, the role of HL educators needs to be carefully considered. However, the discussion or research directions regarding HL education should first be centered on a detailed and in-depth analysis of learners’ characteristics, motivation, attitudes, and familial relationships. For this, it is necessary to analyze the theory and practice of parents and children towards learning Korean. Only then can we develop different curricula for the different HL learners accordingly.

In the next sections, a literature review on CMC will follow. CMC is one of the most salient issues in discussing language and culture learning among various technologies. Relevant issues related to CMC will also be discussed.

2.3 Computer-mediated Communication (CMC)

The term CMC encompasses various technologies such as email, email listservs, electronic bulletin boards, chatrooms, internet relay channels (IRCs), and multiple-user object oriented domains (MOOs). A growing literature defines the term in various senses. It was used for the first time in Hilts and Turoff (1978), but the definition was limited to computer conferencing. The definition, however, has evolved and broadened to include both synchronous (real time) and asynchronous (different time interval) communication. With synchronous communication, all participants are online simultaneously and read and respond to one another immediately, whereas with asynchronous communication, participants need not be online simultaneously and can read and respond at different times. Some researchers (e.g., Kock, 2001; Shirani, Tafti, & Affisco, 1999) found
differences between synchronous and asynchronous CMC. They argued that asynchronous communication has the advantage of a deeper analysis of problems, while synchronous communication has increased quantity of ideas.

Multifaceted CMC has been illuminated from various aspects. CMC is, in essence, a socially produced space (Chayko, 2002; Jones, 1995; Soja, 1989). The now pervasive word cyberspace was coined for the first time in a work of fiction by William Gibson (1984). The term underlines the lack of physical presence. Along with Soja’s notes, Jones (1995) defined the notion of space in detail: “CMC gives us a tool with which to use space for communication” (p. 16). His detailed description of the new forms of community brought about by CMC uses a new term, ‘cybersociety’, in which “the notion of community depends on CMC and on the ability to share thoughts and information instantaneously across vast distances” (p. 2):

CMC is not just a tool; it is at once technology, medium, and engine of social relations. It not only structures social relations, it is the space within which the relations occur and the tool that individuals use to enter that space. It is more than the context within which social relations occur for it is commented on and imaginatively constructed by symbolic processes initiated and maintained by individuals and groups. (Jones, 1995, p.16)

The concept of community is very important in the discussion of CMC and will be discussed and described in detail later in this chapter.

Chayko (2002), in her book, Connecting, delineated the concept of space/place as sociomental space. Sociomental space is

a grand mental field in which an infinite number of collective mental maps are formed and intersect. It is the space in which we can say that connections and bonds form; where we can feel close to others who are physically distant…. It is the arena in which people mentally ‘come together’. (p. 37)
She argued that a space must be considered a social approximation. In short, it is important to understand space as a socially constructed space in which people are mentally oriented to actively engage in constructing communication.

CMC is a text-based, computer-mediated, online human interaction that involves communicating with one or more computer users (Warschauer, 1997). Most software used for CMC relies exclusively on text (Jones, 1995). Detailed linguistic analyses of textual characteristics of CMC (Herring, 1996; Yates, 1996; Collot & Belmore, 1996) have drawn much interest because such research is essential for CMC to be successfully implemented in real classrooms. Generally, CMC is regarded as written conversation (Herring, 1996). Yates (1996) found that CMC is much closer to writing than to speech in range of vocabulary and lexical density, and Sproull and Kiesler (1986) reported that CMC is less powerful than face-to-face communication. Shank (1993) looked at the nature of the message and postulated that it is neither oral nor written communication. All in all, it used to be believed that CMC was inherently text-natured. One of the salient issues among the growing body of literature is learner identity and the creation of community among online learners (Bitterman, 2000; Palloff & Pratt, 1999; Ruhleder, 1999; Stacey, 1999). Such studies regard learning as a complex social activity. Three interesting issues draw close attention to a new understanding of CMC: identity, community, and social presence. These will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3.1 Identity

In the mechanical age, technology was viewed as instrumental. Users were figured as already-formed subjects who approach it, rather than contingent subjects who are approached and altered by it. However, this view has been radically challenged in
recent years due to the appearance of a new medium, the Internet. In this new era, users’ identity is considered to be fluid rather than static (Nakamura, 2002; Castells, 1997; Turkle, 1995).

Castells (1997), in *The Power of Identity*, argued that “identity must be distinguished from what, traditionally, sociologists have called roles, and role-sets” (p. 6), because the roles are defined by norms structured by the institutions and organizations of society. He argued that “all identities are constructed” (p. 7) from a sociological perspective. He proposed three different types of identity construction: 1) *legitimizing identity*, introduced by the dominant institutions of society; 2) *resistance identity*, generated by those actors that are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination; 3) *project identity* which builds a new identity that redefines participants’ positions in society and, by so doing, seeks the transformation of overall social structure (p. 8). These three identity constructions are closely related to the power relationships in which people are socially situated. The power relationships draw our attention to ethnicity, which has been a source of discrimination. Ethnicity is a significant feature of identity which commonly consists of cultural aspects such as nation, religion, and gender because “ethnicity has been a fundamental source of meaning and recognition throughout human history” (Castells, 1997, p. 53). However, according to Castells’ argument, identity is constructed through new processes of constructing new cultural codes out of historical materials as shown in the three different types of identity construction processes.

In line with Castells, Nakamura (2002) celebrated “fluid identities”; she coined the term “identity tourism,” which means “acquiring the ability to carve out new, less
oppressive norms, and gaining the capacity to ‘acknowledge diversity’ in ever more effective ways” (p.13). She viewed the activity of surfing as associated with tourism. Cyberspace is a place “where travel and mobility are featured attractions,” where travel “is inherently recreational, exotic, and exciting” (p. 40).

Similarly, Turkle (1995) makes the point that people can see themselves as many selves by engaging in endless role-playing games. The self is prepared to play out all its fantasies, living life as a play of fiction. Multiplicity and fluidness of identity in living with technology makes our life a symbolic arena in which simulation and reality merge and become indistinguishable. Whereas identity was in the past defined as unitary and solid, now “a more fluid sense of self allows for a greater capacity for acknowledging diversity…” (p. 261). Baym (1995, 1998) also made the point that multiple identities are formed due to anonymous CMC interaction because “anonymous users can switch genders, appearance, and countless other usually integral aspects of the public self and people can also take on multiple identities” (Baym, 1995, p. 154).

To summarize, identity in the technology era is constantly constructed through taking on multiple roles. Beyond geographical and physical attributes, we, while living in global networks, should add another layer of identity construction to become multiple selves in a dynamic society.

2.3.2 Community

Community is defined as “a group of individuals who belong to a social unit such as students in a class” (Picciano, 2002, p. 22). The term “community” has in the past referred to a place-based connotation. Whereas the traditional concept considers classrooms as a community-making arena, modern society is often not geographically
based but relationship-based (Garton, Haythornthwaite & Wellman, 1997). The literature reveals various views towards agency in the creation of community (Cecez-Kecmanovic & Webb, 2000; Kowach & Schwier, 1997; Wilson, 2001) and of learner identity; the creation of community among online learners (Bitterman, 2000; Stacey, 1999) reflects an understanding of learning as a complex social activity. Community is interpreted as a sense of bond, tie, inclusion, or connection with others (Chayko, 2002; Haythornthwaite, 2002). Chayko (2002) introduced the term ‘resonance’, “a concept rooted in the Pythagorean principle that ‘like is known by like’” (p. 66). Resonance refers to the “sympathetic” vibration of a sound wave as it strikes a body that vibrates in response at the same frequency. The concept is illustrated in the “chemical bonds that form between atoms[,] there must be some similarity in ‘social atoms’ for there to be a possibility of a bond” (p.67). The proliferation of terms such as communities of learners, discourse communities, learning communities, knowledge-building communities, school communities, and communities of practice still needs to be studied for a better understanding of what constitutes community.

The significance of the constructivists’ point of view to CMC is in the collaboration and interaction of the learning process. Several social and cognitive psychologists define learning as a social activity. Well-known socio-psychologists such as Dewey, Piaget, Bruner, Vygotsky, Lave, and Wenger emphasize that learning is constructed as a result of interaction and shared efforts to make sense of new information. It is believed that learning may best be achieved through the social construction of knowledge in a “community of practice.” A community of practice is “a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and
overlapping communities of practice” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98). Lave and Wenger view the acquisition of knowledge as a social process in which people participate in communal learning to become a full practitioner. In other words, learning involves participation in a community of practice. Therefore, this view maintains that learning is inseparable from doing.

The growing literature discussing CMC, therefore, has spawned various terms such as virtual or online community, emphasizing online social practice. Early users of computer networks created virtual communities, using the term popularized by Howard Rheingold (1993, 2000), and these communities were sources of values that patterned behavior and social organization. Many researchers “emphasize the extreme diversity of virtual communities” (Castells, 2001, p. 54). Furthermore, online communities could be likened to Anderson’s (1991) concept of “imagined communities,” in which 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.

In short, CMC technologies allows people to construct a constant rearranging of existing knowledge to produce new and more complex mental structures through the constant interaction among participants.

2.3.3 Social Presence

Social presence is a concept central to learning and requires not only community, with its constituent participation and interaction, but also collaboration, a form of participation that is closely connected to constructivist learning principles. A sense of awareness that creates a feeling of ‘who I am and who others are’ is called a sense of
Presence is an important concept in understanding online or virtual communities.

Heeter (1992) offered three kinds of presence in terms of personal awareness: personal, social, and an environment of interaction. Personal presence increases the more one discloses personal information; the more others reciprocate, and the more that individuals know about each other, the more likely they are to establish trust, seek support, and thus find satisfaction. The second concept, social presence, comes from the theory of Short, Williams, and Christie (1976). They used social presence to describe the ability of a communications medium to give a teammate the feeling of the presence of the other teammates for direct communication and interaction. The development of social presence and a sense of online community are key to promoting collaborative learning and knowledge building (Gunawardena, 1995). A strong sense of social presence allows a strong tie within the community. Haythornthwaite (2002) discussed strong and weak ties. She concluded from a social network perspective that weakly tied pairs are likely to constrain their interactions to class-mandated media, while strongly tied pairs find many ways to communicate, but also need many ways to communicate. Chayko (2002) proposed that another term, engagement, is critical to the development of connectedness at a distance. Within Heeter’s (1992) third component of presence, the environment of interaction is also a focus of reciprocal awareness. The technology of communication has created a new social situation: cyberspace. Interaction mediates for the participants in that space by creating interface.

According to Garrison and Anderson (2003), the formation of community requires a sense of social presence among participants. To support critical thinking in
learning communities using text-based CMC, Garrison, Anderson, and Archer’s (2000) model presents the learning experience in terms of three “presence” components: cognitive presence, teaching presence, and social presence. Rourke, Anderson, Garrison and Archer (2001) further explicated the social presence component of this model and developed the coding template to assess social presence in computer conferencing. In this research, the template they developed was refined and used as a framework or tool to capture social presence elements among participants in an online learning context.

Social presence is defined as “the ability of learners to project themselves socially and affectively into a community of enquiry” (Rourke, Anderson, Garrison & Archer, 1999, p. 50). In this sense, learners’ perception of social presence plays an important role in the community. Tu (2001) examined Chinese students’ perceptions of social presence in three systems: email, bulletin board, and real-time chat. The level of social presence varied by “how users perceive and utilize CMC systems” (p. 58). Therefore, the degree of social presence can be altered and cultivated with different strategies and different participants. Garrison and Archer (2000) labeled the entirety of the learning process, including cognitive presence, teaching presence and social presence, as a “community of enquiry.”

2.3.4 Language Education

Modern technology and language education have been hand in hand for a few decades. The Internet today has created important changes in “the way we communicate and how we access, produce, and distribute information and knowledge” (Luke, 2000, p. 70). From traditional behaviorism-driven language labs proliferating in the 60s or 70s, to the Internet’s significant growth since the 90s, technology has dramatically altered the
ways language learners learn and use the target language. Despite many challenges in the use of technology in language classrooms, such as lack of technical equipment and budgetary considerations, lack of computer literacy, unbalanced course content and time frames, plagiarism, and so on, there are still several advantages provided by the Internet to language learners. This section reviews literature on the main issues of language learning and CMC.

2.3.4.1 Second Language Acquisition

In the 1980s, computer conferencing began to be used in academia and the business world, both in its asynchronous form and its synchronous form. Since then, as described earlier, social scientists have examined the psychological and sociological impacts of these new forms of communication. In the late 1980s, second and foreign language teachers began to integrate electronic communication into language teaching. Innumerable studies have been dedicated to the impact of electronic communication on general language development. The great enthusiasm for the potential of CMC technologies for language learning has elicited extensive interest from students of second language acquisition.

At the beginning, the main interest was to see how CMC facilitates language acquisition in general by focusing on second language learners’ writing performance within text-based interaction (e.g., Cummins & Sayers, 1995; St. John & Cash, 1995). However, the research spectrum has evolved and broadened into more complex language learning processes. Integrative-computer assisted language learning (CALL) allows language learners to interact and negotiate meaning and authentic discourse via multimedia and the Internet. Among various aspects of CALL, CMC has become
prevalent and is deemed to bring the greatest impact on language learning (Warschauer, 1996). CMC is emerging as a blend of print text, sound, and graphic imagery. There are many advantages that online learning or CMC provides to learners that the regular second language classroom does not. Online learning is more democratic since it provides more time and space for students to reflect and respond to issues raised in the classroom or found in their textbooks. Second language learners in particular need that extra time and opportunity to process their ideas and realize them through writing (Carey, 1999, 2001a, 2001b).

Due to the many advantages of CMC discussed above, researchers have shown extensive interest in CMC technologies in the last few years. Research interests have evolved from the effectiveness of using CMC technologies in a language classroom of varied socio-cultural settings to more complex language learning processes. CMC contributes to the improvement of learner involvement and the promotion of equal and democratic participation (Kern, 1995; Warschauer, 1996; Carey, 1999, 2002), a greater sense of community among participants (Baym, 1995; Murray, 2000), and greater intercultural communication competence (Barsharina, 2004; L. Lee, 1998; Müller-Hartmann, 2000; Kramsch & Thorne, 2002; O’Dowd, 2003). Research on online discussion in general has focused on the impact of CMC on learning outcomes (Harasim, 1990; Hiltz & Wellman, 1997), critical thinking skills (Burge, 1994), social relationships (Day, Crump & Rickly, 1996; Hiltz & Wellman, 1997), and academic language development (Luo, 2005). Among numerous studies regarding language learning with CMC, Warschauer has made a significant contribution in this field by conducting empirical research in the second language classroom. Warschauer (1996) suggested that
electronic discussions may create opportunities for more equal participation in the classroom. His research foci were extended to broader terrains emphasizing social and cultural interaction in language learning. In the last decade, Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research has been devoted to the significance of interaction for language development (e.g., Gass, 1995, 1997; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Long, 1991, 1996; Pica, 1994, 2000). One of the important issues in interactions seems to be the “focus on error correction” (Doughty & Long, 2003; Long, 1996). Many have been dedicated to the impact of electronic communication on a language learner’s writing performance due to its text-based nature via CMC technologies. As an asynchronous communication tool, email has been used as the most popular tool for communicative interaction because it is quick and easy to use for language teachers and students. Such interactive language learning experiences via CMC are congruent with discourse-based second language acquisition theories which emphasize the role of communicative interaction (Pica, 1987).

To summarize, CMC provides second language learners with multiple advantages in developing their target languages. Extensive interaction taking place in an online environment promotes language learning.

2.3.4.2 Electronic Literacy

Whereas traditional definitions of literacy focused on reading and writing, the definition of literacy today is more complex. In the 19th century, literacy was viewed as knowledge of literature and attention to rhetorical appropriateness. Today, social, economic, and technological transformations have aligned to bring about major changes in literacy practices (Warschauer, 2003). The process of becoming literate today involves more than learning how to use language effectively; rather, the process amplifies and
changes both the cognitive and the linguistic functioning of the individual in society. Technological revolutions entail rapid and far-reaching social change that is the inevitable result of the introduction of a major new technology.

‘Electronic literacy’, a concept that emerged in the 1980s, affects literacy practices and communities. Electronic literacy is actually an umbrella term that “encompasses several other generic literacies of the information era, including computer literacy, information literacy, multimedia literacy, and computer-mediated communication literacy” (Warschuer, 2003, p.111). Literacy in an electronic medium is not tied to text; it may include images, sounds, and actions. Cope and Kalantzis (2000) emphasized the notion that the students of today and tomorrow cannot be merely literate, but must be multiliterate. By being multiliterate, they can understand many modes of text from a variety of communication and information networks, and work cooperatively with others in a multicultural environment. Within the field of literacy studies, several researchers working from a more anthropological perspective have demonstrated that literacy is a socio-cultural phenomenon that reflects a community's values. For example, the Internet is used largely for communication through email, newsgroups, bulletin boards, and Instant Messaging, all of which are modeled on existing forms of communication in some way. The computer is not just a “computing” machine, but a communication vehicle that connects people.

Lanham (1993), Bolter (1991), and Landow (1992) celebrated new electronic literacies, claiming that they represent much fuller and richer ways to present and access information. In their view, “hypertext facilitates a critical and dynamic approach to
literacy that is an extension of the best traditions of the print world” (Warschauer, 1999, p.11).

All in all, our traditional concept of literacy has changed as new technologies changed our life patterns. Thus, there is a need to understand the dynamic characteristics that technology entails in the discussion of literacy.

2.3.5 Social Software: Web 2.0

In this study, for language practice online, most data presented in the following chapters come from the participants’ email and instant messenger logs. In addition, some of the participants use Cyworld and social blogs as their preferred means of communicating and sharing with others. The latter platform provides users with a more dynamic and interactive relationship. According to Michael Stephens’ definition in his ALA techSource Blog24,

Web 2.0 is the next incarnation of the World Wide Web, where digital tools allow users to create, change, and publish dynamic content of all kinds. We will all be publishers and creators of our own information and entertainment channels with these applications.

Unlike the original web (Web 1.0) where exchange and interaction was rudimentary (Johnson, 2005), Web 2.0 aims to enhance collaboration and sharing between users. Compared with Web1.0, Web 2.0 has several concepts that are prominent: openness, connectedness, participation, and ease of use. Due to Web 2.0’s efficiency and reusability, the difference between Web 1.0 and 2.0 is compared to the difference between a desert and a rain forest, where “the nutrient cycles in rain forest ecosystems are so tight that the soil is usually very poor for farming, so all the available energy has been captured on the way down to the earth” (Johnson, 2005, p. 2). Stephen (2006) viewed

…Web 2.0 as a set of ever-evolving tools that can benefit online users. With these tools, users can converse across blogs, wikis, and at photo-sharing sites, such as Flickr, via comments or through online discussions. With these tools, folks having similar and dissimilar viewpoints can make a connection. With these tools, collaboration is possible despite the barriers of distance and time. (p. 6)

2.3.6 Role of Technology in Maintaining Heritage Language

Warschauer (1999) demonstrated the significance of technology use in language maintenance. He shed light on the relation between new technologies and language revitalization in his research on Hawaiian language revitalization. The students in his study commented that “a new way of writing, culturally appropriate education, social identity and investment, technology literacies, and language revitalization were not isolated themes of the course” (p. 124). Warschauer revealed that “the goal of Hawaiian educators in supporting technology has been to promote the notion of Hawaiian as a language of the present and future, not just the past” (p. 123). The use of technology helped give the Hawaiian language students a sense of the future of the language. Nancy Hornberger (1997) contended that “language revitalization is not about bringing a language back, it’s about bringing it forward” (cited in Warschauer, 1999, p. 123). New technologies may be a new and powerful force for preserving and shaping the identity of cultural minorities. Significant attention is being paid to the role of technology in language maintenance and revitalization due to the nature of CMC, which enables people to be bonded, tied, included, or connected with others. Computers make a real connection “from here to the outside world” (Warschauer, 1999, p. 121).
2.3.7 Why is Technology Meaningful for Koreans?

According to comScore Newworks\textsuperscript{25}, the online population in Korea is ranked sixth in the world, after the US, China, Japan, Germany, and the United Kingdom. In addition, Korea is ranked third after Israel and Finland in average hours spent online per visitor as a measure of engagement. Korea has high broadband penetration and Koreans enjoy a wide variety of online activities. Their lives are becoming more convenient, cost-effective, global, and technology dependent. Even the development of the Internet technology has changed “the whole political dynamic in South Korea to an extent that the outside world has not yet grasped” (Guardian, 2003). An article entitled “World’s first Internet president logs on” in the daily Internet newspaper introduces the power of Netizens revealed in the Korean presidential election. Mr. Roh Moo-hyun, a candidate in tune with the Internet, was elected president with the support of the younger generation who gained most of its information from the Internet. It was an unprecedented victory of the voice of the younger generation in this new way. With the world’s highest penetration of high-speed and mobile Internet services, Korea is at the cutting edge of technology; technology is transforming the South Korean political system, making it more open and democratic.

As evidence of technological advancement in Korea, the World Competitiveness Report of 2002 of the Institute of Management Development places Korea tenth in the world in scientific and technological competitiveness using indicators such as investment, number of researchers, and degree of the protection of intellectual property rights (Y-B. Chae, 2002). Another advance and change in life in Korea can be related to the number of

\textsuperscript{25} The article was downloaded from http://www.comscore.com/press/release.asp?press=849. The estimate of global online audience size is 694 million worldwide, age 15+, as of March 2006.
the Internet users (24,645,000, age + 15, as of March 2006). The Internet has already become an essential tool in Koreans’ lives.

Advanced technology also impacts the lives of Korean immigrants in Canada. Unlike the first immigrant generation that suffered from total detachment from their home country, current immigrants have constant and tangible access to Korean culture and language via the Internet if they desire. Thus, a match between technology and language maintenance seems to be powerful and meaningful to Korean immigrants.

2.4 Research Questions

In this chapter, I have reviewed the relevant literature on HL maintenance and CMC technologies for language learning. From the HL literature review, it is clear that the existing literature still fails to provide comprehensive examinations of parents’ involvement in their children’s HL acquisition and maintenance, even though the significance of the parental role is repeatedly discussed in many studies. Thus, in my work, I examine the parents’ and children’s attitudes and actual parental involvement in their children’s HL acquisition and maintenance. Furthermore, I reviewed current literature on language learning through online communication because of Korea’s extensive use of the Internet and the potential functions of CMC in HL learning. Technology use for a variety of purposes has become prevalent among Korean immigrants. Their use of technology, particularly online communication, provides ample resources and practices for learning HL language and culture. This leads to the following two sets of research questions:
1) What are parents’ and children’s attitudes towards heritage language maintenance? How are parents and their children involved in heritage language acquisition and maintenance?

2) What are parents’ and children’s attitudes towards technology\textsuperscript{26} use for heritage language maintenance? How do parents and their children use the technology as a means of language acquisition and maintenance?

\textsuperscript{26} I use the terms “technology use,” “Internet use,” and “computer use” interchangeably because the word technology is perceived to be closely tied to computers and the Internet.
Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the research methodology employed in the study. In Section 3.2, I will state some assumptions which influenced my approach to the study. In Sections 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5, I will discuss matters of research design, data analysis, and research trustworthiness. As a final step, I will summarize the approach taken.

3.2 Assumptions of This Study

The following stories are true. The names are fictitious, but the people and places are real. The stories provide a glimpse of the life of immigrant families in metropolitan areas in and around Vancouver, Canada. This area has been growing in numbers of Korean immigrants. I was inclined to believe that the lives of immigrants are more complex than meets the eye in how these people maintain their heritage language and culture. That complexity is due, at least in part, to their very diverse backgrounds, and the distinct ways in which these immigrants adapt to their new environment.

This study employs qualitative approaches. Qualitative approaches are characterized by a greater attention to process. They emphasize perceptions and their meanings, and how these emerge and change. Direct, qualitative verbal reports are preferred. Qualitative analyses also prefer an inductive approach starting with observation and allowing grounded theory to emerge. According to Cresswell (1998, p. 17), “in a qualitative study, the research question often starts with a ‘how’ or a ‘what’ so that initial forays into the topic describe what is going on,” whereas quantitative questions ask ‘why’ and look for a comparison of groups, a relationship between variables, or cause and effect. Guba and Lincoln (1994) illustrated contrasts in the
ontology (beliefs about the nature of reality) between qualitative and quantitative methodologists. Qualitative methodologists take a naturalistic view of research and believe that there are multiple constructed realities, while quantitative methodologists are in line with the positivist’s assumption that there is a single reality.

The qualitative exploration of this study is defined within the constructivist and holistic paradigm. I combine two definitions in the literature for the methodological philosophy of the study: Denzin and Lincoln’s (1994) and Creswell’s (1998). Denzin and Lincoln’s (1994) definition is grounded in an “interpretive, naturalistic approach” based on multiple sources of information and narrative approaches:

Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals’ lives. (p. 2)

Creswell’s (1998) definition emphasizes a “complex, holistic picture.” He stated that “a complex narrative takes the reader into the multiple dimensions of a problem or issue and displays it in all of its complexity” (p.15).

This study investigates parents’ and children’s involvement in maintaining their Korean language as a HL. I did not intend to study the causal relationships between different methods of learning Korean as a HL and learning outcomes. Rather, the study is designed to provide in-depth descriptions and analyses of the processes of language socialization in children’s practices in maintaining Korean as a HL. These analyses address the situational, contextual, or ecological relationships within these social practices. The parents’ and children’s efforts, beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies about
Korean, English, multiculturalism, and bilingualism are investigated through a thick description of social practices which take place in the participants’ natural settings: family language socialization and online language practice. Thus, I have chosen a qualitative approach for this study to interpret and portray events and people in their natural settings by observing, interpreting, analyzing, and consequently bringing meaning to parents’ and children’s experiences of Korean language and culture maintenance.

Language plays an important role in constructing meaning in the present study because the study examines parents’ and children’s social practices in maintaining their HL and culture in various contexts, from the micro- to macro-level. I take a functional perspective on language for the data analysis. According to functional linguists, language is a social semiotic and a resource for making meaning (Eggins, 1994; Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Martin, 1993). Language constructs socio-cultural activity. Maintaining a heritage language is a form of symbolic socio-cultural stance rather than a mere medium of communication. A unit of cultural meaning is usually constructed and nurtured through discourse. Within discourse, one can distinguish between discourses of action and discourses of reflection. The discourse of reflection can be further classified into two types: general reflection and specific reflection (Mohan, Liang, Low, & Kanada, 1997). A detailed discussion of the discourse analysis of a social practice will be offered later.

To summarize, this study is an exploratory qualitative contextual investigation of social practices of maintaining Korean as a HL in natural contexts. Within the constructivist and holistic paradigm of qualitative inquiry through multiple methods, this study explores the theory/practice dynamic of maintaining a HL. In the process, language is considered a social semiotic and a resource for making meaning.
3.3 Research Design

As described earlier, this study employs qualitative research methodology. Guba and Lincoln’s (1994) means of assessing the quality of a study include techniques such as prolonged engagement in the field and the triangulation of data sources, and multiple methods, and investigators to establish credibility. Denzin (1978) advocates a multimethod design using the mathematical term “triangulation.” The term originates from geometry, in which two points and their angles are used to determine the distance to a third point. This approach to geometric analysis is applied similarly to study social phenomena by converging data sources. Denzin recommends the following types of triangulation:

- Data triangulation
- Investigator triangulation
- Theory triangulation
- Methodological triangulation

This research design aims to triangulate using the four categories discussed above. I will use diverse data sources such as the following:

- Questionnaires completed by children and parents
- Observations of home language socialization and online language socialization (face-to-face/online)
- Individual interviews with children and parents
- Other relevant documents such as event cards, school records issued from weekend heritage language schools, and so on

This research was designed for a PhD dissertation; thus, professors who have different methodological orientations have provided me with guidance and advice to avoid pitfalls that novice researchers are likely to face when attempting investigator triangulation. For theory triangulation, I use Mohan’s (1986) synthesized social practice theory to categorize action and reflection discourse. Discourse analysis rooted in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is also
employed. Although this study mainly employs qualitative approaches emphasizing thorough
descriptions to study children’s involvement in the maintenance of Korean as a HL,
questionnaires focusing on the collection of general data such as basic demographic information
from the participants were conducted before the interviews. A variety of different sources gained
through different methods increase the complexity of the study. These different methods create a
more accurate view of the issues identified and mutually support and validate each other,
permitting methodological triangulation.

For the overall process of conducting this study, I followed the general stages of
qualitative approach (Creswell, 1998) as follows:

Identifying problems → Reviewing information → Collecting data → Analyzing data → Drawing conclusions

The first step was to identify problems by obtaining related knowledge for the research
under consideration. Reviewing the available literature was required to gather
information about how others have approached or dealt with similar issues. At the data
collection stage, a good research design must avoid haphazard or ad hoc approaches. To
analyze data, digital technology such as audio data made it possible to create, process,
and analyze data in new ways. The conclusions were based on the data and the analysis.

The purpose of this research is to understand how parents support their children’s
language maintenance and how children practice their language learning and maintenance
in various contexts. Different theories and practices, from formal and informal learning
and socialization, will be identified on a match or mismatch continuum between parents
and children through an analysis of their action and reflection discourses. Thus, the
objective of this study’s analysis is to examine parents’ and children’s theory and practice
of language acquisition and maintenance in their daily life. In defining the key concepts of match and mismatch, I abide by the following guidelines: If participants act based on their attitudes and words, and this leads to HL maintenance, that would qualify as a matched case. A mismatched case is when the attitudes and words do not appear to match the result.

3.3.1 Case Study

This study can be defined as a case study; however, this “case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied” (Stake, 2000, p. 435). Stake (1995) considers “the case” an object of study. The rationale for choosing a case study for this research is the intensive approach to research that the case study offers. My approach is qualitative. I pay attention to Stake’s (1995) naturalistic, holistic, ethnographic, phenomenological, and biographic research approach. Stake explains that a case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case. Given the fact that heritage language and culture maintenance varies depending on an immigrant’s social, economic, and political ideologies, the study cannot aim at a clear cut generalization; rather, the complex and dynamic factors and practices of language and culture maintenance are emphasized. From this perspective, a case study is a well-suited conceptual structure for this situational qualitative study. This study focuses on the case of HL and culture maintenance in Korean immigrants in the GVRD in British Columbia, Canada. Within the study, there are four cases: ‘Native’, Family Invitation, Investment, and Satellite/‘Father Goose’. Each case consists of two families. The two families are compared and contrasted with each other. Furthermore, comparative analysis will be
made among the four cases. The case study’s structure is summarized in the following table:

Table 3.1: Scope of Case Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Korean Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case 1 Native 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 2 Family Invitation 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 3 Investment 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 4 Satellite Goose 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 2 Native 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 3 Family Invitation 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 4 Investment 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case 5 Satellite Goose 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2 Participants and Setting

I recruited eight families based on the number of years resident in Canada. The main criterion for selecting the eight families was that each had to have at least one child who was a 1.5- or 2nd generation Korean residing in Canada who had experience learning Korean in formal or informal settings. In addition, at least one child had to have experience using CMC tools as a way of learning and practicing the Korean language and culture. The main family members had to reside in the GVRD. The eight families were divided into four cases in pairs (30+ years, 20+ years, 10+ years, and less than 10 years of residence). The main reason I selected these four cases according to their residence periods in Canada is that the first wave of Korean immigration into Canada started during the late 60s and early 70s.

The participants were recruited through purposeful and snowball sampling techniques (Patton, 1987), using referrals and distribution lists from Korean language

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27 The names of the participants are pseudonyms. Each chapter is introduced by the family name, followed by the children’s first names in parenthesis.
programs, churches, community members, and my personal networks. Purposeful
sampling is “selecting information-rich cases for study in-depth” (Patton, 1990, p. 169).
An account of the participants’ backgrounds and special characteristics is summarized in
Table 3.2.
### Table 3.2: Participants’ Profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Participant/Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Length of residence in Canada</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Present occupation</th>
<th>Home language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Native Case 1</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Yu (62)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>32 years</td>
<td>Montreal -&gt; White Rock -&gt; Vancouver</td>
<td>Sandwich shop (owner)</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Yu (55)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kijōng (29)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>P/K, S/K, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kiun (27)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pharmacy student</td>
<td>P/K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Native Case 2</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Pak (59)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>34 years</td>
<td>Germany -&gt; Winnipeg -&gt; Alberta -&gt; Langley</td>
<td>Grocery shop (owner)</td>
<td>K, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Pak (54)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Property coordinator</td>
<td>P/K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharon (30)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Counselor</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brian (32)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Preparing for law school</td>
<td>P/K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Linsey (27)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Company employee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Invitation Case 1</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Song (49)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>20 years</td>
<td>Montreal -&gt; Surrey</td>
<td>Educational counselor</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Song (47)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yujin (20)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University student</td>
<td>P/K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yulim (14)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High school student</td>
<td>P/K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Invitation Case 2</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Hong (47)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>23 years</td>
<td>Montreal -&gt; Surrey</td>
<td>Insurance company (owner)</td>
<td>K, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Hong (46)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>College student</td>
<td>P/K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jack (23)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High school student</td>
<td>P/E, K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Julie (18)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Investment Case 1</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Cho (49)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>13 years</td>
<td>Washington, US -&gt; Korea -&gt; Burnaby</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Cho (49)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jiye (24)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>College student</td>
<td>P/K, S/K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jiwón (21)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High school student</td>
<td>P/K, S/K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Investment Case 2</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Kim (50)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>North Vancouver -&gt; West Vancouver</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Kim (48)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashley (21)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University student</td>
<td>P/E, K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tim (19)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High school student</td>
<td>P/E, K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant/Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Place of birth</td>
<td>Length of residence in Canada</td>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Present occupation</td>
<td>Home language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em><em>Satellite/Father Goose</em> Case 1</em>*</td>
<td>Mr. An (48)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>Langley</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. An (47)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sangmin (19)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>University student</td>
<td>P/K, S/K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minji (16)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High school student</td>
<td>P/K, S/K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em><em>Satellite/Father Goose</em> Case 2</em>*</td>
<td>Mr. Ko (43)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>Coquitlam</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Ko (41)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kůmıl (15)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High school student</td>
<td>P/K, S/E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kůnsők (11)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Middle school student</td>
<td>P/K, S/E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gender:** F = Female, M = Male  
**Home language:** K = Korean, E = English, P/K = Korean with Parents, S/K = Korean with Siblings, P/E = English with Parents, S/E = English with Siblings
Table 3.3: Children’s Self-Reports of Language Proficiency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Listening</th>
<th>Speaking</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Writing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very poor</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kijŏng</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiŭn</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharon</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linsey</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yujin</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulim</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiye</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiwŏn</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashley</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tim</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangmin</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minji</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kŭnil</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kŭnsŏk</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Among the four skills, listening received the highest mean score (4.4), followed by speaking (4.2), reading (3.8), and writing (3.3).

Table 3.3 shows the participants’ proficiency levels in Korean based on a self-assessed scale. Even though there has been an issue about the validity of using self-assessment (Kondo Brown, 2003, 2005, 2006), HL proficiency levels cannot be evaluated accurately using foreign language proficiency tests because of the various and complex factors involved in measuring proficiency. Considering the purpose of this study, the participants’ perceptions about their language proficiency are important because the children’s attitudes and motivation towards learning Korean are closely related to their language use. Thus, using self-assessment to measure language proficiency is useful in

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28 The self-assessed scale consists of 1-5, with very poor, poor, average, good, and excellent. The results came from the questionnaires attached to the appendix (see Appendix B).
this study. Table 3.3 reveals that the children regard receptive skills (listening and reading) as easier than productive skills (speaking and writing). Also they consider that listening and speaking are easier than reading and writing; writing is the most difficult.

This study uses interviews and observations carried out at the participants’ homes, workplaces, and coffee shops/restaurants, from recorded conversation logs, and from online conversation logs. The different data are mainly related to the children’s practice of Korean language and culture.

3.3.3 The Researcher’s Role

When I embarked on this research project, I was interested in understanding how a HL and culture is maintained and how parents and children play a role in this HL and culture maintenance. Furthermore, I wanted to explore how the ubiquitous Internet use of Korean immigrants influences heritage language and culture maintenance in Korean immigrant communities. My own experience as a first-generation Korean immigrant mother struggling with my children’s HL and culture maintenance was the main motivation for pursuing this study.

At the time of data collection, I was introduced to families both in my capacity as a researcher and as a mother concerned about her children’s Korean language and culture maintenance. Being in a situation similar to that of my research participants, I was able to make them feel relaxed and trusting. Because of the local community newspapers, some families already knew about my career experiences in which I had worked as a language instructor for HL education at UBC and as a Korean language curriculum developer for the community-driven BCSAKS project. My publicized education and career helped to establish me as a non-threatening, empathic, peripheral member (Merriam, 1998) of the
Korean community. While collecting the data, I was even sometimes asked for advice regarding matters concerning the participants’ children’s future education and careers. In other words, my researcher’s role in the study is inextricably tied up with my role in the Korean community as an educator and as a mother who is concerned about the same issues as the participants. My multiple roles in the Korean community garnered more credibility and trust from the participants than would have been the case had I played a single role considered as an ‘outsider’ of the community. Because of my insider’s perspective, my observations were rich, and their confirmability was enhanced through the trust established with the study’s participants.

3.3.4 Data Collection Procedures

This study uses a qualitative research approach to examine the complex and dynamic nature of language and culture maintenance. Questionnaires were used to gather general and basic demographic information. Interviews, family conversation logs, documents, and observations were designed to collect the data. Interviews averaged an hour in length and were conducted in the participants’ language of choice. Notes were made immediately after the interviews, during transcription, and appended to the transcripts. The interview questions attempted to reveal how the participants viewed the role of the HL and culture in their personal, social, career, and educational lives, as well as intergenerational differences in expectations, attitudes, and ideologies between the parents and their children. Furthermore, I also focused on the role of technology in HL and culture maintenance. I also used relevant documents to provide “another perspective on the phenomenon, elaborating its complexity” (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 95). In this study, the participants’ diaries, documents about their family history, and materials
about the children’s experience of learning and practicing Korean contributed significantly to the complexity of the various contexts. The data were collected for one year, from December 2004 to November 2005, at participants’ homes and from online interactions which mainly occurred through email, Cyworld, communication games and Instant Messenger. Each interview and family conversation log was audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and later translated into English in cases where the participants chose to be interviewed in Korean. The translations were verified by a second person who is bilingual in English and Korean. In selecting the eight families, I aimed to maximize variations in age, gender, educational level, educational background, locations of residence in GVRD, years of residence in Canada, experience. The following table summarizes the database.

**Table 3.4: Summary of Database**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaires</td>
<td>A questionnaire about general information conducted at the beginning of the data collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual interviews</td>
<td>Interviews with 32 individuals (approx. 70 hours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family interaction observations</td>
<td>Field notes and audio-recorded conversations (40 hours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online interaction observations</td>
<td>Field notes about online conversations (approx. 80 hours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documents</td>
<td>Children’s diaries, birthday cards, records from Korean Heritage School, photos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In short, this study employs multiple methodology strategies in its data collection. As described earlier, for reliable research results, data from various sources examined through multiple lenses are required.
3.4 Data Analysis of the Study

Data were generated using the qualitative methods of inquiry discussed earlier and were composed of questionnaires, observations, individual interviews, and other relevant documents. Thirty-two people (four people in each family), were involved in the study. The data included 70 hours of audio-recorded individual interviews, 40 hours of observations of family interaction, and 80 hours of observation in online interaction. The study focuses on participants’ reflection discourse and action discourse.

This study is a qualitative case study investigating parents’ and children’s attitudes and involvement in HL acquisition and maintenance. The data analysis will be presented through two lenses: social practice theory and genogram. Social practice theory will demonstrate the participants’ theory and practice vis-à-vis HL acquisition and maintenance. The genogram (see 3.4.2) will show the participants’ familial relationships. For this study, I chose several methods of analysis to gain a deeper understanding and to garner various perspectives about the issues that the research questions ask.

3.4.1 Social Practice Theory

This study mainly follows Mohan’s Social Practice Theory (Mohan, 1986). Mohan synthesized the qualitative methodology traditions of Spradley (1980) and Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1999) for a discourse approach to the study of social practices. A social practice is a unit of culture which involves cultural knowledge and cultural action (Spradley, 1980). From a systemic functional discourse point of view, an activity or social practice is a semiotic unit of “field” (Martin, 1992, p. 292). A social practice is a unit which combines a discourse of reflection and a discourse of action. A discourse of reflection talks about social practice; a discourse of action
enacts what is going on in the social practice (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999). In this study, HL and culture maintenance is viewed as a social practice in which the participants are engaged. The match or mismatch between theory and practice in each family’s social practice is examined. The model for the data analysis is provided in Table 3.5 below.

**Table 3.5: Social Practice Theory**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Reflection</td>
<td>Cultural knowledge</td>
<td>Context of culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Cultural behavior/action</td>
<td>Context of situation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this study, action discourse includes what the participants say as they participate as ‘doers’ in family conversations and online interactions, and reflection discourse includes their specific reflections about such interactions and their general reflections about HL and culture maintenance and the Internet use, which came out mainly in the interviews. Here is a snapshot of social practice as conceived for the purposes of this study:

**Table 3.6: Data Collection Methods**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Practice</th>
<th>Qualitative Methods</th>
<th>Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>Reflection: General</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Reflection: Specific(Reflection on Action)</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Conversation Online logs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.2 Genogram

The genogram was chosen to depict detailed and complex relationships among individuals. HL and culture maintenance is closely related to relationships within the
family and between community members. A genogram helps to provide an in-depth analysis of how individuals are related to each other. Here is a sample genogram:

**Figure 3.1: Sample Genogram**

![Sample Genogram Image](image)

Shown in this example, a genogram is defined as a pictorial display of family relationships and medical history—it shows “a graphic depiction of how different family members are biologically and legally related to one another from one generation to the next. This map is a construction of figures representing people and lines delineating their relationships” (McGoldrick & Gerson, 1985, p. 9). Genograms were first developed in clinical settings in a book titled *Genograms in family assessment* in 1985. Genograms are now used by many groups of people in genealogy, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, social work, education, and other fields.

In the current study, genograms are constructed to show the relations between language practice at home and family relationships to help understand findings relevant to the research questions. The genograms will be made based upon the interviews with the participants and my observations through meeting the participants. The relationships

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29 This sample is adapted from [http://www.genopro.com/genogram/](http://www.genopro.com/genogram/).
between family members were defined by my natural judgement, based on vocabulary they used in the interviews describing the relationships. To be more specific, if they were ‘close’, they had no issues in communication and could talk to each other about almost anything, and had a cultural understanding of each other. A ‘harmonious’ relationship meant the two were on good terms and could co-exist, but their cultural understanding was not fully shared. If a relationship was ‘distant/poor’, it meant that the two would initiate basic conversations, but would not be able to have in-depth talks. I defined a relationship as ‘indifferent/apathetic’ if the two people no longer held interest in maintaining the shared language. A relationship in ‘discord/conflict’ was one in which the members had a hard time bearing each other, and was generally negative. To be ‘cutoff/estranged’ is to take it to the next level, and no longer talk to each other.

In this study, data about family immigration history and interactions with family and community members are important because language learning is achieved through socially situated interactions with others. In this sense, applying the genogram will increase the in-depth analysis of individual relations and language and culture practice. Genograms will be presented in the comparison section of each case.

3.5 Data Presentation

The data analysis is organized by the length of residence in Canada. The eight families are divided into four pair cases (30+ years, 20+ years, 10+ years, and less than 10 years residence). I will present the families in turn, starting with the family of longest residence. The names of the four case-types reflect the perceptions of other Korean immigrants in the BC Korean community. For example, the first case families are called “Native,” satirizing their out-of-date lifestyle compared to the contemporary Korean
culture practiced by the most recent immigrants, due to the long-term residence of the
‘Natives’ in Canada. Hence, the two families are classified as Case 1: Native group. The
sub-title, ‘Canada is a Paradise’, reflects this group’s main motivation for immigration—they wanted to build a paradise life in Canada, free from the poverty and dictatorship that Korea was experiencing at the time of their emigration. This approach is applied to all four cases. Here are the titles of each case pair:

1. Native Cases: Canada is a Paradise (over 30 years)
2. Family Invitation Cases: Curiosity about Immigrant Life (over 20 years)
3. Investment Cases: Life is Short but there’s a Lot of Work to Do (over 10 years)
4. Satellite/Father Goose Cases: English and Education are Top Priority (within 10 years)

The focus is on comparing and contrasting the four cases’ social practices of HL maintenance. In addition, within each case the two families are compared and contrasted to identify matches or mismatches in parents, and children’s theory and practice. General information about each family comes first and their social practice follows. I associate each family name with the family’s last name and use the children’s fictional Korean or English names depending on the parents’ preference. Each case will be described in the relevant chapter.

3.6 Trustworthiness of the Study

For accuracy and truthfulness of qualitative research findings, reliability and validity should be discussed. Various perspectives exist on the importance of verification in qualitative research, its definition, and procedures for establishing it (Cresswell, 1998).
Lincoln and Guba (1985) use various terms: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

This study uses six techniques presented in Cresswell (1998, pp. 201-203): 1) prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field, which includes building trust with participants, learning the culture, and checking for misinformation that stems from misinterpretation; 2) triangulation, which means the use of multiple and different sources, methods, investigations, and theories to provide corroborating evidence; 3) peer review or debriefing, in which colleagues offer critiques within study groups and at conferences; 4) clarifying research bias that can result from past experiences, biases, prejudices, and orientations that have likely shaped the interpretation and approach to the study; 5) member checks whereby the research participants review data analyses and interpretations to judge their accuracy and credibility; and 6) rich, thick descriptions which allow the current research to be applied to new contexts. In Cresswell (1998), it is recommended that qualitative researchers engage in at least two of these techniques in any given study.

To increase the credibility of the analysis, I have centered particularly on being sensitive to my personal bias and subjectivity and their effect on the data. Thus, in the research procedures, I have focused on theoretical sensitivity (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Theoretical sensitivity comes from a number of sources: literature, professional experience, personal experience, and analytic process. Familiarity with the literature, including readings on theory, research, and documents of various kinds, helped me to sensitize the research inquiries to the subject of the study. My professional experience was another source of sensitivity because “the more professional experience, the richer
the knowledge base and insight available to draw upon in the research” (p. 42). The same interest in children’s HL and culture maintenance in my own personal life perhaps made me more sensitive than other researchers who are outsiders to the community regarding the significance of the research inquiries and the experiences shared by all participants. The conceptual sense helped me respond trustfully to the participants when they shared their experiences. To improve my analytic process, I repeatedly looked at the data, gave meaning to words, and looked for situations which explained different cases. Repeated iterations of this process increased insight and recognition of the parameters of my interpretation, and furthermore, I was able to probe to obtain detailed meanings.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed the research methodology in this study. The present study involves multiple case studies of Korean immigrant families exploring their HL and cultural theory and practices through multiple lenses. Due to the complex and dynamic nature of language and culture maintenance, various methods and concepts have been applied for data collection and interpretation. Social practice is the central concept in understanding the theory and practice of HL and culture in the present study. Social practice not only serves as the unit of analysis, but is used as the research model in question. In addition, the genogram is chosen as a way of representing general information about relationships among individuals.
Chapter 4

Native Cases: Canada is a Paradise (Over 30 years of Immigrant Life)

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter I present the Yu and the Pak families. The two families have lived in Canada for over thirty years and immigrated to Canada because they desired democracy and a better country to live in. They had regarded Canada as a paradise where they could enjoy their social life without worrying about financial issues. However, once they arrived, they realized there was a huge gap between what they had wished for and real life. Due to their long residence in Canada, they are often nostalgic about their home country, Korea, regardless of how often they visit Korea or the tangibility of their contacts with Korean culture.

4.2 The Yu Family (Kijŏng and Kiŭn)

Mr. and Mrs. Yu came to Canada to seek a better life at a time when Korea was suffering financially and socially under the dictatorial Park Jung-hee regime in the 1960s. They did not like the constraints that were placed on people within the socio-political context and chose to move to a more prosperous and democratic country. However, their memories about the past in Korea were always good because of reminiscences of times spent with their extended family members and their lifestyle living in a rural area.

Mr. and Mrs. Yu, who regard family values as the most important factor in sustaining a successful immigrant life, opined that only through a shared language can parents and children maintain a strong bond. In addition, they believe that a shared Korean language plays a pivotal role in the construction of a positive identity as a Korean. Mr. Yu’s strong attachment to the value of family stems from memories of his life back in Korea. He reflected on many eventful days while living in a large family.
Their children, Kijŏng and Kiŭn were born in Ontario in 1979 and 1981, respectively. The family moved to White Rock, BC, in the early 1980s. The children were raised and educated in predominantly Caucasian environments. However, they do not have any negative memories about being marginalized as a visual minority.

Kijŏng and Kiŭn have very positive attitudes towards Korean language maintenance. They appreciate their parents’ support and investment in helping them attain fluency in Korean. They believe that their comprehensive understanding of Korean culture and their fluent Korean could not have been acquired without their parents’ immense support. Kijŏng is proud of being Korean and being able to carry on her heritage. Likewise, Kiŭn emphasized that the Korean language is the language that constructs her identity.

This family has great pride in being Korean. Both parents and children have made a great effort to retain their heritage. Not only did the parents teach their children Korean at home, but they also encouraged their children to enroll in institutionalized language and culture programs. Their positive attitudes toward language maintenance drove their children to practice their Korean on a daily basis. The parents’ investment in their children’s HL maintenance and further acquisition turned out to be rewarding and contributed to their children’s identity and academic success.

4.2.1 Integrative Attitude

Through reflections on the Yu family’s perceptions about HL and culture, the family members’ positive attitudes about their language and culture were revealed. Their positive attitudes lie in their integrative motivation towards HL and culture. These participants reveal that HL acquisition and maintenance are important because they
provide a marker of identity (Korean roots), successful communication, a Korean as
marriage partner, and nostalgia about Korea.

Table 4.1: The Yus’ General Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A marker of identity/Korean roots</td>
<td>Korean is very important because they face Canadian culture as soon as they walk out the door. … <strong>The Korean language is their roots</strong>. Having pride as a Korean is their roots. If they lost Korean, they would feel ashamed. (Mrs. Yu)</td>
<td>I would describe myself as a Korean Canadian. I put Korean first because although I was born in Canada, I am still a visible minority and both my parents are full Korean. <strong>My Korean language marks me as a Korean.</strong> (Kijŏng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>I consider language to be one of the major defining factors of an identity.</em> My Korean represents my aspiration to be Korean and for my roots. (Kiŭn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful communication</td>
<td><strong>Successful communication is very important.</strong> How miserable would immigrant life be if parents’ communication with their children was blocked due to language issues? If we cannot communicate even with our children, with whom can we talk? How miserable would our immigrant life be? For this reason, our children’s Korean is important. (Mr. Yu)</td>
<td>I consider the Korean language not only to be important but also useful in that I will be able to speak, read, and write in Korean. This way, <strong>I am able to communicate more comprehensively and more meaningfully</strong> with my parents and other Korean-only-speaking family members. (Kiŭn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>My Korean helps me to understand the meaning of filial piety towards my parents. I think without a thorough understanding of the value of filial piety, it is hard to communicate with Korean parents successfully.</em>* (Kijŏng)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 I use the font, Regular Times New Roman, for the Korean discourse that I translated into English. Italics is for English discourse, as spoken by the participants. Bold & Underline is emphasis for discussion. Translation of Korean language utterances into English will be added in (text), additional comments will be added and obvious typos will be corrected in ((text)), and romanization of Korean language utterances in [text]. Chat and email logs have been kept intact and unedited.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korean as a</td>
<td><em>I want them to get married to Koreans.</em> Needless to say, communication will</td>
<td>*I think the Korean language is important because a Korean as my marriage partner is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage partner</td>
<td>break down unless a shared language is being used. Marriage is another means of</td>
<td>preferred because my parents are Korean. Also marriage is part of a family engagement. (Kijŏng)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>connecting two families. The same ethnicity and language is important for the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>next generations. (Mrs. Yu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>A family who has a similar background is preferred</strong></td>
<td>*The desire for my husband to be Korean is not necessarily for myself, but more for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>because marriage is not a simple personal union. It is important to both</td>
<td>my parents. I know that it would be easier for them to have a close relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>families. Thus, the Korean language is regarded as one of the most important</td>
<td>with my husband if he were Korean. Also, I know that in Korean customs, marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>factors when a marriage partner is decided upon. (Mr. Yu)</td>
<td>is not only about two people becoming one family, but also two families becoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>one. Because of this, I would want to marry a Korean partner so that it would be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>easier for our families to relate to and communicate with each other. (Kūn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostalgia about</td>
<td><strong>Deep inside, I always want to go back to Korea sometime in the future.</strong> My</td>
<td>*Even though I was born in Canada, my Korean sometimes gives me a feeling that I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>language and my country is always there, which cannot be uprooted. As long as I</td>
<td>would want to go back in time to the place where my parents lived and experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>speak Korean and eat Korean food, my heart is still there in my home country.</td>
<td>the culture in that time and place. (Kijŏng)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This is why keeping my own language is important. (Mr. Yu)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.1.1 Indexicality and Identity

When I interviewed Kijŏng’s parents, they mostly called their children by their Korean names (Kijŏng and Kūn, instead of their English names, Jenny and Mira, respectively). They also explained to me in detail what the Korean names meant. The children’s Korean names seem to function as an index to their identity, whether they are Korean or Canadian. The names symbolize who they are. Because of this indexicality (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1998), the parents’ name-calling reveals that the parents perceive their children’s identity as Korean or else that they try to claim and reinforce
that the children are their Korean names. The children also revealed different perceptions when called by their Korean names as opposed to their English names: “When I use Korean, my attitudes tend to be more humble and polite” (Kijŏng). The father, Mr. Yu, shared his different feelings when using the children’s Korean and English names:

We call them Kijŏng (Jenny’s Korean name) and Kiŭn (Mira’s Korean name) at home. The Jung means “honest” for Kijŏng. I have a different feeling when I use their Korean names and English names. I want them to grow up and become leaders, who make meaningful contributions to this society. In other words, I want them to be trustworthy, respectful, and honest people, just like their names represent. Therefore, we call them by their Korean names at home. I think the Korean names give me a more connected feeling to them. (interview with Mr. Yu)

Kijeung’s indexical shift—from “English name” to “Korean name”—leads to changes in her physical attitudes to being more humble and polite. Also shown in Mr. Yu’s interview, the contextual relationship (aspects of the situation; Silverstein, 1998) between his children’s English and Korean names offers Mr. Yu a different degree of closeness because the children’s Korean names represent their Korean identities and make the family more connected.

4.2.1.2 Filial Piety

Kijŏng was well aware of a sense of filial piety\textsuperscript{31}, something which most Korean parents expect their children to cultivate. As shown in Table 4.1, Kijŏng thinks that Korean cultural values can be understood more thoroughly when Korean language fluency is achieved. Throughout the interviews, the parents emphasized the value of family and Korean culture. The children appreciated their mother’s staying at home as a housewife because they know that in most immigrant families, both the father and the mother must work together to survive. The children knew that their parents’ aim was not

\textsuperscript{31} Filial piety is regarded as an important value in Korean culture. It emphasizes children’s respect and care for parents.
financial affluence but the children’s educational success and family values. Therefore, the traditional Korean cultural value of filial pity has naturally been cultivated through various interactions with their parents in their shared language, Korean. In Kijŏng and Kiŭn’s description about a marriage partner, they reflect a deep understanding of their parents’ circumstances. Their preference of a Korean as a marriage partner is closely related to their parents’ preference. The parents revealed their content about their children’s polite and obedient behavior and their deep understanding about Korean culture.

However, Kijŏng also revealed the overwhelming burden of always having to take her parents’ opinions into consideration. This cultural aspect influenced her as she tried her best to meet their expectations. She commented on a dilemma she encountered when choosing her career path:

*My mother wanted me to become a doctor but I wanted to be a teacher. I understood why she wanted me to be a doctor but I like to teach and I like kids. I sometimes feel frustrated with my parents’ expectations, even though I appreciate their support. I even felt guilty when my decisions were against their expectations. I believe that this is the Korean way, but I never expressed my disagreement to my parents, because I understand that they are Korean and that they immigrated to Canada. They cannot be Korean-Canadians.* (interview with Kijŏng)

Also, Kijŏng’s younger sister, Kiŭn, expressed her obedience to her parents:

*When my parents wanted me to be a doctor or something like that, I was not sure what I really wanted to do at that time. So I followed my parents’ advice. My mom was very happy for me to choose pharmacy. I understand what they want from me and I sometimes feel the need to be obedient to them because I know they sacrificed a lot for us.* (interview with Kiŭn)

Throughout interviews with the family members, it seems that Kijŏng and Kiŭn’s understanding towards Korean culture and their parents is characterized not so much by full agreement as by an acceptance of having to give up their own voice, something
which is possibly due to their deep-rooted appreciation for their parents’ support. The parents’ impositions or expectations of traditional Korean culture seem to be one of the central conflicts between the parents and children. However, Kijŏng and Kiŭn accept the dilemma or internal conflicts caused by the cultural differences, rather than rebelling or standing up against them. The children understand the immigrant context in which there are always conflicts between the parents’ generation and the children’s generation because of the different cultural backgrounds and understandings.

4.2.1.3 Desirability of a Korean as a Marriage Partner

A Korean as a marriage partner was preferred by all the family members. According to Mrs. Yu, a shared language and ethnicity are the best way to connect generations because she believes that marriage is a bond between two families. The parental perceptions towards marriage are well reflected in the statements of the children as shown in Table 4.1.

The children understand their parents’ opinions concerning their marriage partners and seem to believe that a Korean as a marriage partner is the best choice they can have for a family bond, as revealed in Kiŭn’s interview: “The desire for my husband to be Korean is not necessarily for myself, but more for my parents.”

4.2.1.4 Nostalgia about Korea

The interviews with Mr. Yu showed clearly that he missed Korea a lot. His nostalgia is deeply embedded in his immigrant life. However, he does not consider returning to Korea because he longs not for the current modernized Korea, but for the Korea of his past days, in the 1960s. Korea was not heavily industrialized at that time and he enjoyed his pastoral life in a small town. Growing up in a large family, he was always
surrounded by family members. Living in a new land without any relatives, he sometimes suffers from loneliness and detachment from his home country. However, he does not intend to go back to Korea for his reminiscence. To him, the Korean language is something that allows him to reminisce about his country, his town, and his family members living in Korea. Mr. Yu’s nostalgic attitude about his home country has influenced his children to some extent; therefore, Kijŏng expressed that she would like to experience the Korean culture in which her father lived. She shared her feelings about her father’s nostalgia about Korea:

*I am very sympathetic towards my parents. My father often reflects on his life in Korea in 1960s. He always says that the people in that time were very kind and nice. Thus, I sometimes wish I could have that experience because currently Korea is very modernized and industrialized. The Korean language is a symbol of my father’s nostalgic sensitivity.* (interview with Kijŏng)

Overall, this family has integrative attitudes toward HL and culture and considers the Korean language and culture to be very important. Their positive attitudes stem from their confidence in their identity as Koreans.

4.2.2 A Wide Variety of Language Practices

In association with their positive attitudes towards the Korean language and culture, the parents provided a wide variety of support for their children’s HL acquisition and maintenance. The children’s Korean language learning experience started from their home. The mother started teaching the children the Korean alphabet, and the children’s learning experience extended to bed-time reading and journal writing. Most of all, the family has put a great emphasis on family values. The children actually practiced the Korean language and culture by watching Korean dramas, participating in a Korean church, and attending a Saturday Korean Heritage School. They were also encouraged to take Korean-related courses once they entered university. The children became motivated
to learn more about Korean culture through formal instruction. Most of all, the children’s regular and frequent visits to Korea played an important role in improving their Korean. Furthermore, the children’s online conversations through CMC have also contributed to the children’s language and culture practice. Their practices are speaking Korean at home, family literacy practices, emphasis on family values and roots, watching Korean TV dramas, participating in Korean church activities, attending a Saturday Korean Heritage School, taking accredited courses, frequent visits to Korea, and technology use.

As for specific reflections on the family’s HL maintenance, the parents provided a wide variety of support such as speaking Korean at home, family literacy practices, emphasis on family value and roots, renting Korean dramas and movies, sending the children to Korea frequently, sending them to a Saturday Korean Heritage School, attending Korean church, and encouraging them to take accredited Korea-related courses. The parental support and efforts for their children’s language and cultural maintenance correlate with the children’s positive attitudes about the Korean language and culture revealed in their general reflections.

**Table 4.2: The Yus’ Specific Reflections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaking Korean at Home</td>
<td>We didn’t push them to speak Korean all the time at home but they started using Korean with us. <strong>We always spoke to them in Korean</strong> because it is the only way they can practice Korean. (Mrs. Yu)</td>
<td><em>It was just natural; we grew up speaking Korean, so when I speak to my parents, I speak to them in Korean but my sister and I speak to each other in English.</em> (Kijŏng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>I talked to them in Korean,</strong> I don’t see any problem in our communication. I think speaking Korean at home is the most important practice in an immigrant family. (Mr. Yu)</td>
<td><em>Even though my speaking Korean at home is limited, I tried to speak Korean at home because it is an essential part of my Korean learning.</em> (Kiunn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Views</td>
<td>Parents’ Comments</td>
<td>Children’s Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Literacy</td>
<td>One day, <em>I was very surprised to see the hallway covered with all of the Korean words written by my children.</em> Even though I didn’t like anything messy, I left it as it was. My Korean teaching was like that. I read a lot of Korean stories as bed-time stories. We sometimes played games in Korean and cooked Korean food together. (Mrs. Yu)</td>
<td><em>I have been maintaining fluency and understanding since I was born. My parents taught me Korean when I was a baby. Most of the learning was done at home from my parents.</em> (Kiùn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Emphasis on family value and roots</strong></td>
<td><strong>My mom taught me at home, I still remember my mom’s teaching and I remember notebooks in which she used to make me write Korean letters and read me Korean books and my family in Korea would send books that my parents would read in Korean. Most of it was at home from my mom and my dad, my language learning.</strong> (Kijông)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Understanding family roots is very important. Without an understanding of where they came from, it is hard to appreciate their ancestors. Speaking Korean is one of the ways of appreciating their roots and family values. To us the meaning of family is very special. Family has always been the top priority. <strong>We always tried to put great emphasis on the significance of family.</strong> We believed the proverb, “The best farming is your children.” (Mr. Yu)</td>
<td><em>My parents contributed so much to my language and cultural learning. Because they instilled in me, as a child, the importance of knowing the language and culture, as I was growing up there was always a desire for me to know and learn more about my roots. They always taught me about Korean customs and belief systems such as respect for elders, etc. Above all, they put great emphasis on family values and roots.</em> (Kiùn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching Korean drama</td>
<td>By no means is our language use limited. We use the same expressions for the same purposes all the time. Thus, <strong>we rented a lot of Korean dramas</strong> because we thought watching TV dramas would help us understand Korean culture as well as provide language practice. (Mrs. Yu)</td>
<td><em>I maintain my fluency mostly by watching various Korean television shows.</em> (Kiùn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>We watched a lot of Korean videos. I think that helped my Korean a lot. I used to watch Korean mini-series and dramas. I used to be addicted to it. If there was something that I didn’t understand, I would ask my parents, and they would explain it to me.</strong> (Kijông)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Views</td>
<td>Parents’ Comments</td>
<td>Children’s Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Participating in Korean church activities</td>
<td>We took them to church so that they could attend the church activities. Our main intention was to get them to intermingle with other Koreans. I think their Korean has improved a lot by being involved in church activities. At the same time, they realized that they are very different from those who recently came to Canada. The Koreans in Korea are very different from the ones in this country, to my mind. (Mr. Yu)</td>
<td>I have been actively engaged in church activities. The experiences were good in terms of learning and improving my Korean and making Korean friends, but I usually hung around with second generation Koreans, not FOBs, because the FOBs are very different from those of us who were born and raised here. (Kijŏng) Church involvement helped me to practice my Korean. (Kiŭn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending a Korean Heritage School</td>
<td>We sent them to the Hangul School operated by a church, but they didn’t like it. They learned Korean more from the church activities, not from the Hangul school.</td>
<td>I went to the Hangul School. I only went for one year so it was a long time ago and I remember it was so early in the morning and I would always fall asleep. I didn’t like going. It wasn’t fun. I remember crying because I didn’t want to go. Everything was new and different. (Kijŏng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking accredited courses</td>
<td>We encouraged them to take Korean history and culture-related courses when they got into university. We thought our experience and explanation was not enough. They needed to learn about Korean history as a credit course so that they were able to understand Korean history and culture from an objective point of view. (Mr. Yu)</td>
<td>I took Korean history, not a language course. I was really interested and I wanted to know about my history. My parents talked to me a lot about their childhood in Korea and their history and about Korea’s history and I wanted to learn formally about it because I want to carry on my heritage. I think my pride seems to be constructed by my parents’ influence. Even though I was not that satisfied with the course I took, I certainly learnt something from the course, which is very different from my parents’ stories. (Kijŏng)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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32 FOB is an acronym for “fresh off the boat.” It is generally defined as an identity label for recently arrived Asian immigrants who have not yet been acculturated to the American way (see Eble 1996; Jeon, 2001; Kang & Lo, 2004; Reyes, 2007; Talmy, 2004).

33 Here Hangul School is the Korean name for a Korean weekend Heritage School.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequent visits to Korea</td>
<td>We all went to Korea for the whole summer when they were 10 years old. Since then, we have sent them to Korea by themselves. They got along with other relatives and I think they must have learned a lot from the visits. They learned not only how Korean people behave, such as respecting parents and being modest, but also the contemporary expressions. We realized that their lessons from the visits were much more meaningful than the years they had spent on Korean learning here in Canada. Their Korean became much smoother and more fluent. (Mrs. Yu)</td>
<td>Visting Korea on three separate occasions has helped me immensely to improve my vocabulary and become more confident in my Korean speaking abilities. (Kiün) My parents sent me to Korea a lot. I went when I was one. And then, my whole family went when I was eleven. And then my mom, my sister, and I went when I was sixteen. And then I went on my own when I was twenty one and nineteen. I went often and I stayed for a long period of time each time whenever we would go. So my Korean really improved after staying there for so long. We were always visiting, traveling, and playing with our cousins. I think that helped— going to Korea and speaking Korean everyday. (Kijŏng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology use</td>
<td>They seem to use the computer as a way of getting information about Korea. Also they communicated with their relatives in Korea. (Mr. Yu) They know about Korea very well, sometimes more than us, thanks to the computer. (Mrs. Yu)</td>
<td>The Internet allowed me to access Korean culture and language practice. MSN connects my relatives in Korea with us here in Canada. I sometimes read Korean news at yahoo.co.kr, KBS website. (Kijŏng)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.2.2.1 Family Literacy Practices**

In this family, the parents played a key role in the children’s HL acquisition. The parents’ literacy practices varied from teaching the Korean alphabet to various activities through reading and writing when the children were young. The term “family literacy” was coined by Taylor’s (1983) study, in which the social context of the home as a key factor in young children’s literacy development was examined. According to Thomas (1998), family literacy refers to “the many ways families develop and use literacy skills to accomplish day-to-day tasks and activities” (p. 6).
As revealed in the interviews in Table 4.2, Kijŏng and Kiūn’s Korean language learning started with their parents. Their language learning was composed of not only reading and writing but also various activities such as drawing on the wall for that purpose, playing games in Korean, and cooking Korean food together. Most of all, interactive communication between parents and children through these various activities was the foundation of the HL literacy development. Kijŏng reflected on her bittersweet experience in learning Korean. Her fluent Korean seems to be a reward of her mother’s persistent emphasis on language learning. She reflected on her learning experience:

*My mom said to me that she taught me Korean by whipping me. I still remember her seriousness about my learning and practicing Korean when I was young. We see the photos in which my first Korean letters were drawn on the wall. My mom took the photo to remember how I learned Korean.* (interview with Kijŏng)

As many HL researchers suggest, parental involvement is recognized as a vital factor in ensuring children’s HL acquisition. Even though the parents’ beating theme is manifested in the narratives of childhood language learning in the Korean diaspora, it is not always negatively interpreted. In the Korean culture, spanking has been regarded as an effective means of discipline for kids. The proverb, “Spare the rod, spoil the child,” prevails in educating children. Here, Kijŏng’s interview alludes to Mrs. Yu’s seriousness of teaching Korean for her children.

**4.2.2.2 The Best Farming is Your Children**

An old Korean proverb says that “The best farming is your children.” This proverb denotes the importance of bringing up children. In the old days in Korea, farming was regarded as one of the most important industries that enabled Koreans to sustain themselves. Thus, farmers must have cherished their farming products just like their own children, who also require a lot of attention and care for growth. Amongst all the different
types of farming, raising children was the most important. Thus, Mrs. Yu decided to stay home as a housewife and, instead of working, she spent more time volunteering for her children’s school. Even though both of the Korean immigrant parents worked hard in terms of financial support at that time, Mr. and Mrs. Yu chose their own way of educating their children. To them, their children’s Korean language fluency and their educational success could not be sacrificed for any financial affluence. The mother’s staying at home provided a lot of communication opportunities between the children and parents; in turn, the children’s fluency in Korean was naturally maintained.

At the beginning, honestly speaking, I wanted to make money, too, because I had a dream of buying a beautiful house, having a good car, and so on. However, we saw that many parents regretted their estranged relationship with their children as a result of their hard work which did not allow frequent and in-depth conversation with their children and led to diminished Korean language abilities in their children. Therefore, we decided that one parent would work and the other parent would take good care of the children’s education because the best farming is children. (interview with Mrs. Yu)

Through interactive communication with their children, the parents always highlighted the significance of family values and roots. The father’s nostalgia towards the home country was reflected in his positive attitude towards family values and roots.

4.2.2.3 Language and Culture Practice

For language and culture practice, Kijŏng and Kiŭn were involved in a variety of activities. They watched videos of Korean dramas and movies, attended a Korean Heritage School, actively participated in a Korean church, made frequent visits to Korea, took accredited courses related to Korean culture and history at university, and used the Internet for Korean language and culture practice. In contrast to their active and positive engagement in language and culture practice, their experience in a weekend Heritage School was negative. As claimed elsewhere in much research (e.g., J-S. Lee, 2002; Shin,
2005), the Korean Saturday schools’ old-fashioned teaching methods, boring textbooks, and unqualified teachers disappointed Kijŏng and Kiŏn. Here is Kijŏng’s specific reflection about her learning experience in the Heritage School:

*I remember crying because I didn’t want to go... The teachers were so strict and easily upset. The textbooks used had a lot of repetitive drills, and the teacher never explained why. What they did was to demand us to just memorize everything.* (interview with Kijŏng)

4.2.3 Social Practice

Through both general and specific reflections on HL acquisition and maintenance, the Yu family revealed positive attitudes and practices for language learning. The parents’ consistent efforts for their children’s HL learning resulted in the children’s strong pride as Koreans and their fluent Korean abilities, which provide for successful communication between parents and children. Their actual conversations matched their attitudes towards HL and culture.

4.2.3.1 The ‘Excellence’ of Korean Culture

This family always emphasizes the importance of the Korean language and culture and constantly practices traditional Korean cultural values. Their cultural practices in daily life reinforce their pride as Koreans. As shown in Table 4.3, even though they lived in a predominantly Caucasian cultural milieu, Kijŏng proudly presented Korean culture to her classmates. The conversation between the parents and Kijŏng illustrates how everyday conversation between parents and children positively motivates, transmits, and perpetuates the children’s ethnic and cultural identity. This family’s reverence for the Korean language and culture reflected Korean linguistic nationalism, in particular, Korean script nationalism (King, 2007a). Koreans’ confidence in the excellence of their language script is known as “wuswuseng” (p. 221) in Sino-Korean.
Their linguistic nationalism is embodied into their Korean national identity. Mr. Yu’s discourse explains exactly how his language ideology is manifested in his national identity. He emphasizes that the pride in being Korean is closely bound up with the superiority of the Korean language.

**Table 4.3: The Yus’ Social Practice 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflection</th>
<th>Specific Reflection</th>
<th>Action</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| To me, Korean is very important because they (the children) face Canadian culture as soon as they go out of their home. **The Korean language is their roots.** Putting pride in being Korean is their roots. If they ever lose this, they will feel ashamed. (Mrs. Yu) | I learned about the differences between Canadian culture and Korean culture and even the two countries’ different histories. **Thus, I started emphasizing the superiority of Korean history by making comparisons between the two countries.** One day, Kijŏng’s teacher told me that Kijŏng was very proud of being Korean. She was happy to introduce Korean history and culture to her classmates. The teacher praised me for educating Kijŏng successfully. We were living in White Rock at that time, so it was hard to see any Asian-looking students around us. The whites were dominant, but Kijŏng didn’t seem to have a sense of inferiority as a Korean. (Mrs. Yu) | Mrs. Yu: Eat more. I think Korean food is the best in the world in terms of its delicious taste and nutrition. 
Kijŏng: Yeah, it is true. 
Mr. Yu: Food is not the only thing which represents the excellence of Korean culture. **The Korean language is scientifically excellent, too. That is why you should be proud of being Korean.** |

*I am proud of being Korean-Canadian. I love my rich Korean heritage. (Kijŏng)*

*My mom always told me about the ancient historical artifacts and excellence(wuswuseng) of Korean culture. **I have been willing to represent the beauty of Korean culture.** (Kijŏng)*

### 4.2.3.2 Emphasis on Family Values

As discussed earlier in 4.2.2, this family puts great emphasis on family values and roots. Thus, the parents always reiterate the importance of family values in their daily conversation. As discussed in section 4.2.1.2, the sense of filial pity is part of this
family’s values. Table 4.4 demonstrates the matching relationship between theory and practice in terms of the significance of family values.

**Table 4.4: The Yus’ Social Practice 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflection</th>
<th>Specific Reflection</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understanding family roots is very important. Without an understanding of where they came from, it is hard to appreciate their ancestors. Speaking Korean is one way to appreciate their roots and family values. For us, the meaning of family is very special. (Mr. Yu)</td>
<td>Family has always been the top priority. <strong>We always tried to put great emphasis on the significance of family.</strong> (Mr. Yu)</td>
<td>Kijŏng: I made the reservation. Mr. Yu: You’re going, too, aren’t you? Kijŏng: I’m not going. Mrs. Yu: Why not? Kijŏng: Why do we have to go? Kiŭn: I agree. Mr. Yu: You should go. Kijŏng: Why should we go? It’s for mom and dad’s anniversary. Mr. Yu: You should go, too, because it’s mom and dad’s anniversary. How could you be here without mom and dad? <strong>We are family. Family is important.</strong> Why don’t we go together?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think maintenance of our heritage language is important because it is the language of family. (Kijŏng)</td>
<td>My parents contributed so much to my language and cultural learning. Because they instilled in me, as a child, the importance of knowing the language and culture, as I was growing up there was always a desire for me to know and learn more about my roots. They always taught me about Korean customs and belief systems such as respect for elders, etc. Above all, <strong>they put great emphasis on family value and roots.</strong> (Kiŭn)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.2.3.3 Communicative Value of Code-switching**

Even though the overall rate of code-switching in the family’s conversation is a small portion of the total data, it is still meaningful to examine the code switches produced by the participants because the code-switching functions as a specific discourse feature. Kijŏng and Kiŭn strategically choose their utterances to accomplish specific communicative purposes such as drawing their parents’ attention and achieving a smooth
flow of discourse. Thus, to this family, code-switching can be interpreted as a resource for successful communication between parents and children.

Kijŏng’s code-switching (see Excerpt 1 below) occurs depending on her interlocutors. She uses mostly Korean when she speaks to her parents, but uses English when talking to her younger sister, Kiŭn. Even though she starts with English to deliver her meaning clearly, she switches to Korean immediately to respond to her parents (shown in Conversation 1). As seen in Conversation 3, short conversations sometimes take place in English between the father (Mr. Yu) and the children. The father’s discourse is generally in Korean, but some of his utterances demonstrate code-switching between Korean and English. In contrast, Mrs. Yu rarely uses English in her daily life. The father’s code-switching is related to the following factors: a successful delivery of specific topics, lexical need, and consideration of conversation participants. Within a context surrounded by English speakers, he tries to speak English so as not to leave the English interlocutors out. When he wants to make a point clearly and confirm meanings (Milroy & Wei, 1995), he speaks in English; as he indicated in an interview, “I speak English if necessary, but the main purpose of using English lies in the clarification of my point.” Interestingly, when he uses English, Kijŏng and Kiŭn respond in English, too, as shown the examples above. This is an example of the influence of parents’ language use on their children.

Likewise, Kijŏng’s and Kiŭn’s code-switching occurred depending on the participants, topics, and setting and situation (Grosjean, 2001). In general, the children use Korean when they speak to their parents, whereas they mainly use English for the conversations between themselves. However, they code-switch when the code-switching
is initiated by their father as shown in Conversations 3 and 4. Conversation 1 is an example of how topic is a factor that causes code-switching. Kijŏng used English to proclaim the reservation to their parents. Her contextualization cue (Gumperz, 1982), “I made the reservation,” provides a means for her to signal her completed task to the parents. For her parents’ wedding anniversary, she wanted to clarify in English. In the interview, she highlighted the importance of code-switching for clarity:

_I sometimes use English to my parents on purpose, depending on the topic. To avoid any misunderstanding due to my misinterpretation, I’d rather use English as long as the sentences are not that complicated. When topics are straightforward, I use English. I don’t have to make an extra effort to find an exact word for the straightforward words._ (interview with Kijŏng)

She also reflected on the reason she used English (in Conversation 1). Her main reason was to gain attention from the family. When she wants to gain attention from her parents, she sometimes initiates her utterance in English because she knows that English is burdensome for her parents, and requires extra attention on their part. Thus, she commented that “When I want to discuss a serious issue, I sometimes start in English.”

In the Yu family’s conversations, specific code-switching patterns in the parents’ language use are revealed. The code-switches occur when they are required for specific topic delivery (Conversation 1), lexical need (Conversation 2), and a discourse with different interlocutors in different settings (Conversation 5).

To conclude, through their general and specific reflections on HL acquisition and maintenance, the Yu family reveals positive attitudes towards HL and culture. In addition, their actual conversations also match their positive attitudes towards HL and culture. The parents’ consistent efforts on behalf of their children’s HL learning have resulted in the
children’s strong pride as Koreans and fluent Korean, which has led to successful communication between parents and children.

Excerpt 1: “The Yus’ Code-switching”

Conversation 1: About Parents’ Anniversary Trip

(1) Kijŏng: I made the reservation.
(2) Mr. Yu: You’re going, too, aren’t you?
(3) Kijŏng: I’m not going.
(4) Mrs. Yu: Why not?
(5) Kijŏng: Why do we have to go?
(6) Kiŭn: I agree.
(7) Mr. Yu: You should go.
(8) Kijŏng: Why should we go? It is an anniversary for mom and dad.
(9) Mr. Yu: You should go, too, because it’s mom and dad’s anniversary. How could you be here without mom and dad? We are family. Family is important. Why don’t we go together?

Conversation 2: At Dinner Time

(1) Kijŏng: Dad, have this.
(2) Mr. Yu: It’s OK, you eat more.
(3) Kijŏng and Kiŭn: We ate a lot.
(4) Mrs. Yu: They put crab and mussel in a big dish and shrimp in a small dish.
(5) Mr. Yu: They ask us whether we eat roasted oysters or raw ones. When we eat raw ones, they just eat them as they are, whereas we eat them with sauce which is called Cho-kochwucang (hot-pepper paste mixed with vinegar) in Korea, made of hot paste, vinegar, and sugar. People in Canada enjoy the smell of food by saying mmm..., while Korean people enjoy it with the taste of sauce which is hot, sour, and sweet.

Conversation 3: About Kiŭn’s Work

(1) Mr. Yu: How many divisions are there in your work?
(2) Kiŭn: Six. We have six departments.
(3) Kijŏng: Where did your manager go?
(4) Kiŭn: He went to the financial department. If we don’t have a manager, a director looks after us.
(5) Mrs. Yu: Are you OK?
(6) Kiŭn: Yeh.
(7) Kijŏng: Does the director know you?
(8) Kiŭn: Yes.
Conversation 4: About Kiǔn’s Pizza Lunch

(1) Mrs. Yu: Who paid for it?
(2) Kiǔn: I paid for it myself.
(3) Mrs. Yu: Why did you buy it?
(4) Kijŏng: It was very cheap.
(5) Mr. Yu: In the cafeteria?
(6) Kiǔn: Yes.
(7) Mr. Yu: Isn’t it one dollar a piece?
(8) Kiǔn: Yes.

Conversation 5: Greeting toward an English-speaking Visitor

(1) Mrs. Yu: Hi guys, come on in.
(2) Mr. Yu: Come on in. Did you have lunch?
(3) Kijŏng: You guys, have you had lunch? We have Chinese food.
(4) Kiǔn: Oh... I’m starving.
(5) Kiǔn’s friend: Hi, how are you? OK, I’ll see you guys later.
(6) Mr. Yu: Why don’t you join us if you haven’t had lunch yet?

In the next section, I will examine Kijŏng and Kiǔn’s online social practice for HL and culture. The family’s general perceptions about, as well as their use of computers for HL acquisition and maintenance will be presented.

4.2.4 Views of Technology Use

The children view the computer as generally bringing positive aspects in terms of HL acquisition and maintenance. The parents do not use the computer, but they never forget to warn their children not to use it too much because of their concern about the children’s health. Kijŏng and Kiǔn think that computers enable them to communicate with Korean relatives and learn Korean language and culture.

Table 4.5: The Yu Children’s Reflections on Technology Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communicating with Korean relatives</td>
<td>I think the Internet enables me to communicate globally. The Internet gives me a lot of convenience. Whenever my cousin and I are free, we can communicate beyond the time difference. The Internet helps to keep me connected to friends and family all over the world. (Kijŏng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoying Korean pop culture</td>
<td>Technology has a lot of potential for language and culture learning. The amazing technology allows me to read about Korean pop culture. (Kiűn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.5 Online Practice

Kijŏng and Kiūn’s online practices are found mainly in their exchanges with friends from school and church. Their online communication affords them a sense of community, presentation of identity, and language practice.

4.2.5.1 Virtual Community

Community is interpreted as a sense of bond, tie, inclusion, or connection with others (Chayko, 2002; Haythornthwaite, 2002). A sense of community is important in online interaction due to the absence of physical presence. Through the promotion of members’ knowledge and emotional involvement, a virtual community is built. The sense of community maintains a friendship network, regardless of the members’ physical location. Kijŏng maintains her friendships through frequent email correspondence with her church friends. Due to her remoteness from her friends as she pursues her studies, she and her friends update their current events and situations with each other.

In Kijŏng’s email correspondence, Emoticons\(^{34}\) are largely used for the brevity of sentence length and for the conveyance of emotion. A few graphic emoticons such as heart (❤), sad (😢), confused (😳) faces were introduced in Kijŏng’s email interchanges. As a way of compensating for the lack of intonation and paralinguistic cues in interactive written discourse, Kijŏng uses linguistic devices (such as hmmm…) to create her own voice, gesture, and tone through capitalization, spelling, and punctuation. Kijŏng’s various online language forms support the idea that a sense of bond and connectedness among friends can be cultivated through the ongoing exchange of information and fostering of relations. Even though all the email correspondence (in

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\(^{34}\) Emoticons are graphical representations of facial expressions designed to indicate the speaker’s tone and emotional state. (Werry, 1996, p. 63)
Excerpt 2) was performed in English, Kijŏng is still strongly connected to her Korean-Canadian friends. Kijŏng reflected on her email correspondence with her friends:

We always miss each other but I can hear their voices through their expressive emails. Sometimes I feel more connected with them than our real relationship. We are more expressive in our emails. (email from Kijŏng)

Excerpt 2: “Social Interaction with Church Friends”

Email Correspondence 1: Kijŏng and Her Church Friend

Hey Kijŏng!
I will pray that you will find a church that will really bless you and one that you will also be a blessing to....
so, what are the interesting things going on in your life? hmmm...i wonder...like curious george. give me a call sometime and give me your number so i can call you, too!
talk to you soon!
SooJin

Hey SooJin!
HEY!!!! It is so good to hear from you. Sorry, my response is so late. I am right in the middle of exams and papers right now! OMG! It is so stressful! 😞
How are you liking work these days? Good? I miss work. I miss the kids!
Hmmm...sad 😞 But, I will be back to work soon, probably complaining about it! hee, hee!
I miss my house there and my friends. It's cool living at home...but it is an adjustment. So, how are things in the 'boy' department? Anyone? He should be so lucky! You are an amazing girl, SooJin Lim! Don't forget it! Well, I just want to say hello and I miss you! I really do! I miss our talks and just hanging out! Keep in touch and let me know how you are doing!

Email Correspondence 2: Kijŏng and Her Church Friends

Hey Kijŏng!
Attached are the photos SooJ mentioned...of them being goofy and doing that sweet cheery clap you do when you get all ecstatic! You should get them to perform it for you live. It's great! :-)  

Hi Kijŏng!
i hope you had a great Christmas! glad to know you are enjoying your time there, but not too much to keep you there for very long. we are learning that there really is no other Kijŏng...apparently, jc has been trying to fill in your shoes, mimicking all the Kijŏngisms, much to the distress and amusement of all your fans here. hey, don't we have pics of jc and me trying to look like Kijŏng? yes, i'm guilty of trying, too..we just miss you so much :)}
The date with Jack was nice. He's much more understood one to one, considering he's...how do you say, socially retarded. Hee hee.
Anyway, I like him as a friend and I really like his character. KIJŎNG, promise you won't tell anyone. This is totally TOP SECRET!!

Hey Girls!
How’s it going? I miss you all! I love you! 😍
Vancouver is cool. I forgot how relaxed and slow-paced everything is, but it's good. I just needed to adjust. I heard that TO is really, really hot. What is everyone up too?
Soojin, Hey, I realized that I left so much stuff at your house! My lotions, my hair stuff. Sorry! The good news is you can have it all! My final gift to you...used beauty products. I know...I know... no need to thank me!

4.2.5.2 Presentation of Identity

Identity is the individual’s internalization to make symbolic identification. In Kiŭn’s chat log below, Kiŭn’s friend calls Kiŭn “Korean Kiŭn,” rather than simply addressing her as Kiŭn. Kiŭn told me that the friend does not associate Korean with her name in face-to-face conversation but always remarks about Kiŭn’s ethnicity on MSN chats. She interpreted his tendency to address her by adding her ethnicity as being related to his desire to build a strong link with her. It seems that he is aware of and praises Kiŭn’s Korean pride as a way of showing his intimacy.

Excerpt 3: Who am I?

Chat Log: Kiŭn and Her UBC Pharmacy Classmate

(1)  Kiŭn:  hey geoff.. ru there?
(2)  Friend:  why hello there Korean Kiŭn
(3)  Kiŭn:  halo.. wut ru doing?
(4)  Friend:  awwww...your doggie is so cute i am takng a 5 minbreak
(5)  Kiŭn:  keke.. i know..
(6)  Friend:  looking for people to chat with..and then you appeared
(7)  Kiŭn:  cute oic~ have u started studying?
(8)  Friend:  a lil
(9)  Kiŭn:  I HATE LAB!!!!
(10) Friend:  lol you are correct but she will go over all that with you
you need not worry she goes over it
(11) Kiŭn:  oic.. ((Oh I see..))  sigh*
(12) Friend:  don’t worry Korean Kiŭn  you will be ok  she goes over the whole
thing with you i guarantee you will be ok
4.2.5.3 Language and Culture Practice

Kiünk often visits [http://www.soompi.com](http://www.soompi.com) to enjoy Korean culture. This website provides a variety of sources about Korean popular culture. Kiünk commented about her linguistic and cultural learning from Korean pop culture as follows:

*The Soompi website has everything. I can enjoy everything from the website. I realized that so many people who have different ethnic backgrounds visit the website and enjoy Korean culture. The drama and songs are really cool. I become more proud of my Korean identity whenever I enjoy the cool culture.* (email from Kiünk)

With the aid of technological advancements such as the Internet in Korea, contemporary Korean entertainment media has been popular all over the world. The linguistically and culturally integrated pop culture propels immigrant offspring to learn the HL and culture and furthermore to reinforce their identity as Korean as shown in Kiünk’s comment above. Kiünk’s comment confirms the role of pop culture in language learning and identity formation (Duff, 2001).

**Excerpt 4: “Culture Learning”**

**Chat Log: Kiünk and Her Cousin in Korea**

1. Kiünk: _I read some Korean news_
2. Cousin: _from where?_
3. Kiünk: _soompi_
4. Cousin: _how about KBS?_
5. Kiünk: _soompi is very popular here_

Not only does Kiünk learn about Korean pop culture from websites, she also practices Korean through online communication. Kiünk’s chat log in Excerpt 5 is a conversation that has taken place between Kiünk and her church friend, who is a second-generation Korean immigrant as well. As shown in the log, even though Kiünk did not use

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35 SOOMPI.com: K-POP for the masses includes Korean music, dance, drama, literature, etc. The SOOMPI website opened in March 27, 1998. SOOMPI is one of the largest communities of English-speaking Korean pop fans online.
a Korean keyboard, she uses some romanized Korean expressions (e.g., *yukshi* [yeksi]; *dannee* [toynney], which mean “of course” and “it is ok,” respectively). In particular, “*dannee* [toynney]” is a contemporary expression frequently used by young Koreans when they sarcastically reject an unpleasant offer. Kiün’s language use in the chat log illuminates how HL can be practiced through online communication. This explains that Kiün is well aware of the linguistic conventions in the HL and is ready to attempt to actively produce her HL.

Depending on interlocutors who share similar cultural and linguistic background, HL is still exercised with the integration of English. Kiün revealed her tendency towards the Korean language use with her Korean church friends:

> Whenever I chat with my Korean friends, I try to use Korean words as much as I can because we know what they mean and they sound more authentic. I sometimes try to use cool expressions I just learned from my church friends. Even though I don’t have a Korean keyboard, sounding out Korean words on an English keyboard is certainly a good exercise of my Korean. (email from Kiün)

**Excerpt 5: “Language Practice”**

**Chat Log: Kiün and Her Church Friend**

(1)   Friend:  *ur day?*
(2)   Kiün:  *sucked as usual*
(3)   Friend:  *geez*
(4)   Kiün:  *but its over hehehehe*
(5)   Friend:  *downer*
(6)   Kiün:  *hahaha i was juss gonna say *yukshi (as is usual)* once again*
(7)   Friend:  *how did i know you were gonna say that why sucked*
(8)   Kiün:  *well... skool always sucks no?*
(9)   Friend:  *depends i guess*
(10)  Kiün:  *especially 4 hrs of straight lecture*
(11)  Friend:  *when u at web?*
(12)  Kiün:  *ill be there tomorrow morning wed thurs mornings and sum mon fri mornings*
(13)  Friend:  *4 hours. that's rough. why bother*
(14)  Kiün:  *yeah i know........ my sentiments exactly i dn't think i will next tues :)*
(15)  Friend:  *just visit the lab and concoct a vat of valium or something*
(16)  Kiün:  *haha.. don't worree *dannee (it is ok)* i'll hook u up*
(17)  Friend:  *seriously. i'll put u through school*
(18)  Kiün:  *hahahaha yeah.. i've got other offers kekeke...*
In the following section, I introduce the Pak family and present their home and online social practices for HL and culture maintenance.

4.3 The Pak Family (Sharon and Linsey)

Mr. Pak went to Germany in the 1970s and immigrated to Montreal afterwards. Mr. and Mrs. Pak married in Germany. Their main purpose in immigrating to Canada lay in Mr. Pak’s pessimistic views of the dictatorial regime in South Korea. At that time, many Koreans overseas were opposed to the government. Thus, he did not want to go back to Korea after finishing his work in Germany. Instead, he came to Canada.

Even though Mr. Pak acknowledged the importance of his children’s Korean identity to some extent, he did not see any practical necessity or urgency for his children to learn Korean culture and language. Thus, Mr. Pak did not put great esteem on being Korean to his children. Rather, he paid more attention to economic affluence than ethnic identity in a new land. He believed that economic prosperity would make the Korean community stronger and ensure that his children would have a comfortable life. His eagerness and diligence for wealth were revealed when I was invited to his forty-acre farm, located close to an industrial zone. In contrast, Mrs. Pak put more emphasis on Korean identity. She reflected on her efforts to teach the Korean language and culture to her children when they were young, but it seemed useless for them after they grew up because Korean was not regarded as a primary and necessary language at that time in Montreal, where Caucasian culture predominated, unlike Vancouver, where more financially affluent Korean immigrants currently reside.

Sharon was born in Montreal, Canada, in 1978. She has one older brother, William, and one younger sister, Linsey. Sharon has an intercultural marriage. Sharon’s
husband, Brian, is half Irish and half Japanese. He looks Caucasian in appearance. He was born in Surrey, BC. They met at university, and after graduation they taught English in Korea for four years before they were married. Sharon’s identity is a hybrid between Korean and Canadian cultures. Sharon greatly appreciates Canadian multiculturalism. Brian also appreciates his intercultural marriage. However, Mrs. Pak regrets Sharon’s intercultural marriage because she believes that language is the essential medium for communicating, getting close and building relationships, and Brian’s limited ability in Korean creates distance in their relationship. Sharon’s Korean is very fluent, thanks to her four-year residence in Korea as an ESL teacher. She still keeps in touch through email and Instant Messenger with her former students back in Korea. She appreciates her Korean fluency because she is currently working in the home construction industry. She works as a coordinator selling properties. She has many Korean customers who want to invest in real estate in Vancouver. Her fluent Korean is an asset to any conversation with her parents as well as with her Korean customers. Conversely, Linsey, Sharon’s younger sister, has some communication problems with her parents because Linsey’s Korean is not as fluent as Sharon’s. Mrs. Pak revealed that she does not have any problem communicating with Sharon but she sometimes faces difficulties communicating with Linsey and William. Mrs. Pak calls Sharon whenever she wants to communicate clearly with the other two children. Thus, Mrs. Pak sometimes calls Sharon the “second son.” Mrs. Pak’s indexing of her daughter as her son reveals her gender bias, rooted in her cultural ideology. Her rigid form of Korean patriarchal ideology is embodied into Sharon’s important role in the family. It seems that Mrs. Pak appreciates Sharon’s helping out in the household and thus grants Sharon status as a son. Korean and English
are the main languages between the parents and the children, but mostly English is used among the siblings.

Even though Mr. Pak’s English is better than Mrs. Pak’s, he also spoke of many difficulties he experienced in communication with his children. He frequently uses English to avoid any confusion because of his two children’s incompatible Korean. His attitude about the communication problem with his children came across as resignation. He expressed his frustration regarding communication with his children several times, saying “Everyone does it like that.” This implies that he believes many immigrant parents get frustrated with their unsuccessful communication with their children, and they eventually abandon their hope for successful communication. His apathy towards the unsuccessful communication with his children gave the impression of an unspoken but inevitable lamentation common to many early immigrants. Parents’ craving for successful communication in their own language with their children disappeared as time passed by and they came to accept unsuccessful communication between parents and children as ‘just the way it is’ among immigrants.

4.3.1 Integrative and Obligatory Attitudes

Conversations with the Pak family revealed various attitudes towards HL and culture. Their attitudes lay in their willingness to be Korean in a multicultural society, the benefits to careers, and the sense of feeling obliged to show race. Mr. Pak’s attitude towards the Korean language is one of obligation or duty: “Koreans should be able to speak Korean because they are Korean” (interview with Mr. Pak). His obligatory attitude is different from Mr. Yu’s (in section 4.2.3.1) because Mr. Pak’s obligation does not seem to be as strongly associated with Korean pride as that expressed about the Korean
language and culture by Mr. Yu (in section 4.2.3.1). However, Sharon highlights her pride as a Korean because she understands the benefits of being bilingual. The family members expressed their attitudes towards HL and culture differently. They believe that HL is important because it influences the marking of identity, advocating bilingualism and multiculturalism, having a sense of obligation as a Korean, and choosing a marriage partner. More detailed comments are displayed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: The Paks’ General Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marking identity</td>
<td><em>I believe that my Korean makes me realize who I am.</em> That is why Korean is important to me... My Korean language reinforces my identity. (Sharon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*I am Korean-Canadian. My Korean part is important but my identity lies more with my Canadian self due to my lack of Korean fluency. <em>I think the language identifies who you are.</em> (Linsey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Even though my generation didn’t feel proud of being Korean, I want my children to be proud of being Korean. If they cannot speak Korean, who can accept that they are Korean? Their appearance is Korean but their language is English. In that case, they are neither. How shameful would it be if they could not speak Korean! (Mrs. Pak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocating bilingualism and multiculturalism</td>
<td>Canadian multiculturalism is good. The more languages they are fluent in, the more chances they are given (Mr. Pak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I certainly advocate Canada’s multiculturalism. Moreover, my fluent Korean allows me to enjoy this multiculturalism.</em> (Sharon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, I think Korean is important to be able to embrace both cultures for a more diverse background. <em>It helps to keep me more culturally aware and open-minded.</em> It is also helpful in terms of communicating with more than one group of people. (Linsey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a sense of obligation</td>
<td>I think I can admit the importance of Korean for my children to some extent but I didn’t really see any advantages in their speaking Korean. In a multicultural society, it is good to speak many languages. But speaking Korean by Koreans is nothing more than an obligation or a symbol given to Koreans. It is good for Koreans to be able to speak Korean because they are Korean but it is not necessary for them to master Korean as long as they live in Canada. (Mr. Pak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Views</td>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing a marriage</td>
<td><strong>Marriage is not simply an individual bond, but a family-to-family union.</strong> That is why I preferred a Korean guy. (Mr. Pak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partner</td>
<td>I strongly believe that language should be considered when choosing a marriage partner because marriage is not an individual event. Communication is important. (Mrs. Pak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>My life is my life not my parents’ lives.</strong> (Sharon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Preferably not a Korean... language can affect his relationship with my parents, but there are more important issues to be considered for happy marriage. (Linsey)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1.1 Marking Identity

As described in Chapter 2, the definition of identity is closely related to who or what a person is. HL and culture are salient traits in distinguishing one’s identity. Mrs. Pak’s comment is interesting: “Their [her children’s] appearance is Korean but their language is English. In that case, they are neither.” She relates the children’s Asian looks with their language. She emphasized a *neither* identity in case the children’s language does not match their appearance. Her views on identity are closely related to race. Conversely, Sharon revealed her integrative attitudes towards HL acquisition and maintenance in her belief that her Korean language reinforces her identity as Korean. Moreover, her fluent Korean helps her to enjoy Canada’s multiculturalism more meaningfully. However, Linsey explains that her identity is more Canadian due to her lack of Korean fluency. The comments from the children support the notion that language plays a central role in identity construction—language, identity, and culture are inextricably related (Norton, 2000).

4.3.1.2 Intercultural Marriage

The parents’ preference for their children’s marriage partners is Korean because they believe marriage is not an individual event but a family-to-family bond. Here,
language plays a vital role in relationship construction because successful conversation can lead to positive family relationships. Therefore, the parents emphasize wanting the same ethnic background in their in-laws. In particular, Mrs. Pak’s response about Sharon’s intermarriage stresses the importance of language for successful communication positively impacting family bonds and relationships. The cultural identity of Mrs. Pak, who has undertaken all sorts of labor-intensive work for her family’s survival, has not changed, even though she has lived in Canada for more than thirty years. Her more than thirty years of residence in Canada have not impacted her cultural understanding of marriage to any significant extent. However, Sharon and Linsey do not place first priority on the Korean language or their parents’ preference in ethnicity when seeking a marriage partner, because, as Sharon mentioned, “her life is her life.” Interestingly, Sharon and Linsey’s reflections about marriage are different from those of Kijŏng and Kiŭn. Even though Kijŏng and Kiŭn did not agree with their parents’ expectations of them in many respects, including the marriage partner issue, they understood their parents’ reasons. They acknowledged the gap between the first generation and second generation of immigrants. However, Sharon and Linsey take a strong stance as Korean-Canadians who can decide for themselves rather than being obedient to their parents.

4.3.1.3 Speaking Korean is Obligatory for Koreans

Mr. Pak shows at least the worth of HL maintenance for his children but he shows little or no willingness to appreciate or encourage the maintenance of the HL. His apathy stems from a sense of obligation to speak Korean as a Korean. This is a typical ethno-nationalist view of language and race, and his Korean linguistic nationalist language ideology clashes with the language ideology of Sharon, who truly advocates HL
maintenance and Canada’s multiculturalism. His obligatory sense refers to much ethnic patriotism which is intertwined with anthropological (language-tribe-race-people; see Gardt, 2000, as cited in King, 2007a) character, nature, or essence with a unique national or ethnic character. As revealed in the previous section (4.3), his pessimistic views about Korea, which were kept in his mind when he left Korea, failed to cultivate his national pride, which “needs language as a resource at both the practical and sentimental levels” (Steinberg, 1987, as cited in King, 1997, p. 109). The first generation of Korean immigrants who emigrated from Korea between the 60s and 70s were not free from a zealous form of government-driven and government-imposed ethnic and linguistic nationalism that is fundamentally hostile to bilingualism. Due to the linguistic victims attacked by Chinese (the continued use of Chinese characters), Japanese (loanwords entailed by half a century of Japanese colonial rule), and English (massive English loan words in contemporary Korean), the ‘national language purification’ (see King, 2007b) has been driven by the Korea government since 1948. The fundamental issue of the ‘purification’ [swunhwa] is in the same vein with ‘one ethnic group speaks one language’, which is fundamentally incompatible with bilingualism and biculturalism. Therefore, to Mr. Pak, Korean is no more than a symbolic vernacular which represents race. In the end, his ethnic nationalism seems to be related to the failure of Linsey’s and William’s HL maintenance.

4.3.2 Sacrificed Language Practice

Mrs. Pak helped her children to learn Korean by teaching them how to read and write the Korean alphabet. However, she paid more attention to the children’s English once they entered school, because Korean did not seem to be important in the Caucasian-
dominant culture in Montreal and Alberta in the 1970s. She became worried about her children’s incomprehension of English jokes at school. Thus, she bought the children English joke books as a means of helping her children master English. Furthermore, she worried that her teaching Korean to them might hinder the children from improving their English, so she stopped teaching Korean at home. Her zero-sum view of bilingualism or subtractive bilingualism hindered her children from improving their Korean.

Mrs. Pak’s support for her children’s HL acquisition and maintenance (see Table 4.7 below) seemed to end as soon as the children were exposed to mainstream culture with other non-Korean friends. Since then, the three children, William, Sharon, and Linsey were not encouraged to improve their Korean. Besides, their lack of family time due to the parents’ hard work, the father’s desire for his own English improvement, the parents’ detachment from Korea for a long period of time, and low investment for Saturday Korean Heritage School all thwarted the children from learning Korean. However, since moving to Vancouver from Montreal, the parents’ attitudes towards the HL have changed. They became more connected with the Korean immigrant society and more informed about Korea through various channels such as numerous media outlets. Compared to William and Linsey’s low level of Korean, Sharon’s Korean is very fluent. Sharon’s four-year residence in Korea greatly impacted not only her Korean language fluency but also her cultural understanding about Korea. Even though she chose an intercultural marriage, she became more appreciative of her heritage. She still keeps in touch with her Korean students in Korea through online communication, and practices her Korean language and culture. Her fluent Korean allows her to be a mediator in her family whenever successful communication is needed between her parents and siblings.
The family’s Korean language practices are affected by family literacy, the father’s desire for his own English improvement, attendance at the weekend Korean Heritage School, watching Korean dramas and movies, visits to Korea, and access to Korean websites and online communication.

The Pak family’s specific reflections on HL acquisition and maintenance are summarized in Table 4.7.

**Table 4.7: The Paks’ Specific Reflections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family literacy</td>
<td>I taught them Korean when they were young, but when they entered school, I emphasized their English learning instead, because they didn’t understand jokes and humor in English. Thus, I bought them cartoons so that they became familiar with English jokes. (Mrs. Pak)</td>
<td>My mom taught us Korean alphabets and how to read and write them before I entered school. However, my learning stopped there. (Sharon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s English improvement</td>
<td>I mostly spoke English to my children because their Korean was limited. Our conversation was very limited, like “Did you eat dinner,” or “How was your day,” etc. (Mr. Pak)</td>
<td>I speak to my mom in Korean because of her limited English skills. Even though my Korean is limited, speaking Korean to my parents is a major part of my Korean practice, but if I want to speak about very important issues, I speak in English and my sister helps me. (Linsey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending Korean Heritage School</td>
<td>I sent them to Korean weekend schools at the church we attended, but they didn’t like them. Most Korean immigrants attended Korean churches and the churches all had a Korean language program. From middle school, I didn’t see any necessity of sending my kids to a Korean school because there was no place to require Korean at that time. My kids didn’t like the Korean school, so I allowed them to quit. (Mrs. Pak)</td>
<td>After church, I attended weekend school, but my interest wasn’t really in it... I didn’t have many Korean friends at that time. The weekend school wasn’t helpful because it was boring. We talked in English, not in Korean, during the break and even in the class so I didn’t go. (Sharon)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Watching Korean dramas and movies

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At first, I started watching Korean dramas by renting the videos to soothe my nostalgia towards Korea, but nowadays I subscribe to the Korean Satellite programs so that my children are exposed to the Korean language and its culture all the time… Korean dramas are amazing. <em>(Mrs. Pak)</em></td>
<td>I often watch Korean dramas, talk shows, and movies. Even though I sometimes do not understand the language used in the problem, I learn a lot and enjoy them. <em>(Linsey)</em> Korean soap operas are so good! I love them. I learned Korean a lot from the dramas, I bought a mini-series from Korea as well as from the Richmond night market. I enjoy them a lot. They are very authentic and effective materials to improve my Korean. <em>(Sharon)</em></td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Visits to Korea

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<tr>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I hadn’t visited Korea for more than 20 years… Linsey’s Korean is also better than William’s because she sometimes visited her sister when Sharon was in Korea. I noticed their improved Korean when they came back from Korea. <em>(Mrs. Pak)</em></td>
<td>My residence in Korea for four years definitely boosted my Korean language and understanding of Korean culture. <em>(Sharon)</em> I periodically visit Korea. It helped me learn how Korean people talk and behave. I believe that being in the right culture is the best way. <em>(Linsey)</em></td>
</tr>
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### Access to Korean websites and online communication

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>My children tried to teach me how to use email one day, so I tried a couple of times but it seemed very complicated… They sometimes tell me about the news in Korea when they get information from the Internet. <em>(Mrs. Pak)</em></td>
<td>I can still communicate with my students in Korea through email and MSN. I mostly use English and sometimes Korean. Because they (my students) want to practice English, I respond to them in English, too. I use Google and Yahoo to search for some information about Korea. Korea is not that far, because of the Internet, compared to the days when I was young, when the Internet was not prevalent that much. I can visit Korea anytime through the Internet. <em>(Sharon)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3.2.1 I Had to Improve My English

Being less enthusiastic about his children’s HL maintenance, Mr. Pak revealed ambivalent attitudes towards HL and bilingualism. Paradoxically, his advocacy of multiculturalism and bilingualism and his obligatory sense towards the HL were not practiced in his daily language use with his children. In an interview, he confessed that he usually used English with his children so his children would become real Canadians. He
said, “Even though I knew Korean was important I didn’t focus on it because they should be prepared to behave like a Canadian.” He also added, “I thought one could be sacrificed for the other.” His subtractive (zero-sum) view of bilingualism and weak willingness to maintain his children’s HL seem to emanate from his nationalist language ideology as discussed earlier (see section 4.3.1.3). Unlike Mr. Yu (Kijŏng’s father), Mr. Pak never demonstrated Korean pride to his children due to his pessimistic views about Korea, where poverty and dictatorship were pervasive in the 1960s and 70s. His desire to improve his own English through conversation with his children was also one of the main reasons he chose to speak English. To Mr. Pak, who was very interested in financial affluence, English was the one of the biggest barriers he had to overcome to be successful in his business. Therefore, he tried to use English at home as much as he could because he believed that “home language provides the best learning practice,” in order both to improve his English and to help his communication with his children.

4.3.2.2 My Longing for Korea was in My Dream

In Mrs. Pak’s specific reflections about HL, she said, “I hadn’t visited Korea for more than 20 years.” Due to the family business, it was hard for her to be away from home. She sometimes wanted to visit Korea but it was always impossible due to the family circumstances and the burdens and responsibilities she had to shoulder. Her dream of enjoying parties every night in a new land gave way to hard and intensive work. Her day started with greetings to her grocery store customers in simple and repetitive English. However, after she moved to Vancouver, she was able to make a couple of trips to Korea thanks to developments in transportation, the closer distance, and a better financial situation. In the interview, she was amused and excited to talk about modern Korean life
as shown in Korean dramas, and the utility of these dramas for her children’s Korean language learning. The modern lifestyle in the Korean soap operas she watches is very different from the images in her mind from Korea in the 1960s and 70s. Her nostalgia about Korea has recently intensified due to the influence of Korean dramas. Thus, she expressed her hopes of living the rest of her life mostly in Korea and partly in Canada. She said, “I don’t have to sacrifice my life for family survival anymore.”

4.3.2.3 Living in the Culture

It is widely acknowledged that optimal language learning means living in the culture (e.g., Rivers, 1981). Sharon’s case supports this notion. Her lost Korean was regained and her authentic and rich cultural experience in Korea accentuated her pride in being Korean. Her four-year residence in Korea as an ESL teacher completely changed her life. In fact, she wanted to be financially independent from her parents because she needed to save some money for her intercultural marriage with Brian. Under this plan, she chose Korea to make money and to experience Korea, as she had always been curious to know more about it. Through her teaching experience in Korea, her Korean language skills dramatically improved and her fluent Korean language and in-depth cultural understanding gave her a positive Korean identity. Her language skills also play an important role in mediating any conflicts between her parents and siblings. Her Korean language and culture is still maintained through online interaction with her previous students.

4.3.3 Social Practice

In this family, multiculturalism is an issue due to Sharon’s intercultural marriage, something which generates tension in the relationship between the parents and the
children, in particular between the mother and the son-in-law. Even though Mrs. Pak has positive perceptions about Canada’s multiculturalism, it seems that the policy is still just a word to her. It is not fully realized or practiced in her life. She still holds traditional Korean views about children’s marriage and career pursuits.

4.3.3.1 What Does Multiculturalism Mean?

Unlike Sharon and Brian’s advocacy of multiculturalism and intercultural marriage, Mrs. Pak’s cultural ideology is trapped in the 1960s and 70s in traditional Korea, which does not allow her to accept intercultural marriage. Without a shared language because of her English and Brian’s weak Korean, there is a gap that needs to be overcome in order to fashion a good relationship between the Korean mother-in-law and the Canadian son-in-law. This emphasizes yet again the importance of a shared language in a family’s relationship.

**Table 4.8: The Paks’ Social Practice 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The more languages they are fluent in, the more chances they are given. Why don’t they take advantage of Canada’s multiculturalism? Understanding different cultures is the culmination of Canada’s multiculturalism. **We need to think globally beyond the Korean ways of thinking.** (Mr. Pak) | I honestly wished that Sharon would meet a Korean but we couldn’t help it. Brian is a nice person. I am OK now but I was not happy with her decision at the time … **that’s why I preferred a Korean guy.** (Mr. Pak) | Conversation 1  
Mrs. Pak: I want Linsey and William to meet Korean partners.  
Mr. Pak: Didn’t you get a lesson from Sharon’s case? We could just be dreaming.  
Mrs. Pak: What if William and Linsey want to marry non-Koreans?  
Mr. Pak: It would be good to have different ethnic people, one from China, one from Europe… If they meet Koreans, it couldn’t be better, but we can’t force them to do anything. |
<p>| When I see my son-in-law, I only say these words, “Hi” “Bye”. We didn’t want Sharon to get married to him, but she planned it. Everything was planned out by her. <strong>Even though others say that a Canadian son-in-law is good because we are living in Canada, they are just saying that. What advantages are there?</strong> (Mrs. Pak) | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| *I certainly advocate Canada’s multiculturalism. Moreover, my fluent Korean allows me to enjoy this multiculturalism.* (Sharon) | *If I had gotten married to a Korean, it would have been much easier to communicate between my husband and my parents, but this is my life not my parents’ lives.* I chose Brian because he has been raised in a multicultural background and had a good understanding of Asian culture because his mom is Japanese too. I had a lot of dates with Korean guys but realized that they focus on their own family too much. (Sharon) | **Conversation 2**  
*Sharon:* There are a lot of advantages in multicultural marriage.  
*Brian:* Yes, we will have multi-backgrounds, Canadian from us, Korean from your family, Japanese from my mother, Irish from my father.  
*Sharon:* Wow, when we have a baby, let’s raise the baby as a linguist. |

### 4.3.3.2 Wishes for a Better Job

It is commonplace for immigrant parents to wish for their children to have better careers than their own. Just as was the case with Kijŏng’s parents, Mrs. Pak aspired for her children to have professional careers such as a doctor or lawyer because their children’s professional careers are regarded as a reward and accomplishment for the hard work of the first generation. However, Sharon and Linsey put more emphasis on their own aptitudes and interests for their career development. In Sharon’s comments on her appreciation of the value of the Korean language, it is evident how the mismatch between the father’s and the children’s views of the children’s HL acquisition and maintenance is perceived by the children.
Table 4.9: The Paks’ Social Practice 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflection</th>
<th>Specific Reflection</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| I hadn’t thought of the benefits of speaking Korean in Canada … but I recently learned that Sharon has pride as a Korean because her fluent Korean seems to be very useful for her job. (Mr. Pak) | Our children didn’t play with their friends after school because they had to help us run the grocery store. However, they didn’t understand our wishes and desires. They don’t understand our longing for a professional job. (Mrs. Pak) | Sharon: I want to be a chef  
Mrs. Pak: What is a chef?  
Sharon: A cook.  
Mrs. Pak: Of course a cook is good but I like a doctor.  
Sharon: Why not a lawyer?  
Mrs. Pak: Do you enjoy your job?  
Sharon: Yeh, pretty much.  
Mrs. Pak: Are you going to earn $2000 when you sell the two houses?  
Sharon: Yeh, I had one family look at the house but their finances were not enough to buy one of the houses. Making money is hard but it is OK.  
Mrs. Pak: That is the reason you should have had a professional job such as a doctor or a lawyer.  
Sharon: No worries, mom. I am going to meet the McDonald’s owner. |
| I don’t want my children to have to work as hard as us. (Mrs. Pak) | We wanted them to be doctors or lawyers. As the first generation of immigrants, getting a professional job has been imprinted in our minds. (Mr. Pak) |  |
| I only just graduated from university so I’m pretty unsure of what I want to do. My parents don’t know what I have planned either. I don’t think Korean affects my job career. (Linsey) | Obviously my father wanted me to be a lawyer or doctor, of course, and to marry a Korean, but that wasn’t the choice I liked. I chose what I wanted to do. And I told him that I was happy with what I was doing. Even though my father had never centered on the importance of Korean, now my Korean benefits me in many ways. (Sharon) |  |

4.3.3.3 Extensive Code-switching for Successful Communication

Sharon’s discourse manifests frequent code-switching. Whenever any communication problem occurs, Sharon rectifies the problem by restating the phrase in Korean to help her parents to understand correctly. Sharon code-switches to facilitate communication with her mother. Sharon confessed in an interview that miscommunication occurs often because of her lack of understanding of subtle Korean expressions and of her parents’ lack of English fluency. Mrs. Pak also said that she is sometimes uncertain about what her children say in English; she just tries to grasp the
rough idea and sometimes asks Sharon to translate it into Korean to clarify the nature of
the conversation. Therefore, code-switching seems to function as a way of facilitating the
flow of communication. Sharon expressed her feelings about her parents’ imperfect
English usage as follows:

*I feel somewhat embarrassed that my parents have gotten into the habit of not
being conscious about their vocabulary. Sometimes, I give them the literal
translation in Korean to what they just said in English so that they can recognize
how embarrassing their last comment/remark was. When they actualize what they
just said, they can attach the connotations it has to the phrase said.* (email from
Sharon)

Table 4.10 explains the factors influencing code-switching in the Pak family’s
conversations.

**Table 4.10: Factors Influencing Code-switching**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Code-switching in Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexical need</strong></td>
<td>Sharon: <em>I want to be a chef.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Pak: What is a <em>chef</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharon: <em>Hmmm... in Korean... a cook</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rapport</strong></td>
<td>Mrs. Pak: Yes, everything is so <em>cheap.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharon: Everything is <em>cheaper.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Pak: Everything is so <em>cheap</em> in Korea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clarity of meaning through reiteration/translation</strong></td>
<td>Mrs. Pak: <em>She has three buildings!</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharon: No, her parents have three buildings but she has two houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Authenticity/consideration</strong></td>
<td>Mrs. Pak: <em>Younger brother-nun</em> Africa Katdamay? (The younger brother went to Africa, didn’t he?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharon: Everyone wondered what happened to him.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brian’s younger brother, Liam, is kind of <em>Paramdungi (a playboy).</em> He has no job but she has two houses. Her parents are very rich, they have three buildings. She owns her house. That’s why Liam likes her. Even though she is too old, she is very nice, kind of very <em>Sunjin</em> (pure or naive).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English improvement</strong></td>
<td>Sharon: <em>Where did they meet?</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Pak: At the alumni meeting.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sharon: <em>School reunion?</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Pak: Yes.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharon: Canadians have a reunion every ten years. How often do they meet in Korea?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Pak: Classmates meet once a year.</td>
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</table>
As shown in the exchanges above, code-switching owes to various factors: lexical needs, rapport, clarity of meaning, authenticity, English improvement, participants in consideration, and better expression of emotion.

First, lexical need is one of the issues raised most frequently by bilinguals. To avoid any efforts to find the equivalent Korean word for ‘chef’, Sharon directly used the English word chef instead of translating it into Korean. This confirms that single lexical items from one language inserted into the discourse of another comprise the greatest portion of any bilingual corpus (Poplack & Meechan, 1998).

Second, rapport can be established between the speaker and the interlocutor when the interlocutor responds with a similar switch. As noted in the table, the mother switched her Korean word for ‘cheap’ to English when showing her agreement. The reiterated word seems to construct a strong rapport between Sharon and her mother and forms the basis for their intimate relationship.

Third, when Mrs. Pak did not understand the information accurately, Sharon translated the information into Korean. In this case, code-switching functions to clarify

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Code-switching in Discourse</th>
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| • Participants in conversation | **Mr. Pak:** Investment is not easy.  
**Brian:** Yeah, I know.  
**Sharon:** So are they reliable people?  
**Mr. Pak:** Of course, we will hire an account and a lawyer, too. Everything will be clearly spelled out. Saskatchewan will go through an economic boom and the business will go smoothly.  
**Mrs. Pak:** Drinks are here. |
| • Better expression of emotion/conflict avoidance | **Mrs. Pak:** In Korean culture, children are obedient to their parents, but in Canadian culture, children do in their own way. This is why I sometimes become depressed.  
**Sharon:** Why are you depressed?  
**Mrs. Pak:** Mijin-a ((Sharon’s Korean name)), mom came here a long time ago, thus I am more comfortable with my old style. I expect more politeness from my children. |
meaning. Code-switching may be viewed as an extension of language rather than interference, depending on the situation and context in which it occurs. From the example above, it may be concluded that code-switching is not language interference, because it supplements discourse among immigrant families. Sharon’s code-switching clarifies the misleading information about her husband’s relatives.

Fourth, code-switching delivers more authentic meaning to bilingual discourse which entails subtle and different nuances in two different languages. Sharon used Korean words for “playboy” and “pure” to deliver more authentic Korean meaning to her mother. The Korean words convey nuances of meaning and personal intention (Trudgill, 2000). In a follow-up interview, Sharon said that the Korean word for ‘playboy’ seemed to fit more in the context. She defined the Korean playboy, “paramdungi [Palamtwungi]”.

Fifth, her parents’ English improvement or maintenance is one of the reasons Sharon sometimes uses English on purpose. Even though she was aware of the Korean word for alumni meeting, she reconfirmed the meaning by restating with the English word so that the mother could enlarge her English vocabulary. In a follow-up interview, she expressed her unconscious consideration about her parents’ English. She wanted to help her parents learn English through conversation with her. Sharon reflected on her code-switching as follows:

*It is just a habit that we have always done our entire lives. My sister does the same thing as well. I also think it is a subconscious act as well because I don't want my parents to lose their English, so the broken up conversation switches re-assure me that I am not enabling them to forget English! I use the same amount of English and Korean with my father. Linsey speaks more English than me but she certainly incorporates Korean phrases when she can.* (email from Sharon)

That the father’s English is better than the mother’s may be one of the factors which influences the father’s frequent use of English. Mr. Pak also claimed that his main
motivation in using English lay in his desire for English improvement through conversation with his children.

Sixth, the intercultural marriage affects family language use because the parents try to speak English as much as they can, at least in the presence of their Canadian son-in-law, as demonstrated in the table.

Seventh, code-switching is used for better expression of emotion when appealing, upset, tired, or distracted in some manner. Therefore, it sometimes functions as a means of conflict control or negotiating conflict (Kang, 2003). In particular, using the HL in a bilingual situation embeds an intention of expressing the speaker’s feelings. Research has shown that the speaker’s preferred language for expression of strong emotion is often the speaker’s first language (Pavlenko, 2002, 2004) because the first language delivers a more vivid and intense feeling (Schrauf, 2000). Mrs. Pak’s feelings of regret about her children’s lack of politeness to their parents are embedded in her uttering of Sharon’s Korean name, “Mijin.” Sharon did not pick up on the mother’s despair and thus Mrs. Pak became emotional and appealed to Sharon by calling her by her Korean name to make her understand the Korean cultural norms about ideal attitudes to parents. Her cultural norms of politeness require children’s obedience to parents.

Overall, code-switching is a communicative strategy to transfer the intended meaning (Chung, 2006). The switch of languages during a conversation was not disruptive to the Pak family; rather, the switches provided various opportunities for clarity, authenticity, consideration, language development, and better expression of emotion.
In the next section, I discuss the Pak family members’ online social practice for HL and culture and elucidate the family’s general attitudes about technology use for HL maintenance.

4.3.4 Views of Technology Use

From the interviews, the parents did not provide detailed insights because their technology use for HL and culture was in fact minimal. Mrs. Pak once tried to use email to contact her relatives in Korea but she gave up on remembering all the complex processes. Also, due to her busy work at the grocery store, it was hard for her to find time to use email. She prefers to use the immediacy of the telephone whenever she has time. In the next section, I show one of her rare email exchanges with Sharon. Likewise, Mr. Pak does not use the computer frequently but he had some experience using a computer for the purchase of bonds and securities to make money. However, it did not last long because his interest turned to property from floating assets. Of all the family members, Sharon uses the computer most extensively. Sharon provided positive attitudes towards technology use for HL and culture practice. She endorsed the computer as a tool of communication. She described her constant contact with her Korean students in Korea through email and instant messenger. She has been keeping in touch with them even though they are physically remote from each other. Through constant email and instant messenger exchanges, the relations between Sharon and her students have been fostered rather than being cut off due to physical separation. Thus, Sharon regards technology use as a way of maintaining her relationship with students in Korea and practicing Korean language and culture.
### Table 4.11: Sharon’s Reflections on Technology Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining relationship</td>
<td><em>I think communication is the most advantageous in using the computer. Online communication allows people to be globally connected. Regardless of the physical presence, online communication enables one to maintain one’s social network.</em> (Sharon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practicing language and culture</td>
<td><em>Using email and MSN offers me chances to read Korean. Also they help me to learn Korean culture too through the frequent interchanges.</em> (Sharon)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sharon added this about her present relations with her students:

> *I didn’t imagine my on-going relation with my previous students like this for such a long time. Even though my teaching terminated three years ago, I am still sharing and talking with my students. They share their daily lives, future plans, pleasure, sadness... with me. If I had taught them ten years ago, I couldn’t have been connected with them. Their emails still vividly remind me of the hakwon (private institute), the road in Kwangju, etc.* (interview with Sharon)

#### 4.3.5 Online Practice

Sharon’s online communication shows how Sharon supports her family and maintains her network from a distance with those who are in Korea.

##### 4.3.5.1 Supporting the Family

Sharon’s first email correspondence was conducted with her elder brother. Even though William is the eldest son in the family, he does not seem to play a leadership role in helping the parents. Because of his Korean language limitations, Sharon always takes the responsibility for building a bridge between her parents and her siblings. The email exchange was carried out in the middle of arrangements for work at the grocery store before Sharon, Linsey, and her mother left for Korea. The email exchange demonstrates Sharon’s role in the family as a mediator and supporter for her parents even though she is not the stereotype of an obedient Korean daughter (recall her unilateral decisions concerning intercultural marriage and her job). Her role is reminiscent of Brian’s comments in the interview about Sharon’s role in her family. Brian mentioned that
Sharon shows filial piety towards her parents. Her time and devotion for her parents’ store seem to lie in her deep understanding of Korean culture, where self-sacrifice for parents is regarded as a virtue in a Confucian society. Therefore, her mother, Mrs. Pak, has relied on Sharon so much that she calls Sharon a second son, as shown in the second email correspondence.

Excerpt 6: “Family Support Needed”

Email Correspondence 1: Sharon with William

Brother: OK...i’ll see if i can get this friday off but I definitely work this coming saturday what time?

Hey William,
The tickets that mom had initially reserved for Brian, Linsey, and I were accidentally sold. So we are tentatively booked for to leave on the 3rd of November which is this Friday coming up. If so, is it possible for you to work in the store while dad drops us off? I guess you would be working but let me know. Also, if this works out, dad really needs you to work on the 4th -next Saturday- as that is the day that mom arrives and there is no one else to work the store. We need your help.
Talk to you later,
Sharon

Email Correspondence 2: Sharon and Mrs. Pak

oo ri second son (my second son), what cha doin’ now? so, how’sa your cold? keekim yak mokgo (take the cough drop), neocitrin hago (and take Neocitrin), don’t go outside...too windy, ok? when you go to school make sure that you pack a lunch and don’t eat past nine-thirty at night so you won’t gain weight. OK?! i miss you so much, second son.(mom is crazy)36 you not here, i always going costco, hy louie with Linsey and you know Linsey...so much history (mom is crazy)37. always talking you, you know?

Hi mom,
I will visit you this weekend and we can talk then. I love you mom.
Sharon

4.3.5.2 Maintaining a Social Network

In the email exchange with her student, Sharon used Korean expressions on an English keyboard to express the happiness that her marriage has brought her. Moreover,

36 This parenthesis is part of the original text.
37 This parenthesis is part of the original text.
her Korean language and cultural practice is clearly exemplified in her correspondence with her relative. First of all, in Email Correspondence 1 (see Excerpt 7 below), Sharon practices her Korean [hengbok heyo], which means ‘happy’ in Korean, with the English keyboard. Also in Email Correspondence 2, she addresses her relative using Korean. She addressed Justin with “Ahnyoung Justin-ah,” which is equivalent to “Hi, Justin.” The suffix, “-ah (a in Yale Romanization) or -ya,” is the Plain Style vocative particle in Korean, similar to “Hey” in English. Her reminiscences about Korea are evident from her desire to eat Korean sweet red bean. Moreover, her Korean identity is found at the end of email where her Korean name, Mijin, is used. Her Korean identity is also shown in her full name, “Sharon Mijin Pak,” for her published book. Sharon shared her reasons for using her full name:

I wanted to reveal my identity in my full name because the book is about three Korean families. I dealt with family issues such as obligations and expectations around family. When I was young, I used to use only my first and last name, Sharon Pak, but I want to reveal my ethnicity and background in my full name.  
(interview with Sharon)

**Excerpt 7: “Maintaining Relationships”**

**Email Correspondence 1: Sharon and Her Former Korean Student:**

Dear Sharon teacher
Hello! I’m Sharon. sorry for not e-mail you. I was busy with my school test. I wanted to g to your wedding but...... sorry and I miss you a lot. We are going to an Australia for learning english^^
When I learn English I’ll wrote an e-mail for you. I LOVE you!!!

--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Hi Jin,
Thanks for the updates. The wedding celemony went well thanks to your concerns and bless. **I am really hengbok heyo (happy).** Let me know when you come back from Australi then I will see how your English has improved.

**Email Correspondence 2: Sharon and Her Cousin in Korea:**

**Ahnyong Justin-ah!** (Hi Justin)
How are you? Wow...so delighted to receive your e-mail! Your job in **Kyong-gi do** sounds good and it is keeping you busy which is good...
I also have some good news...when I was in Korea I wrote a book. It is a fiction novel. Anyways, it is being published and it will be available in bookstores in about a month or so. I am really excited about it. The New York Times Newspaper is going to do a book review on my book next month, or the month after. The title of my book is called: "Beneath the Sun" and it is under my full name: "Sharon Mijin Pak." I haven't told my parents or family about it. When it comes out, I am going to take them for dinner and give it to them as a present. I dedicated the book to them. I can't wait to see their faces!

I have been really missing Korea a lot these days! I really miss the students, the city, and the food, food, and did I say food? I was thinking about coming to Korea in the fall for a visit and if I do I hope to have the chance to see you as well. Are you living by yourself? Where in Kyonggi-do are you? Do you miss Gwangju? How is your family? Tell your mother she is a great cook...

Do you know what I have been dreaming about these days? Chap-sal doughnuts with the path (sweet red bean) inside. They look like balls and they are so delicious! Anyways, if you see one while you are walking by Paris Baguette or some other bakery...can you go inside, buy one, and slowly eat it while thinking about me? Then you can say that I enjoyed the doughnut myself! And no calories for me! Puuuhahahahaha!

This is a picture of me at my company Christmas Party a few months ago... Stay happy and healthy...and talk to you soon!

Mijin

----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Hey! Noonim (when calling an older sister).
I read your news very well. The news are really fun on me... I am willing to buy your book. doughnut forget it. you mustn't have it. I know Timholton in canada that is best I guess. Anyhow I am really thanksful read your mail. talk later!

Justin

PS Korian costume you wear nice fitting and beautiful on you.

It is evident that Sharon effectively uses online communication as a means of practicing Korean language and culture.

4.4 A Comparison of the Two Families

The two families first immigrated to Eastern Canada (Toronto and Montreal) in the 1970s because they thought more jobs were available in those areas, and later immigrated to Vancouver, in the late 1980s. Their motivations for immigration also sound similar. Both families’ fathers wanted to escape from the dictatorial regime in
Korea and thus decided to come to Canada. However, their expectations about their lives in the new land were unrealistic. For example, Mrs. Pak prepared ten party outfits because she was told that there were parties every night in Canada. She had believed that Canada was a paradise and Canadians enjoyed parties without doing any hard work. Her real life in Canada, however, was sustained through immense hard work. Her original job was as a nurse, but she changed jobs to support her family business, a grocery store, and has been burdened by managing the grocery store for many years. Meanwhile, it did not take long for Mrs. Yu, who had been a teacher in Korea, to realize the gap between her fantastic expectations about Canada and reality. She decided to center on her children’s education by staying home as a housewife instead of making money outside the home because she knew that there was a limit to what she could do, due to language barriers.

The fathers’ attitudes toward and support for their children’s Korean and Korean cultural maintenance are different. Mr. Yu places more value on family bonds and maintenance of the Korean language and cultural understanding, whereas Mr. Pak put more emphasis on financial affluence. Mr. Yu’s children (Kijŏng and Kiŭn) appreciated their parents’ support for their Korean fluency and identity as Koreans, while Mr. Pak’s children (Sharon and Linsey) put more emphasis on the multicultural aspects of their upbringing, rather than focusing just on being Korean. Sharon’s fluent Korean was gained through her four-year residence in Korea, rather than through any family-based encouragement or support. The two families’ parental support and enthusiasm about the Korean language and cultural maintenance are different. Whereas Mrs. Yu encouraged her daughter to take any Korean culture-related courses even at university, Mrs. Pak gave up teaching Korean to her children once they entered elementary school.
Through these two families, it can be seen that parental attitudes/support and their children’s language and culture maintenance are inextricably related. Kijŏng’s parents provided their children with more support for HL and culture maintenance than did Sharon’s parents. In the Yu family conversations, more Korean was used between parents and children, whereas more frequent code-switching occurred in the Pak family’s conversations. The following Figure 4.1 shows how language is imbricated in the relationship between parents and children. The emotional relationships between parents and children will also be displayed through the genograms in Figure 4.1.

**Figure 4.1: A Comparison of Emotional Relationships**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KEY (modified for purposes)</th>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Harmonious</th>
<th>Distant / Poor</th>
<th>Indifferent / Apathetic</th>
<th>Discord / Conflict</th>
<th>Cutoff / Estranged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The Yu Family

Montreal -> Whiterock -> Vancouver

Korea

Yu (Mr.)

Yu (Mrs.)

Canada

Kijŏng Yu

Kūn Yu

The Pak Family

Germany -> Winnipeg -> Alberta -> Langley

Korea

Pak (Mr.)

Pak (Mrs.)

Canada

William Pak

Sharon Pak

Brian Scott

Linsey Pak

These effectively display the role of language in a family relationship. In the Yu family, as revealed in their interviews, the relationship between parents and children
seem very close because their shared language helps them to understand each other. Conversely, the Pak family members have various emotions due to conflicts arising from the lack of a common language. Due to unsuccessful communication, Mrs. Pak failed to establish a close relationship with her son, William, while Sharon has a close relationship with her parents.

4.5. Conclusions

It is clear that parental support and language use have greatly influenced the children’s language and culture maintenance. In fact, their parents’ support mirrors their language ideologies. For example, the Yu parents’ language ideology stems from their pride in the ‘superiority’ [wuswuseng] of the Korean script. The parents’ linguistic nationalism is closely related to their ethnic nationalism. Their positive attitudes towards the linguistic and ethnic nationalism greatly influenced his children’s HL maintenance. On the other hand, the Pak’s ethno-nationalist view of language and race, “one ethnic group speaks one language” did not help his children to maintain their HL successfully. The desire to teach her children Korean in their daily lives demonstrated by Kijŏng’s mother reflects the importance of the parental role in children’s HL maintenance. But besides the parental role, Sharon (in section 4.3.4) demonstrates how she uses technology for her Korean language and culture practices. The role of technology should also be carefully considered in HL acquisition and maintenance.
Chapter 5

INVITATION CASES: CURIOSITY ABOUT IMMIGRANT LIFE (OVER 20 YEARS OF IMMIGRANT LIFE)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces two family cases with over twenty years of residence in Canada. With regards to immigration, the two families examined in this chapter did not have any specific goals that were significantly different from those of the first two families, who immigrated in the 1960s. They did not believe that Canada would give them a paradise, because they were already aware of the harsh reality of immigration through their relatives’ experiences. Their motivation for migrating to Canada included curiosity and expectations about their new life in a new country; they did not feel the total estrangement from their home country that the Yu and Pak families (in Chapter 4) did. Because Canada allowed relatives to invite family members to immigrate, many Korean immigrants in Canada invited members of their extended families to soothe their loneliness and isolation. The immigrants who came to Canada in the 1970s wanted to carve out a better life in a new land, but generally had a more realistic view than did the previous generation of Korean immigrants.

5.2 The Song Family (Yujin and Yulim)

Mr. Song, who had studied in Japan prior to coming to Canada, went to Montreal as an international student for his graduate studies in the 1970s. He quit his studies due to the financial burden of caring for his family and his lack of confidence in getting a job after his studies. Mr. and Mrs. Song then opened a restaurant, which was one of the biggest oriental restaurants in the neighborhood; most Korean immigrants ran a small grocery store at that time. However, their dreams and ambitions turned out to be
unrealistic. Due to their lack of knowledge about and experience of a culture dominated by Caucasian tastes, the oriental restaurant was not successful. The failure of their restaurant led them to appreciate the importance of ethnic community power. They moved to Vancouver seven years later.

Their two sons, Yujin and Yulim, were born in Montreal in 1986 and 1992. Yujin and Yulim’s attitudes towards the Korean language and culture are very positive, and their fluent Korean was surprising. Moreover, their polite manners, including their sitting posture, body language, and linguistic politeness, were impressive. The older son, Yujin, having lived apart from his family for his university studies, emphasized the significance of HL maintenance. He was instrumentally motivated to develop his Korean language in preparation for his future career. Yulim, who has many Korean friends, put more stock in his pride as a Korean. He stated that both languages and cultures (Korean and Canadian) are equally important, but he indicated that he wanted to be more Korean because he loves being Korean. Yujin advocates multiculturalism as well as bilingualism. He confessed that the significance of maintaining his HL was reinforced when he associated with friends who have ethnically different backgrounds.

5.2.1 Integrative and Instrumental Attitudes

Yujin and Yulim appear to be highly motivated to maintain their HL and they value Korean language and culture maintenance. Their parents stressed the importance of HL maintenance and thus they have very positive attitudes towards their children’s language learning and maintenance. They tirelessly emphasized to their children the importance of mastering Korean to have a successful immigrant life.
Table 5.1: The Songs’ General Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understanding family roots</td>
<td>I think <em>language maintenance is like a way to keep one’s roots</em>. Who could ignore one’s roots? Parents should let their children know where they came from. I always instilled in them the ideology that they are Koreans; thus, the Korean language is the last weapon they can throw away, whatever the hardship. (Mr. Song)</td>
<td>My Korean enables me to fully understand my family background. My grandmother’s story about family roots was very inspiring. She explained cokpo(^38) to me. (Yujin) I think <em>it is most important to know where we are from.</em> (Yulim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I believe that language plays a crucial role in constructing a good relationship with relatives as well as in understanding family roots. (Mrs. Song)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructing positive Korean</td>
<td>Identity is very important. It is important to know who I am. That’s why I believe that language is important, too. Language is not simply a medium of communication. <em>It enables our children to fashion their identity as Koreans.</em> (Mrs. Song)</td>
<td>I want to be called a Korean Canadian because my Korean identity is more important. <em>My Korean language helps me to have confidence and to realize who I am.</em> In future, I would like to work for Korean immigrants who suffer from the language barrier. (Yulim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identity</td>
<td>I believe that speaking Korean is a fundamental way to weave a positive identity as Koreans. (Mr. Song)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing an asset in the job</td>
<td><em>I appreciate the value of Canada’s bilingualism and multiculturalism.</em> Their Korean will give them many benefits in their future. Considering the growing Korean economy, I think my children’s Korean will offer my children great opportunities in their future. (Mr. Song)</td>
<td>Most of my friends are immigrants like me, but their language ability is amazing. They are perfectly bilingual. In this global society, <em>language is power.</em> Because businesses are globally connected, they need different people who can speak different languages. Language is an important medium which helps a business become successful. I want to be a person this global world needs. (Yujin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(^{38}\) With the emergence of the concept of patrilineal descent, it became important to be able to document the main as well as the collateral lines of kin that derived their origin from a common apical ancestor. Written genealogies (cokpo), while proliferating from the seventeenth century, began to be compiled as early as the fifteenth century. (P-L. Lee, 1993, p. 569)
5.2.1.1 Family Roots and Identity

The parents addressed their children by their Korean names, similarly to Kijŏng’s and Kiŭn’s parents. The children also expressed their willingness to use their Korean names as primary and official names by putting their English names as middle names; they believe that their Korean names can represent the Korean identity which brings them pride. The parents introduced cokpo, which is a family genealogy, to their children in order to help the children understand their family ancestry. They commented that their approach to supporting the development of their children’s Korean language proficiency was influenced by the indelible memories of estrangements they had observed between parents and children within the local Korean communities in Japan and Montreal, where they had once resided before they moved to Vancouver. They realized that language is the best medium for representing one’s identity. They reflected on one instance in which they realized the importance of HL maintenance:

When we visited a Korean immigrant family whose father was a well-known figure in the Korean community, we were shocked by the son’s inability to speak Korean. When the son was asked to greet us by his father, he spoke in English. We were new immigrants; thus, we replied to the son and asked him a few questions in Korean, but he couldn’t understand what we meant. What he said to us was “Sorry, I can’t speak Korean.” His father’s response was even more embarrassing. The father remaining calm, translated our questions into English and politely asked us to understand his son’s inability in Korean because of his birth in Canada. My wife and I began to rethink of the father’s fame as a representative leading role in the Korean community. Since then, my wife and I decided to raise our children as Koreans who can speak their HL fluently and understand their heritage. (interview with Mr. Song)
5.2.1.2 Instrumental Value of Korean

The instrumental value of Korean in the domain of employment is growing in BC. According to the report of Tourism British Columbia\(^{39}\), Korea is the third largest Asia/Pacific market to BC and Canada following Japan and Australia. Considering Korea’s growing economy and industries, Mr. Song and Yujin point out that speaking Korean can be an asset in the multicultural market. Yujin’s future aspiration is to be a bilingual person in a global world that values Korean.

5.2.2 Extensive Investment and Support

As for their specific reflections on HL acquisition and maintenance, the parents gave extensive support to the children’s language and cultural learning. The parents carefully planned how to raise their children as Koreans and how to help the children learn and maintain their HL even before the children were born. Not only did the parents have positive attitudes towards HL and culture, they also provided actual tangible support for the development of their children’s language and culture. Interviews with them revealed an emphasis on family values, family literacy practices, Saturday Korean Heritage School, frequent trips to Korea, rental of Korean dramas and movies, aspirations towards formal instruction, and use of technology. The children’s motivation and interest in HL are sensitive to the language attitudes and support of the parents.

\(^{39}\) For more details, read the article downloaded from [http://www.tourismbc.com/pdf/MarketProfile_SouthKorea_2007.pdf](http://www.tourismbc.com/pdf/MarketProfile_SouthKorea_2007.pdf)
Table 5.2: The Songs’ Specific Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emphasizing family values</td>
<td>We constantly <strong>emphasized the importance of family</strong> because we saw that some parents don’t know how to nourish and nurture their children’s commitment and attachment to their family. (Mr. Song)</td>
<td>My father has put a great emphasis on family since I was young. Even though independence is taken for granted in this society, I <strong>always think of my family first</strong> before I step further. I tried to understand what kinds of roles are expected of the eldest son in Korea. (Yujin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practicing home literacy</td>
<td><strong>I started teaching them the Korean alphabet.</strong> I don’t think my teaching impacted their learning to a great extent, but it helped to construct a fundamental basis or motivation to learn Korean. In fact, we (Mr. and Mrs. Song) pushed them (their children) a lot to speak Korean, at least at home. Otherwise, they had no chance to practice Korean. Once they came in from outside, they had to speak Korean because they knew that I couldn’t speak English. (Mrs. Song)**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We had to use only Korean at home. If they violated this rule, we even punished them. (Mr. Song)</td>
<td><strong>My mom asked me to keep a diary in Korean,</strong> She also provided me with corrections. It was very hard to keep a diary in Korean but it got better as time passed by. I want to publish my diary someday in the future. (Yulim)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>My mom used to read me Korean books before I slept.</strong> Thus, I am well aware of Korean folk tales. (Yujin)**</td>
<td><strong>I speak to my younger brother in Korean,</strong> (Yujin)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending to weekend Heritage School</td>
<td><strong>I sent Yulim and Yujin to Korean Saturday school for many years.</strong> They didn’t want to get up early on Saturdays so I talked to them about the importance of the Korean language. I repeatedly mentioned that they would be proud of themselves one year later. I brainwashed them with the idea of the importance of learning Korean. Also, <strong>I sometimes volunteered at the school.</strong> In the end, they didn’t hesitate to get up and go to school. Once they went to school, they liked their teachers and enjoyed learning there. (Mrs. Song)**</td>
<td>Even though it was very hard to get up early to go to Korean weekend school, my mom always encouraged me to go, saying “Be more patient and you will see the fruitful results.” (Yulim)**</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The teachers were very nice. We had various activities such as Taekwondo, Korean mask dance, etc. <strong>My writing improved a lot through the learning from the Heritage School,</strong> (Yujin)**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Views</td>
<td>Parents’ Comments</td>
<td>Children’s Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching Korean dramas and movies</td>
<td>I regularly rented Korean dramas and we watched them together. They kept asking me questions when they couldn’t understand while watching the videos. They asked me, “What is that?” or “What does it mean?” (Mrs. Song)</td>
<td>Korean dramas and movies were really helpful in improving my Korean. The language in the dramas seems to be very different from our home language. I sometimes practice the way the movie stars express themselves when talking to my Korean friends. (Yulim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Korea regularly was a good way in which my sons were able to practice Korean and experience Korean culture, I showed them (his two sons) a wide variety of different jobs. Here in Canada, the jobs Korean immigrants have are very simple and monotonous. Whereas most Korean immigrant people are engaged in labor-intensive work, such as grocer, restaurant worker, etc, people in Korea have various jobs. I wanted to show my children how Korean people in Korea worked and endeavored in various fields. (Mr. Song)</td>
<td>Visiting Korea inspired me with a lot of thoughts. It was a kind of good chance to better understand my parents. I understood why my father always says that Korea is a fun hell, whereas Canada is a boring heaven. (Yujin)</td>
<td>When I visited Korea, I was able to directly experience Korean culture. I was also able to practice my Korean with Korean people in Korea. It was very fun and interesting. (Yulim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology use</td>
<td>I use MSN to help to improve. Yujin’s reading skills. I sometimes use difficult words first and then provide an explanation in case he cannot understand them. (Mr. Song)</td>
<td>My father uses very difficult expressions with Chinese characters. Then I ask him what they mean. Even though I respond in English, this way of communicating still helps my Korean learning. (Yujin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Making a call used to cost a lot of money a long time ago so I couldn’t call home in Korea and many immigrants couldn’t dream of visiting Korea often. Hearing of their parents’ passing away, they couldn’t buy the flight ticket immediately because they had to fight for survival here. We had only one or two Korean newspapers then. We read them thoroughly because it was the only way we heard about Korea, but now there so many sources which enable us to get information about Korea. There are so many Korean newspapers, and the Internet allows us to hear about Korea very vividly. My children use these sources to practice their Korean. (Mrs. Song)</td>
<td>I type in Korean when I chat with my Korean friends and use Korean when interacting with others over online games. I enjoy the chat language which is much shorter and denser than my daily life language. (Yulim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I read Korean newspapers I pick up from church or Korean grocery stores for free because I am interested in Korea’s economy and industry. I also read news from the Internet. I often visit daum.net to see Korean entertainment programs and celebrities. (Yujin)</td>
<td>I read Korean newspapers I pick up from church or Korean grocery stores for free because I am interested in Korea’s economy and industry. I also read news from the Internet. I often visit daum.net to see Korean entertainment programs and celebrities. (Yujin)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.2.1 Language Practice with Siblings

Siblings play an important role in literacy development because siblings may become very special guiding lights\(^{40}\) in younger children’s literacy lives (Gregory, 2005, p. 22). Siblings’ role in literacy development has been examined with respect to how siblings assist each other by sharing a common language and cultural recipes (Azmitia & Hesser, 1993) and by contributing to each other’s social, cognitive, and emotional development (Dunn, 1989; Ervin-Tripp, 1989). Yujin and Yulim practice Korean with each other, even though it is rare to see siblings practice their HL in the home because they are more likely to bring their school language home. However, Yujin’s rule of using Korean at home has been strictly maintained by Yulim. Yujin takes the lead in practicing Korean at home with siblings. In the Yu family (in Chapter 4), Korean was being used as the main language for communication between parents and children, but conversation between the siblings was conducted in English. However, in the Song family, Korean is practiced even between the siblings. Yulim reflected on his experience of once violating this ‘golden rule’ set up by his older sibling:

We are supposed to speak Korean at home. My parents strongly encourage us to learn and practice Korean all the time. My older brother is sometimes more strict than my parents. One day, I spoke to him in English, and he was very furious against my violation. Since then, I never forget to speak Korean inside my home. His Korean was much better than mine; thus, he used to be my role model, but now my Korean is better than his. (interview with Yulim)

Yujin’s ‘golden rule’ was originally his parents’ idea. Mr. and Mrs. Song knew the importance of siblings’ role in practicing Korean because they realized that the children spent more time with each other than with their parents “We realized that as they grew,
they spent more time with each other than with us. Thus, we encouraged Yujin to be a role model to Yulim.” (Interview with Mr. Song)

The siblings’ role modeling and older sibling’s scaffolding for younger sibling’s language learning was made very clear on the second visit to the Song’s. On that visit, I took my family to the house. The Songs welcomed my family very warmly and they took my children to the recreation room, where a huge pool table was located in the center. Yujin and Yulim kindly offered to teach my children how to play pool. The conversation below was done before I headed to their dining room table for an interview with their mother. The older sibling’s scaffolding the younger sibling’s language learning in the expert-novice context is illustrated in the following excerpt:

**Excerpt 1: “Playing Pool”**

(1)Yulim: *Pool 할까요?* (turning to my children))
Do you want to play pool?

(2)Yujin: *당구 알아요?* (asking my children))
Do you know pool?

(3)Yulim: *아! 당구해봤어요?*
Aha! Have you played pool?

Here, Yulim offers my children the opportunity to play pool (line 1). His offer is done by using ‘pool’ in English. Yujin immediately code-switches the English word into Korean, ‘당구: Tangku’ (pool or billiards) (line 2). Then, Yulim’s exclamation ‘아: a’ (aha!) demonstrates his recognition or awareness of the Korean word for ‘pool’ through his brother’s discourse. He internalizes his language learning by repeating the Korean word ‘당구: Tangku’. This conversation excerpt depicts how these siblings advanced their language learning through the context of collaborative expert (Yujin) versus novice (Yulim).
5.2.2.2 Unceasing Support for Heritage Language School

Even though the parents endured tribulations in encouraging the children to attend the Saturday morning school, they never gave up sending their children there. One thing that should be highlighted here is the children’s positive attitudes towards their learning experience from the Saturday Korean Heritage School. I realized that Yujin’s and Yulim’s positive attitudes were influenced by their parents’ unceasing enthusiasm and patience in encouraging their children’s attendance to the Heritage School. Children’s attendance at the Heritage School is easily discontinued with parental approval as revealed in the previous cases in this thesis (e.g., Kijŏng’s and Sharon’s) and in the case to be discussed later in this chapter (Jack’s, Section 5.3). However, Mrs. Song persuaded her sons to attend the weekend school sometimes with encouragement and sometimes with threats:

In fact, I wanted to allow them to sleep more on Saturday mornings. However, the language was not something I would easily gave up. Whenever I became weak, I tried to reflect on the sad stories related to other children’s HL loss again and again. I tried to have my children understand why Korean study was important but I sometimes threatened that I wouldn’t do anything for them if they didn’t go. (interview with Mrs. Song)

Reflecting on her hard time encouraging her children to attend Heritage School, she wished to see Korean offered as a second language subject in public schools. Due to their pride in the HL and wanting to avoid having to get up early on weekend mornings for Heritage School, Yujin and Yulim expressed their willingness to take a Korean course if it were offered as part of their regular school curriculum. Likewise, the parents expressed their desire for formal instruction for their children in HL and culture. However, Mr. Song expressed his concerns about new Korean immigrant students taking a Korean course for cynical elevation of their academic marks, because second-generation Koreans
could be left behind due to their relative incompetence compared with the Korean fluency of newcomers. By referring to the newspaper article announcing the project to establish Korean as a second language in the public school system\textsuperscript{41}, Mr. Song advocated formal Korean language programs provided by the community or through the mainstream schools.

5.2.2.3 Direct Cultural Experience

Among various language and cultural experiences, the family’s frequent visits to Korea seem to have been one of the most costly investments in the children’s HL acquisition and maintenance. Before the family made trips to Korea, they carefully planned everything so as to optimize the children’s language and cultural learning. The father said that the family has visited almost all of the major travel attractions in Korea.

Mr. Song related the following about how he planned a visit to a Korean public bath with his children:

I wanted to introduce them to the Korean public bath, so I planned. After playing tennis, we suggested going to a sauna. I didn’t say anything about the public bath before we entered inside. After we paid, we entered the changing room and they looked paranoid about all the naked people. They persuaded my children to take a chance because we had already paid. Now they love the Korean public bath. Whenever we visit Korea, we go to a public bath. It is hard to teach culture until a direct cultural experience is made. (interview with Mr. Song)

Yujin adds about the public bath experience:

My father always says that Korea is a fun hell, whereas Canada is a boring heaven… the public bath experience is one of those where I was really scared and embarrassed but ended up loving it. My authentic cultural experiences in Korea gave me a thousand-times’ worth of learning value compared to reading it in books. (interview with Yujin)

As Yujin stated, direct cultural experience is the most effective way of teaching the HL as nothing can surpass direct cultural and linguistic experience in the home country.

\textsuperscript{41} For details, visit http://vanchosun.com/home/news/newsdesc.php?scatid=3&sqno=3609
However, not everyone can afford to do this. Yujin’s parents boldly invested their time and money for their children’s HL acquisition and maintenance. To the parents, investment is regarded as an inevitable quality for children’s successful education. This is a very different status from Sharon’s parents (in Chapter 4), who could not make frequent visits to Korea due to their financial situation. On top of financial burden, parents’ investment for their children’s HL seems also highly relevant to the parents’ educational attainment and current jobs. Mr. Song originally came to Canada for an extension of his studies. Mrs. Song was raised by parents who worked in the education field. Both parents regarded education as the ultimate attainment. Furthermore, Mr. Song’s current job is to take care of international students as a legal guardian. Mr. Song’s education and knowledge about facilitating children’s learning was made obvious in his interviews.

5.2.3 Social Practice

This family demonstrates a positive relationship between theory and practice in HL acquisition and maintenance. The match in social practice of parental and children’s language maintenance is presented in the following sections (5.2.3.1 and 5.2.3.2).

5.2.3.1 Family Literacy Practices

The following social practice illustrates that the parents’ behaviors are very much in line with their positive attitudes towards their children’s language maintenance, which in turn are echoed in the children’s actions and attitudes. The parents have positive attitudes towards language maintenance and have made constant effort towards their children’s language maintenance, such as checking and correcting mistakes in Yulim’s diary. In addition, Mrs. Song corrects children’s misuse and inappropriate use of Korean.
As Mrs. Song claims in her general reflections, she demonstrates that there are many ways to help children’s language maintenance at home.

### Table 5.3: The Songs’ Social Practice 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We know Korean is important to us. Most of all, practicing Korean at home is the best way to maintain children’s fluency. From teaching the Korean alphabet, checking their improvement, and so on, there are lots of ways to help children learn Korean from home. (Mrs. Song)</td>
<td>I started teaching them the Korean alphabet. I don’t think my teaching impacted their learning to a great extent, but it helped to construct a fundamental basis or motivation to learn Korean. In fact, we pushed them a lot to speak Korean, at least at home. (Mrs. Song)</td>
<td>Mother: Did you study Korean? Yulim: Yes. Mother: Check the parts you don’t understand and ask me. Yulim: I did. I will ask you once I finish the part I am assigned. Mrs. Song: Yulim, bring your diary. Yulim: Here you are. Mrs. Song: See this? You made the same mistake in spelling the final ending, “-습니다 [supnita] (is).” You spelled it it “-읍니다 [upnita]” again. I also make the same mistakes sometimes but you should know about the changed orthographical rules.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| I think heritage language learning starts from home. (Yujin) | My mom asked me to keep a diary in Korean. She also provided me with corrections. It was very hard to keep a diary in Korean but it got better as time passed by. I want to publish my diary someday in the future. (Yulim) | |

| My mom used to read me Korean books before I slept. Thus, I am well aware of Korean folk tales. (Yujin) | |

#### 5.2.3.2 Importance of Family

Mrs. Song puts a lot of emphasis on education. She believes that a good education starts at home. Influenced by her mother, who was an educator, Mrs. Song always values and promotes education in their home. Mr. Song, whose father passed away when he was very young, strives to be the image of a good father. Although Mr. Song did not have a father to raise him, he tries to remind his children of the importance of family. His attitude towards family is well represented in his conversation with Yujin, who wants to leave home earlier than originally scheduled in order to prepare for the next term.
Table 5.4: The Songs’ Social Practice 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I think <strong>language maintenance is like a way of keeping one’s roots and family value</strong>. Who could ignore one’s roots? Thus, the Korean language is the last weapon they can throw away, whatever the hardship. (Mr. Song)</td>
<td>We constantly <strong>emphasized the importance of family</strong> because we saw that some parents didn’t know how to nourish and nurture their children’s commitment and attachment to their family. (Mr. Song)</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Song</strong>: I hope you stay until the first week of January, as planned. <strong>Yujin</strong>: I want to but I think I need to spend some time preparing for the courses in the first week. <strong>Mr. Song</strong>: Yes, I understand your situation but it is a rare chance to spend time with family together. Is there any possibility you can do it at home? Dad has been waiting for this family gathering all year. <strong>Nothing can be more important than family during this holiday season.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that language plays a crucial role in constructing a good relationship with relatives as well as in <strong>understanding family values</strong>. (Mrs. Song)</td>
<td><strong>My grandmother’s story about family roots was very inspiring. She explained cokpo to me.</strong> (Yujin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Korean is very important because my Korean enables me to fully understand my family background.</strong> (Yujin)</td>
<td><strong>My parents’ emphasis on the importance of family made me more motivated to improve my Korean.</strong> (Yulim)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I think it is most important to know where we are from.</strong> (Yulim)</td>
<td><strong>My parents’ emphasis on the importance of family made me more motivated to improve my Korean.</strong> (Yulim)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I always think of my family first</strong> before I step further. I know what kinds of roles are expected of the eldest son in Korea. (Yujin)</td>
<td><strong>My parents’ emphasis on the importance of family made me more motivated to improve my Korean.</strong> (Yulim)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.4 Positive But Concerned Attitudes about Technology Use

The family views technology use positively for HL acquisition and maintenance.

The father makes frequent use of Instant Messaging to keep in touch with his clients in Korea. Also, the Internet Messenger helps Yujin, who is away from home for his studies, communicate with his father very frequently. In particular, being an adolescent, Yulim uses the computer extensively for various purposes. The parents express concerns about Yulim’s time management and exposure to potentially harmful websites. To avoid any harmful effect on Yulim, the father shares the computer room with his son.
Table 5.5: The Songs’ Reflections on Technology Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Providing speedy</td>
<td>The computer is <strong>very useful</strong> in many ways. <strong>Communication</strong> is one of the most important functions of using the Internet. It connects Korea and Canada in a couple of seconds. (Mr. Song)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication</td>
<td>Computer makes our life <strong>more connected</strong>. (Yulim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enjoying entertainment</td>
<td>I think the revolution of technology is in <strong>various entertainments</strong>. (Yulim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning language</td>
<td>Online communication offers language learning. (Mr. Song)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Extensive language practice can be had any time and any place</strong>. (Yujin)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, as mentioned above, their comments also revealed parental concern about children’s technology use. Due to Yulim’s increasing use of the computer for games, online communication, and school homework, the parents set time limits and put Yulim’s computer in the father’s library to monitor Yulim’s computer usage. Mrs. Song states, “Even though I trust Yulim, I think children’s computer usage should be properly monitored by parents for time management and for appropriate website access.”

5.2.5 Online Practice

Language practice is an important domain among the various computer uses. Mr. Song and Yujin communicate through Instant Messenger and Yulim makes constant contact with his Korean friends over Instant Messenger as well.

5.2.5.1 Language Practice

As many researchers have claimed, online communication has become prevalent and has had a great impact on language learning (Warschauer, 1996). Due to the text nature of online communication, it is likely to focus on writing performance. Mr. Song worries about Yujin’s Korean because his Korean seems to get worse due to the lack of practice resulting from his separation from home. Thus, Mr. Song takes advantage of the
function of online communication for the purpose of improving Yujin’s Korean reading and writing proficiency.

Excerpt 2: “Language Practice”

Chat Log 1: Yujin and Father

(1) Yujin: yes four courses hopefully i can get A's in all of them
(2) Mr. Song: 그래.그래야지. (Of course, you should do that.) 열심히 하면 좋은 결과가 나오기 마련이다. (A good result will naturally follow if you work hard.) 무슨 과목들 들니(공부하니)? [Musun kwamok tul tutni (kongpwuhani)]? (What subjects are you taking?)
(3) Yujin: adm 1301 (social context of business), macroeconomics, linear algebra, and english
(4) Mr. Song: 오? 다 좋은 과목들이네. 다 만만치 않겠는데? 열심히 해야겠구나. [Oh? Ta cohn kwamok tuliney. Ta manmanchi ankheyssnutey? Yelsimhi hayya ‘keysskwuna.'] (Oh? They all look like good courses. None of them sound easy, though… You need to study hard.)

Chat Log 2: Yulim and His Korean School Friend

(1) Yulim: How r you?
(2) Friend: 모해? (What are you doing?)
(3) Yulim:ประเม 생각중 (I am thinking of playing games.)
(4) Friend: 뭐? (What?)
(5) Yulim: www.nexon.com 근데 그 아이템 샀어? (By the way, did you buy the items you wanted?)
(6) Friend: 아직 녀? (Not yet. You?)
(7) Yulim: 나도 아직 (Me neither.)
(8) Friend: 수프 티비 볼써? (Did you watch Super TV?)
(9) Yulim: ㅋㅋㅋ (sound of chuckling or snickering) 달군이지 [Tangkunici] (Absolutely)

In Chat Log 1, Mr. Song and Yujin’s online conversation, “tutni” literally has two meanings. One is ‘listening to’ and the other one is ‘taking courses’. Here the father seemed to be concerned about any possible misinterpretation. Thus, he added a specific meaning to the word in parentheses to clarify his question. This is a good example of how parents consider language fluency when they want successful communication with their children. Likewise, Mr. Song revealed that he purposely used the expression, “manmanchi ankheyssnutey (manmanchianh),” which means ‘not easy’ instead of
“swipci anh-,” which is an easier and more frequently used expression, in order to help his son learn a different expression. Thus, online communication provides a space for the father and his son to share their daily lives through language practice. Besides the online channel, the father also deliberately used difficult idioms when writing birthday cards for and letters to his children. His extended language use was aimed at his son’s language learning. Mr. Song commented on his purposes in using Instant Messenger for his son’s Korean learning as follows:

Even though I cannot exchange very long messages due to the nature of Internet chat, I still take advantage of the medium for Yujin’s Korean study. I use very difficult expressions on purpose. Interestingly, it seems that he understands what I mean. Even though he responds to me in English, our communication seems to work. In Yujin’s case, he is good with spoken Korean but I don’t think his reading and writing is good enough. Thus, I believe that using MSN can help to improve his reading skills. I think his responses are quick. Anyhow, I use difficult words first and then provide an explanation in case he cannot understand them.” (interview with Mr. Song)

The son, Yujin, reflected on how he learns through online conversations with his father:

My father uses very difficult expressions with Chinese characters. Then I ask him what they mean. Even though I respond in English, this way of communication still helps my Korean learning. I read Korean newspapers I pick up from church or Korean grocery stores. I also read news from the Internet. I often visit daum.net (http://www.daum.net for clarity) to see Korean entertainment programs and celebrities. (Yujin)

The above sample illustrates how parents help their children by using Instant Messenger. In this case, online conversation is no longer merely a means of communication but becomes a more active means of teaching and learning language.

Yulim’s Chat Log 2 imparts his language practice through online conversation with his Korean friend. His informal language use, “Tangkunici,” is a good example of his familiarity with Korean contemporary culture. “Tangkunici” means ‘absolutely’ or ‘of course’ in English but it literally translates as ‘That is the carrot.’ The expression was
created by a Korean and is a pun on Sino-korean “tang-yen” ‘being a matter of course’ and Korean “tang-kun” ‘carrot’. When interviewing Yulim, I learned that the expression “Tangkunici” was being used by many Koreans in their homeland.

In the next section, I introduce the Hong family and discuss their home and online social practices for HL acquisition and maintenance.

5.3 The Hong Family (Jack and Julie)

Mr. and Mrs. Hong came to Montreal when they were invited by Mr. Hong’s sister who lived in Montreal in the early 1980s. They believed that Canada had a more financially stable life than Korea did because a grocery helper made eight hundred dollars a month, whereas a salesman in Korea only made two hundred twenty dollars in the 1970s. With no specific goal or aim, Mr. and Mrs. Hong dreamed vaguely of a better life in a new land. The beginning of Mr. Hong’s immigrant life was spent working in Mr. Hong’s sister’s grocery store as a helper. However, working in a relative’s place did not run as smoothly as he expected because of the intensity of the physical work and the scarcity of his time with his family. Thus, he experienced disruption between his expectations in kinship relationships and the realities he faced in which blood relations gave little support to his immigrant life. Furthermore, his anxiety intensified when he learned about the Kwangju uprising42 and state-perpetrated massacre in southwest Korea in 1980. Therefore, his pride as a Korean did not take deep root at the time. In the 1990s, they decided to move to Vancouver in order to live in a bigger Korean community.

Jack came to Canada when he was a year old and Julie was born in Montreal in 1987. The parents’ intensive workload running a grocery store did not allow the family to

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42 The Kwangju uprising, which broke out in May, 1980, is regarded as a milestone in the struggle for democracy in Korea as well as in Asia.
even have dinner together. Therefore, they have no memories of sharing discussions about their lives in a common language. As a consequence of the lack of time the family shared together, Jack’s and Julie’s attitudes towards their HL were negative when they were in Montreal. Having experienced discrimination as a minority in the predominantly French- and English-speaking community, Jack did not appreciate his Korean identity. His attitude towards the Korean language and culture was uncertain because Korean was not important to him. He intermingled with other minority groups rather than with Koreans; thus, he was confused about his identity. He realized that he could not belong to either the Canadian or Korean groups. However, once he moved to Vancouver from Montreal, the Korean language became a useful tool for him to find a job. He started practicing Korean to get along with co-workers at his workplace, at a Korean grocery store. His understanding of Korean culture gradually changed. Likewise, Julie once struggled with her identity crisis but her attitude has changed from ignorance to pride. Her Korean friends and the infusion of Korean culture through the Internet became important in leading her to appreciate her HL and culture. Her positively evolving and transforming identity as a Korean began to flourish as she spent time with her Korean friends and accessed vast online cultural resources.

When I met this family for the first time, the family was in the middle of recuperating from the lost communication between the parents and children. In particular, Jack’s transition from a university into a community college due to his low grades was embarrassing to his parents. Rather than understanding and solving his fundamental strife, the mother was likely to lament his failure. However, the more I interacted with the family, the more I sympathized with the children and the mother because of their all-too-
common conflicts and fragmenting of their identity so typical of immigrants confronting and coping with two cultures.

5.3.1 Positive Attitudes but No Investment

Both Mr. and Mrs. Hong expressed positive attitudes towards HL and culture. They focus on successful communication and ‘marker of identity’ as important aspects of language maintenance. Being parents who had already experienced despair in communication with their children, they reiterated the importance of successful communication among family members. Their positive comments are as follows:

Table 5.6: The Hong Parents’ General Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Successful communication</td>
<td>I think Korean is very important to us because my English cannot improve, and there is a limit even if it gets much better, but if Julie and Jack can speak Korean very well, it will be much easier to <em>open our minds and share our thoughts</em>, (Mr. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Now I know how important communication is between parents and children in a shared language. (Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A marker of identity</td>
<td>Language seems to be a starting point in realizing <em>who I am</em>, (Mr. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Of course, it is important for them to know <em>they are Korean</em>. Language is one of the most distinguishable features to say who they are. (Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, their parents’ behaviors did not appear to match their positive attitudes towards language maintenance. Even though the parents acknowledged the significance of HL maintenance for their children, in reality, English and French seemed to have priority over Korean. The parents believed that their language would naturally influence the children and be transmitted into their language learning. Three aspects (speaking Korean at home, attending Saturday Korean Heritage School, and visiting Korea) can be discussed in terms of the parents’ specific actions on behalf of their children’s HL acquisition and maintenance. The parents’ specific actions, though, did not appear to
match their positive attitudes towards language maintenance due to their lack of
enthusiasm, patience, and investment compared to the Songs (see Section 5.2.2). This is
illustrated in the following table.

**Table 5.7: The Hongs’ Specific Reflections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaking Korean at home</td>
<td>We’ve <strong>never pushed our children to speak Korean</strong> at home. Because of the lack of time in conversation together, one day I realized that we communicated in mixed languages. (Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>My parents didn’t push us to speak Korean at home.</strong> (Jack)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I wanted to learn Korean by talking with my mom, but she was always busy. I felt distant from my mom because we hadn’t ever had a deep conversation, but my parents never forced me to speak Korean at home. I spoke in English and my mom spoke in Korean and English.</em> (Julie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekend Heritage School</td>
<td>I did kind of push them to go to the school every Saturday morning, but <strong>it was too hard to push them once they grew up.</strong> They asked me why they should go to the school. They didn’t like the school and teachers. They said everyone used English instead of Korean. Even though I wanted them to finish all the levels the school offered, I couldn’t help it. I fell into a dilemma: should I send them to the school or let them do whatever they wanted? All I did for them was to drop them off in front of the school and pick them up after the class on Saturday mornings. (Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I didn’t want to go to the school every Saturday but my mom woke me up in the early morning. Between classes, we spoke in English even though the teachers didn’t like it. My teacher always looked angry. She even yelled at us. Everybody came to the school only because their parents pushed them to. I thought it was a waste of time.</em> (Julie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rare visits to Korea</td>
<td><strong>I have visited Korea once in the 16 years</strong> I have lived in Canada. (Mr. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>I was born in Montreal. I went to Korea when I was 6 months old. I never visited Korea since then, I am planning to go there this summer.</em> (Julie)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These reflections illustrate how the parents’ behaviors are mismatched with their
professedly positive attitudes towards their children’s language maintenance, a paradox
that surfaces in their children’s comments. The parents did not push their children to
speak Korean at home or to attend Heritage School. They did not take the children to
Korea for a long time. This family reflects a stereotype in which many immigrant
families suffer language loss due to a lack of interaction and constant support for language maintenance. The gap between parental hopes and reality may increase the despair of immigrant life for parents and children alike. The parents are likely to regret the negative consequences of their children’s HL loss and the children are most likely to blame their parents for their language loss. Reflecting on the hard time she had communicating with her reticent children during their adolescent period, Mrs. Hong could not hide her suppressed emotions and sobbed. Even though it is considered natural for children to show a rebellious attitude during their adolescence, “it seemed much more severe, regretful, and painful to the parents when their HL cannot function as a medium of communication.” (my fieldnotes)

5.3.2 Children’s Transformed Attitudes

The interviews with and observations of Jack and Julie reveal that they had negative attitudes about HL maintenance during the first half of their immigrant life in Montreal because the Korean language was not highly valued in their social milieu there. Jack recalled the difficulties he experienced with his ethnic identity and explained how he became close to ethnically similar groups:

Going back then, I didn’t know where I belonged. Korean language and culture didn’t mean anything to me. Even though my father always mentioned, “You are Korean,” I didn’t know why I should learn Korean. I didn’t have any Korean friends around me then. My parents always came home very late. My friends who were in the same situation were my sole comfort. (interview with Jack)

Both Jack and Julie experienced identity crises ensuing from their HL loss and lack of communication with their parents. Jack recalled his difficulties as follows:

I have been through an identity crisis. I never established who I was as a person and I was a big follower. (interview with Jack).

He also continued:
I never expressed myself to my parents because of several reasons. It was hard to have a real conversation with my parents because of the language. We talk but we don’t really talk. I had drug problems. My motivation for hanging out with those who smoke marijuana was that we understood each other. My parents didn’t know about the drugs. (interview with Jack)

Jack became gradually distant as his parents complained of his poor school performance, pointed to their own hard life, and urged him to do better. His perception about family relationships were not as close as Yujin’s and Yulim’s (see Section 5.2.3.2). He viewed family as just a name. He discloses his feeling as follows:

I visited Korea once when I was five. That’s the only time I went back. I want to go back. I want to go clubbing and maybe buy a shirt. I would obviously see family but it would be only in name, not because I am close to them. Family is family. (interview with Jack)

Julie also experienced the same adolescent rebelliousness, which was compounded by Julie’s perceptions of her father’s ways as old-fashioned and authoritarian. Julie suffered from lack of emotional support from her parents due to the absence of a shared language. Julie shared her feelings about her parents with me:

Korean was not my priority. I was so upset about my parents and everything. I wanted emotional support from my parents. I was uncertain about myself. I thought my being Korean came into conflict with being Canadian. (interview with Julie)

The children’s general reflections about HL and culture are negative and the participants’ specific reflections demonstrate the lack of the parents’ patience and enthusiasm for the children’s HL acquisition and maintenance.

However, the children now want to regain their HL through rich cultural practices. Due to ubiquitous Internet use, information about Korea can be easily gained and Korean culture can be practiced at any time in any place. In addition, the growing Korean community in BC and its socioeconomic status influence the children to have integrative
and instrumental attitudes towards HL and culture. The children’s transformed attitudes are illustrated in the following table.

**Table 5.8: Children’s Transformed General Reflections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pride in Korean culture</td>
<td><em>I love Korean culture. Unlike my past, when I didn’t appreciate Korean culture because it seemed like too much and Han (unsatisfied desire), my eyes opened up to see the positive sides of Korean culture. It is deep not shallow. It embeds patience and understanding. The more I love Korean culture, the more I am motivated to improve my Korean. My Korean heritage is my pride.</em> (Julie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental value</td>
<td><em>I can tell my Korean language helps me to have a better job.</em> (Jack)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Julie points out her pride in her Korean heritage and Jack values Korean as a source to provide him with a better job. Jack and Julie are very motivated to improve their Korean. Once Jack started working in a Korean grocery store as a helper, he became shameful about his poor Korean since he witnessed many second-generation Koreans speak Korean fluently and proudly. Jack stated, “Vancouver is different from Montreal.” Julie also wants to improve her Korean so that she can go to Korea as an ESL teacher after university graduation. Therefore, for her language improvement, she regularly watches Korean dramas and practices Korean through various online activities. Julie’s language practice is well demonstrated in her comments:

*Korean dramas are so good. It is very good in terms of characters, plot, music, backgrounds, etc. I love them. I got motivated to improve my Korean to have a better understanding of the dramas. Now, I download some programs from http://www.soompi.com. I also visit my friends’ Cyworld to leave messages and download interesting Korean celebrities.* (interview with Julie)

As shown in her comment, her online activities play a vital role in her language revitalization. More detailed online activities will be discussed in the next section. Her vigorous motivation to improve her Korean can be seen in her polite Korean manner and
frequent language usage. In the second meeting with Julie, “Julie repeatedly thanked me in Korean for the chocolate I had given her as a valentine gift for the first meeting. Unlike the first meeting where English was the main language, she tried to speak Korean more in the second meeting.” (my fieldnotes)

5.3.3 Social Practice

The parents’ mismatch between their positive attitudes and their actual behaviors are displayed in their social practices.

5.3.3.1 Successful Communication

The parents came to realize the importance of communication in a shared language when they faced a hard time understanding Jack’s academic failure. Mrs. Hong did not push their children to speak Korean at home but since the difficult times, now tries to make conversation with her children as clearly as she can by code-switching if necessary for clarity of communication. In the conversation in Table 5.9, Mrs. Hong used Korean “못 마땅해” [Mosmattanghay] (not be satisfied/happy), to express her unfavorable feelings about Jack’s going out at night. Her effort to find an English word that approximates her intent is demonstrated in the conversation. Through the indexical word, “mosmattanghay,” she tries to deliver her meaning correctly. In line with language practice and the indexical word, Julie discloses her feelings about the two languages, Korean and English, as follows:

*I think Korean has a lot more expressions for feelings that can’t be expressed in English. I like “dab dab he [tap tap hay]” because I can fill in certain expressions that I can’t with each language. I always have to say stuff like it’s like “I feel trapped inside” but that sounds so dramatic. So, whenever I have that feeling, I use the Korean expression instead of English.*
Julie’s language preference and choice conveys her emotions. One language fills the gap where the other language cannot. Her style shifting is motivated by the need for more expressive language (Gal, 1979). From this perspective, it can be seen that code-switching functions as a valuable resource that enriches one’s feeling for successful communication through indexicals. In particular, to Julie, whose disposition tends to be shy, code-switching grants her a unique way of coloring her voice. As revealed in her comments above, when she uses Korean, she feels more expressive, and when using English, she feels more straightforward. Depending on her purpose and emotions, she chooses either language. Furthermore, code-switching is related to one’s self-perceived identity. Julie shared her experience as follows: “When I use English I have a Canadian identity and when I use Korean, I know I am Korean.”

Table 5.9: The Hongs’ Social Practice 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I think Korean is very important to us for successful communication because my English cannot improve, and there is a limit even if it gets much better, but if Julie and Jack can speak Korean very well, it will be much easier to open our minds and share our thoughts. (Mrs. Hong)</td>
<td>We’ve never pushed our children to speak Korean at home. Because of the lack of time in conversation together, one day I realized that we communicated in mixed languages. (Mrs. Hong)</td>
<td>Mrs. Hong: Mom doesn’t want Jack to go out at night. Mom is really not happy with your going out late at night. How can I say this… Jack: You are not happy? Mrs. Hong: Happy? Do you know what Mosmattang means? Jack: Hmm… you’re not satisfied… Mrs. Hong: Yes, I am Motmattanghe when you go out at night. Mrs. Hong: I don’t know… I can tell Julie whenever I need to say something but I cannot to you ((turning to Jack)). Jack: Why? Julie: I think you are better because mom asks for too many things, restrictions to me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe the same language enables us to communicate successfully. (Julie)</td>
<td>My parents didn’t push us to speak Korean at home. (Jack)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is hard to *communicate* with the same level of language fluency. (Jack)

I wanted to learn Korean by talking with my mom, but *she was always busy*. I felt distant from my mom because we hadn’t ever had a deep conversation, but my parents never forced me to speak Korean at home. *I spoke in English and my mom spoke in Korean and English.* (Julie)

5.3.3.2 Academic Success/Deep Rooted Longing for Success

Mrs. Hong’s desire for her children’s academic success led her to hire a $30-per-hour tutor for Julie’s English. Having experienced an academic disappointment from Jack, Mrs. Hong seems to invest lots of financial support in Julie’s academic success. As Julie states, the mother has no qualms about money when it comes to education. Her investment in Julie’s English marks compared to her lack of investment in her children’s Korean learning demonstrates the contradiction between the status of the two languages in Mrs. Hong’s view.

Table 5.10: The Hongs’ Social Practice 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I hope my children grow up with [academic success and get a well-paid job. I think Korean can serve as an opportunity for them to get a better job.](Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My wife wants our children to live as she planned, but it is impossible. It could be possible only in her dreams. We are not living in Korea. Even though [we want them to be successful in this country, what else can we do for them?](Mr. Hong)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[I hired tutors for Julie’s English.](Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Even though Julie was born here (Canada), she does not get A’s for her English marks. It is like the case where not all Korean students get A’s in Korean in Korea. Not all Canadians get A’s in English. I learned this lesson from Jack’s case. We were not worried about his English marks because we had never thought that he had a problem in the subject but the result was not optimistic. I didn’t want the same mistake to Julie. (Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Mrs. Hong: How’s your tutoring going?](Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="Julie">Julie: Which one? Math or English.</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Mrs. Hong: English.](Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="Jack">Jack: Oh, well. It’s OK.</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Mrs. Hong: Is it helpful to boost your grade?](Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="Julie">Julie: Not really...</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Mrs. Hong: English is the most important subject to gain successful entry to university](Mrs. Hong) so you have to study English hard.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

157
I believe my Korean will impact my career in the future because I want to teach Korean kids English in Korea. I want to improve my Korean instead of English. (Julie)

My mom wanted me to become a medical doctor by calling me “Dr. Hong.” I want to be a teacher. I don’t need help for Math and English. My mom thought that my English should be improved more to get better marks. I thought I could go through them by myself, but my mom would always say that money is not an issue when it comes to education. However, I always think about the money that my parents are spending on me. I didn’t want my parents to spend too much money for my education. I feel really bad. (Julie)

In conclusion, even though the parents acknowledged the significance of HL maintenance for their children, in reality, Korean does not seem to be on the priority list. This family case supports the argument that children’s HL maintenance can be achieved only if parental theory and practice go hand in hand. It is impossible to maintain HL unless one makes a strenuous effort to improve it and invests actively in it.

In the next section, I discuss the Hong’s online social practice for HL acquisition and maintenance.

5.3.4 Ambivalent Views of Technology Use

The parents have somewhat negative attitudes towards their children’s technology use for HL and culture learning, even though the usefulness of technology use is acknowledged. Mrs. Hong expressed her concerns about their children’s time management and Mr. Hong harbored suspicions about cultural learning through the Internet, thinking that the cultural gap between contemporary Korean culture in Korea and the culture Korean-Canadians have in Canada would be skewed. However, Mr. Hong
shared his reunion with his school classmates through the Internet website. The parents’ reflections on technology use for HL and culture are as follows:

**Table 5.11: The Hong Parents’ Reflections on Technology Use**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Problems in time management</td>
<td>Regardless of any benefits the computer brings, <strong>time management is an issue</strong>. I don’t think my children are good at time management. (Mrs. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural gap</td>
<td>I think their <strong>cultural experience cannot be real</strong>. Korean culture here in Canada is different from that of Korea. Honestly, I am worried about their unlimited exposure to Korean culture without discreet judgment. Contemporary Korean culture seems more radical and liberal than Canadian culture. It is very different from what we have in mind. (Mr. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism of language learning</td>
<td>I am <strong>skeptical</strong> about online communication as a way of learning and improving language <strong>because my children use an English keyboard</strong>. Their Korean language practice online is very limited. (Mr. Hong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection to Korea</td>
<td>The Internet enables people to be connected to a person anywhere. (Mr. Hong)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Julie is a big advocate of using the Internet for language and culture learning and practice. Even though she prefers using an English keyboard for Korean Romanization to typing Korean directly for speedy interaction with her Korean friends, she types Korean to some extent because her home computer has Microsoft Global Input Method Editors (IMEs)\(^{43}\) already installed. Furthermore, Internet use provided her with a turning point to realize her identity as a Korean, to change her negative attitudes about her heritage to positive ones, and to finally improve her Korean. The Internet even allowed her to assume multiple and fluid personas (Castells, 1997; Nakamura, 2002; Turkle, 1995). Compared to her negative reflections about her past as a marginalized immigrant, her current self-perceived identity seems very positive and confident. Her positive attitudes toward technology use are evidenced by her Korean language and cultural learning and her boldness in using Korean more online than in face-to-face conversation due to the nature of online communication.

\(^{43}\) The IMEs enable to read and write Korean. The Global IME incredibly works well with the input of Korean text regardless of the language version of Windows.
Table 5.12: The Hong Children’s Reflections on Technology Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language and culture learning</td>
<td><em>I think the Internet provides learning of Korean culture and language.</em> (Julie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiplicity of identity</td>
<td><em>MSN is a good way to communicate with people, especially if you are shy. You don’t have to worry about how you look. It is all about what you are thinking and what you have to say. You don’t have to worry about any misuse of language. Then you can practice your language in a more comfortable and confident way. I feel like I am a very blunt and aggressive Korean person online.</em> (Julie)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.5 Online Practice

Julie’s online practices will be illustrated to show how online activities reinforce her identity and revitalize her Korean language and culture.

5.3.5.1 Cultural Experience

Julie’s first exposure to online Korean culture was through her school friend, Jieun. Jieun introduced her to Cyworld and some Korean entertainment websites. Julie started being exposed to various emoticons and started practicing her Korean. In the chat log below (Excerpt 3), Julie addressed her friends with the vocative marker “-a”. Julie learned that a restaurant with delicious food is called a *mascip* in Korean. Through these online activities, Julie became aware of Korean culture; another example is *Ccimcil-pang*, which is a Korean public sauna and bathing facility.
**Excerpt 3: “Visiting Korea”**

(Chicken Log: Julie and Her Friend)

(1) Julie: **Jieun a**
(2) Friend: Korea almost 3months ^^!!!!
(3) Julie: D:D:D::D
(4) Friend: haha
(5) Julie: i feellllllll the excitement ahhhh
(6) Friend: i know!!
(7) Julie: *inside scream ((scream))* lol44
(8) Friend: right now i'm like searching for um... **matjip** ((delicious restaurant))
(9) Julie: food? lol
(10) Friend: where they have good food
(11) Julie: **YUMMERS**
(12) Friend: yea yea
(13) Julie: good good lol
(14) Friend: yea...they have like all the directions and all so i think it will be easy to find
(15) Julie: haha maybe -.-
(16) Friend: == == aaaaa ai jeust kent weit it! (I just can’t wait!))
(17) Julie: **na doo!!** D:D:D hehe i think i'm gonna buy something
cuz they're pretty expensive in korea anyways so..yea
hahah -.--; yeah they do have nice summer clotheshs here yea hehe
(18) Friend: **Hankukyeseun** ((in Korea)) mainly eating **euro ton sseulkkeuya** ((I will
mainly spend money eating.))
(19) Julie: *** * * *
(20) Friend: cuz shopping we can do it here too... haha yeha
and go to **jiim jeel bbang** ((Korean public sauna)) so i'm gonna put *good
food* in priority yeayea

Julie’s friend, Jieun, inspired Julie to realize how amazing becoming bilingual
truly is. Julie recalled how she was motivated to improve her Korean:

*My friend Kim Jieun was born in Korea, and came to Canada 10 years ago. She
has perfect English skills and perfect Korean skills also. She is one of the reasons
which inspired me to be more aware of my Korean background. I really admire
her equal skills in English and Korean, so it motivated me to learn Korean. I think
it is great to have friends who are proud to be Korean and who can speak both
Korean and English fluently.*

(email from Julie)

5.3.5.2 Trajectory of Identity

Julie’s all-but-lost Korean language and cultural identity is being revitalized
through rich cultural contacts and practice, such as enjoying Korean contemporary

44 LOL means “laugh out loud.” LOL is commonly used to express laughing during a text conversation.
culture by using the Internet. Julie highlighted her trajectory\textsuperscript{45} of identity construction below:

\begin{quote}
My cultural identity has been changed from Canadian to Korean-Canadian or more Korean. It is still ongoing. My identity crisis filled with ambiguity, tension, and uncertainty no longer exists. My inner crisis and conflicts were able to be freed from overwhelming burdens. My parents tried to impose traditional Korean values upon me as a single and firm Korean, but access to Korean culture through the Internet opened my eyes. It was a real cultural experience. The cool cultural exploration helped me to refine and reconfigure my identity as a Korean or as a proud Korean-Canadian. It helped me connect to other Korean-Canadians and Koreans. I was not alone anymore. My Korean language and cultural practices made me adopt and enrich Korean cultural values. Through the Internet, my Korean identity had been continuously shaped and reshaped over time. (email from Julie)
\end{quote}

As Julie revealed above, her culture identity has been constituted, invented, and transformed (Hall, 1990) as a Korean. She started representing her Korean identity in her daily usage. For example, she chose unique email addresses that reflected her ongoing connection to Korean culture. At first she used \texttt{strawberryfinkl@} but it has now changed to \texttt{seungheehong@}. The first email address was inspired by a Korean singer, Finkl, and the later one included her Korean full name. She revealed her motivation for using her Korean name as her email address as follows:

\begin{quote}
No one called me 'Seunghee,' not even my parents or my grandparents... so I felt like I was losing my Korean identity through that so I wanted to revitalize it through my email. People always ask what Seunghee is and I tell them it’s my Korean name. After grade 9, which was the point in time where I was really involved with my Korean heritage through dramas, I wanted to use my Korean name Seunghee. I feel more like I have a Korean background, because a name is really the forefront of one’s identity. (e-chat with Julie)
\end{quote}

Julie also uses her MSN ID as “kpbabee012,” which represents Korean Pride Permanently. KP stands for Korean pride and the compounded numbers with English and Korean numerics, “012” [Yeng-one-i], are pronounced as the word meaning

\textsuperscript{45} I borrow this term from Wenger (1998) to describe an ongoing process of identity construction.
‘permanently’. She said, “I’ve just used it since I got MSN and I never erase it because just looking at the MSN name reminds me of so many things” (email from Julie).

In the chat log below (Excerpt 4), Julie and her cousin’s online conversation, their conversation was mostly done in English but they still practiced Korean by typing some Korean names such as “Kimtocin,” “Hongsenghuy,” and “Senmi”. As shown in the conversation (Excerpt 4), Julie and her cousin, Tracy, talk about a famous Korean movie star’s names and their own names in Korean. It demonstrates how much they are exposed to Korean contemporary culture. The conversation was possible through Julie’s introduction of Korean culture to her relative Tracy:

I absolutely love chatting about our family stories and about our Korean culture. Before, Tracy did not even recognize her ethnicity as a Korean-Canadian until I told her about how much Korea has impacted my life and how important it is to be proud of who you are and where you come from. I introduced her to Korean entertainment, which she fell in love with haha... It was much more interesting talking to her after she was interested in Korean culture because we have a lot to talk about now. (e-chat with Julie)

Julie is extensively exposed to Korean pop culture as described below:

I am addicted to Korean entertainment programs. My Korean friends introduced me to a lot of fascinating Korean cultural websites. I regularly visit http://www.soompi.com, which provides Korean entertainment for English speaking fans of Korean pop culture. I also frequently visit my friends’ Cyworld websites to leave messages and hunt for cool images from the websites. I mostly type in English but I sometimes use Korean. (email from Julie)
Excerpt 4: “Family Name”

Chat Log: Julie and Her Cousin

(1) Cousin: I got no “chon” genes. U know, there NOBODY in this world with that last name. Chon?
(2) Julie: Yeah... true... I’ve never heard of a Korean with a last name chon. Hmm...
(3) Cousin: U know jeon ji hyuns⁴⁶ real name is WANG⁴⁷ ji hyun?
(4) Julie: lol is it? Ewwie
(5) Cousin: Yepp and she changed it.
(6) Julie: No wonder it is changed. Did you know Wonbin’s real name is Kimtocin?
(7) Cousin: ewww... sooo... country likeeee
(8) Julie: lol how do you know what country names are? Hongsunghuy ((Julie’s Korean Name))?
(9) Cousin: u know by the “sound” oo yeaaaaaaa
(10) Julie: Senmi??? Is that your name?

5.3.5.3 Language Practice and Korean Identity

Even though Mr. Hong expressed his skepticism about learning Korean with an English keyboard, Julie still practices her Korean with the English keyboard. The following chat log demonstrates how she practices her Korean and her Korean identity.

Julie’s Korean language practice written phonetically in English is found in “ah Jja jingga” (Excerpt 5). In the online interchange above, a few emoticons were used by Julie. In particular, the emoticons ^___^ and ^ present Julie’s Korean identity. It is claimed that East Asians perceive emotional cues by looking to the eyes (Wenner, 2007)⁴⁸. Therefore, Korean people tend to centre on the eyes. The emphasis on the eyes is reflected in the common usage of emoticons (e.g., ^^- for smile or happy; -_- or ツツ for sad or crying), while Western-style emoticons require turning one’s head to the left and expressive sentiments come from the mouth (e.g., :-) or :) for smile or happy; :-( or :( for frown or sad). Therefore, Julie’s Asian-style emoticon usage demonstrates

⁴⁶ Jeon Ji Hyun is a popular Korean female movie star among young adolescents.
⁴⁷ The last name Wang is often perceived as Chinese. Korean names often make it possible to guess the gender of the person on the basis of the syllables used in their given name. Furthermore, some constituent morphemes give a ‘hick’ impression due to the generational background and/or their pronunciation.
⁴⁸ Different interpretations between Oriental and Western facial expressions are reflected in the use of emoticons (http://www.livescience.com/health/070510_facial_culture.html).
that the emoticons are more than just her facial expressions. In other words, the emoticons reveal Julie’s identity as Korean.

**Excerpt 5: “Daily Conversation”**

**Chat Log: Julie and Her Friend**

1. **Friend:** *mo hae* (what are you doing?)
2. **Julie:** *im eating mroe((more)) salad :(
3. **Friend:** *must be so o yummy*
4. **Julie:** *hungee ((hungry)) me ^___^*
5. **Friend:** *mahn it mokneunke joa (it is better eat a lot) ~~~ ^____^*
6. **Julie:** ^^ ah JJA JING NAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA (Piss me off!)

All in all, Julie enjoys Korean cultural experiences and Korean language practice through online activities. Unlike her father’s concern about technology use for HL and culture, Julie interprets her online activities positively as a way of improving her HL, raising her cultural awareness, and practicing her Korean identity.

5.4 **A Comparison of the Two Families**

The two families first immigrated to Montreal in the early 1980s. Yujin and Yulim have maintained their Korean very well as a result of their parents’ positive attitudes and concomitant constant support for HL acquisition and maintenance. Mr. and Mrs. Song inculcated their children with enthusiasm about the importance of HL maintenance. Even Instant Messenger has been used as a way to improve Yujin’s reading skills. In the Hong’s family case, however, Julie and Jack both experienced identity crises and lost their some of cultural identity as Koreans as a consequence of the mismatch between the professed parental attitudes about and actual support for HL maintenance. However, once the family moved to Vancouver, where Asian ethnic immigrants are much more numerous (even predominant) and many Korean immigrants have already established a stable social and economic status, Julie and Jack’s lost pride in their
heritage was revitalized. In particular, Julie’s exposure to Korea’s advanced technology was the major component leading to her articulation of her identity as a Korean and to the improvement of her Korean. She acquired her own ways of practicing her HL and culture through the Internet. Her practice through online communication is much richer than what her parents provided. Paradoxically, Julie pointed out that the Korean culture imposed by her parents had previously caused a fracture in shaping her cultural identity as a Korean, whereas her cultural experience through the Internet provided her with a more enjoyable, rewarding way of reestablishing HL and culture maintenance. The genogram below (Figure 5.1) illustrates how HL is related to the family relationships in the cases examined in this chapter.

**Figure 5.1: A Comparison of Emotional Relationships**

KEY (modified for purposes)
- Close
- Harmonious
- Distant / Poor
- Indifferent / Apathetic
- Discord / Conflict
- Cutoff / Estranged

The Song Family

The Hong Family
According to the data collected in interviews and observations, Yujin’s parents tried to have quality conversations with their children. The mother (Mrs. Song) and the father (Mr. Song) had frequent discussions about their children’s school work, Korean language studies, and so on. On the other hand, the Hong family members still blame their lack of deep conversation on the language barrier. Although they have more quality family time in Vancouver now compared to the past in Montreal, because of language issues their conversations still focus on their routines rather than on individuals’ specific plans. However, the children are trying to build a positive attitude towards HL and culture and restore a harmonious relationship with their parents through strenuous efforts to improve their Korean motivated in significant part by their use of computer technology and the Internet.

5.5 Conclusions

The two cases in this chapter highlight three aspects. First, parental investment in their children’s HL maintenance appears to transfer to the children’s HL maintenance. Different degrees of investment such as time, effort, and money spent on children’s language maintenance through, for example, sending the children to Korea regularly, to a Saturday Korean Heritage School for many years, volunteering at the Heritage School, or inculcating the children with enthusiasm towards HL maintenance, all appear to be related to children’s language maintenance. Second, as illustrated in Julie’s case, despite low parental investment in her language maintenance, she has acquired her own ways of practicing her HL and culture through the Internet. Lastly, the size of the local Korean population and its overall socioeconomic status seem to be contributing factors that influence HL maintenance. The size of the Korean population in Vancouver in the new
millennium cannot be compared with that of Montreal, where the two families resided in the 1980s. The current large Korean community and financially affluent immigrants in Vancouver create an ethnolinguistic vitality that encourages the children to have positive attitudes towards their HL.
Chapter 6

INVESTMENT CASES: LIFE IS SHORT BUT THERE’S A LOT OF WORK TO DO
(Over 10 Years of Immigrant Life)

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the Cho and Kim families. The two families had similar motivations for emigrating from Korea. Their main reasons were to escape from their burdens and to detach themselves from commitments and social networks. Mr. Cho, who is a Protestant minister, wanted to be free from his burden as heir to a Christian school owned by his father-in-law. Mr. Kim experienced mental and financial trauma from his business failure due to fraud.

6.2 The Cho Family (Jiye and Jiwŏn)

The Cho family came to Canada in 1997 after having previously lived in Atlanta and Tacoma for four years. Therefore, their total residence in a North American environment is approximately 14 years. Before they came to Canada from the US, they lived in Korea for two years because Jiye’s father (Reverend Cho) was invited to a church back in Korea as a minister when Jiye and Jiwŏn were young. Mr. Cho wanted to live in a foreign country to be free from the responsibility of inheriting his father-in-law’s Christian church. One of his acquaintances, who resided in Vancouver, introduced Mr. Cho to the vice president of Northwest Community College. The family came to Vancouver because the father had a chance to work with Korean international students. However, financial problems related to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) crisis in Korea in 1997 affected Mr. Cho’s work because many international students from Korea quit their studies and went back to Korea. Mr. Cho had to quit his job, and the family had
a hard time dealing with financial problems. Now the parents teach music to Korean students.

When Jiye and Jiwon came to Canada, they were in Grade 8 and Grade 4, respectively. Jiye has been interested in creating websites ever since she started using Instant Messenger. She downloaded the Photoshop workshop and learned other web-related skills from the Internet. She decided to take multi-media courses at the Arts Institute. At the onset of this research, Jiwon had just graduated from high school and had started working as a helper at a restaurant. He chose to gain work experience before continuing his studies at university. His parents value their children’s bilingualism. The family uses Korean for communication at home and the children’s Korean is good enough to have successful communication with their parents. Due to their father’s irregular income, the family sometimes experiences financial problems. However, the family’s deep religious beliefs helps the children overcome any difficulties. The mother does not feel she needs to learn English due to the large size of the Korean community in the metropolitan area of Vancouver. The children respect their parents very much, regardless of their lack of fluency in English.

In the following sections, I will illustrate the participants’ attitudes towards HL maintenance, and their theory and practice based on social practice framework.

6.2.1 Integrative and Instrumental Attitudes

Four family members were interviewed regarding their attitudes towards HL (see Table 6.1). The parents generally expressed positive attitudes about HL maintenance but they also put a lot of emphasis on behaving in a Christian way in their daily lives because of the religious family context, rather than focusing solely on ‘being Korean’. However,
the children emphasized a strong attachment to Korean ethnic identity in relation to the Korean language. In general, Jiwŏn’s use of ‘banana’ is negatively connoted as labeling the Asians who lost their ethnic identity as Asian. However, in his discourse, he does not seem to relate himself to the negative connotation. His ethnic ideology seems interconnected with his language ideology. Thus, to Jiwŏn, the Korean language serves as an index of his ethnic identity. In a similar manner, Jiye’s nationalism seemed very strong because her comments about her nationality and pride had a similar tone to that of Mr. Yu (Chapter 4.2). She resembled a perfect bilingual person speaking Korean and English but she wanted to be called a Korean who speaks English very well rather than a Korean-Canadian. Jiye explained why she became more conservative in defining her ethnicity, saying “because I already experienced racial discrimination in the States. Thus, I know how awful racial discrimination is. My views of Korean ethnicity have been getting stronger and stronger” (interview with Jiye). I came to understand why the family members showed their enthusiastic advocacy of Canada’s multiculturalism. Based upon their experience living in a small town in the US, they made comparisons and contrasts between Canada and America from an ethnic minority’s perspective. In Canada, they are more likely to highlight the importance of their ethnic background and language because of their perception of Canada’s amicable multiculturalism.

The participants’ reasons for having positive attitudes towards HL maintenance are because the parents and children alike believe that children’s HL maintenance can help represent one’s identity, facilitate successful communication, secure benefits in

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49 Some Korean Canadians and Korean Americans facetiously refer to themselves as “Bananas,” i.e., yellow on the outside, but white on the inside, implying a westernized interior but Asian-looking exterior.
employment, and reflect Canada’s multiculturalism. Their detailed descriptions are presented in the Table 6.1.

**Table 6.1: The Chos’ General Reflections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representation of identity</td>
<td>We naturally consider that we are Korean. There is no doubt about their identity as Koreans. <strong>Korean is very important to my children because the language tells that they are Korean.</strong> (Mrs. Cho)</td>
<td>Well, <strong>I am a banana.</strong> I can’t really define myself as other than a Korean. I’ve just learned in different ways than a Korean in Korea would. I have different views on certain things and I have different ways I enjoy life. Korean is very important although I haven’t been to Korea recently. <strong>The language helps me to identify who I am.</strong> (Jiwôn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I like to think of myself as purely Korean. I personally don’t consider myself as a 1.5-generation. <strong>I’m just a Korean girl that speaks English well.</strong> Being Korean is very important to me because everyone in our family is Korean. I kind of don’t want to be left out. The land of Korea is also important and meaningful to me because that is where I spent a solid amount of my life. I went through puberty in Korea, my friends that have lived their whole life in Korea are still in Korea and it is a place that I just naturally miss all the time. <strong>I am proud of my nation and myself as a Korean. That’s why the Korean language is important because it says who I am.</strong> (Jiye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful communication</td>
<td>I believe that <strong>communication is important.</strong> Thus, the Korean language is important to our family. (Mrs. Cho)</td>
<td>The language ((Korean)) is important since <strong>I need it to speak with my family and relatives in Korea.</strong> (Jiwôn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I believe <strong>my Korean will be a benefit</strong> when I apply for a job after graduation. (Jiye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits in jobs/career</td>
<td>We want to support whatever they want to do. I think <strong>they will take advantage of speaking Korean when they come to finding a job.</strong> (Mr. Cho)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>My children’s Korean should be <strong>beneficial when they look for a job</strong> in the future. (Mrs. Cho)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.2 Christianity is the First Priority

This family’s specific reflections upon their past and current actions for language and culture maintenance focus less on family values compared to the previous families who came to Canada twenty or thirty years ago. Although the children have never attended a Saturday Korean Heritage School, the mother (Mrs. Cho) has never ignored the importance of Korean language and culture for her children. She made efforts to keep up the children’s Korean fluency by asking them to write diaries. The children were also actively engaged in church activities. Furthermore, the children’s oral and written Korean fluency was extensive due to their schooling in Korea before they came to Canada.

Table 6.2 will illustrate how the participants were/are engaged in HL acquisition and maintenance.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home literacy (Reading and Writing)</td>
<td><strong>We tried to encourage them to keep writing a diary in Korean</strong>, but it didn’t work out sometimes. As time went by, they started asking us questions about writing because they seemed to have forgotten a lot. I taught them how to write the final consonants correctly because they tended to write the syllables as they were pronounced. (Mrs. Cho)</td>
<td>My parents always taught me at home even after school. I sometimes forgot how to correctly read and write some syllables. <strong>My parents asked me to keep studying Korean at home.</strong> (Jiwŏn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching Korean dramas and TV programs</td>
<td>I would watch and listen to Korean Sunday worship services via satellite. We also watched Korean dramas together. My children asked us about some expressions they couldn’t understand. Watching Korean dramas or movies was a good way to make family time enjoyable and to improve my children’s Korean. (Mrs. Cho)</td>
<td>Culture-wise, the only things I learn from are those Korean dramas like General Sunsin Lee and my dad explains things if I have questions or I don’t understand. (Jiwŏn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active engagement in church activities</td>
<td>At church, my children should be role models because of my husband’s position. We always said that they had to be active in any social activities and be a leader for other worshippers. That was one of the good ways they constantly practiced Korean beyond the home. (Mrs. Cho)</td>
<td>I maintained my Korean just by talking with people and adults at church. Just talking in Korean with others helped me a lot. I always met Korean people at church. (Jiwŏn) At church, <strong>I was involved in many activities.</strong> Due to my father’s position, I was naturally involved in a wide variety of activities such as supporting youth groups, helping new immigrants, organizing outdoor activities… They provided me with continuous practice of the Korean language and culture. <strong>I was kind of pressured to be a role model to others.</strong> My Korean fluency was a part of the qualities I should have. (Jiye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions</td>
<td>Parents’ Comments</td>
<td>Children’s Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Korea</td>
<td>Sending my children to Korea had a great impact on my children’s language maintenance. After we spent time in the US, I realized that their Korean was almost lost because they were very young and all their friends were Caucasians. Once my husband couldn’t stay at the same church anymore, I asked my husband to go back to Korea, even for a short time, because I was seriously worried about their lost Korean. When they returned to Korea, they attended a public school for a couple of years. It was the most important thing that turned around their Korean language maintenance for them. (Mrs. Cho)</td>
<td>They sent me to Korea when I was a kid to learn a bit of the basics. (Jiwôn) Visiting Korea gave me a good chance to practice and improve my Korean. More importantly, understanding of Korean culture was possible by immersing me into the culture. (Jiye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology use</td>
<td>We have two ways to access Korean culture and language. One is from the computer. We downloaded a lot of Korean dramas. The other one is Korean satellite programs. (Mrs. Cho)</td>
<td>I practice a lot of Korean through Instant Messenger with many Korean friends. (Jiye)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.2.2.1 Active Engagement in Church Activities

As mentioned earlier, Christianity is one of the qualities that these parents emphasized to their children. The family’s daily schedule starts with a prayer to God and their wish to live as Christians. The church the family attends has become one of the key domains for the children to practice the Korean language and culture. Korean churches can provide immigrant children with the opportunity to practice Korean (H-R. Pak, 2003; S-M. Park & Sarkar, 2007). As shown in Jiwôn and Jiye’s reflections above, their Korean practice was effected through conversation in Korean at the church. Furthermore, as Jiye revealed, she was under pressure to be a role model in the church because of her father’s position. As she mentioned, fluency in Korean was one of the qualities expected of her as a role model because of her status as daughter of a Korean minister. By being involved in
various activities supporting Korean Christians, the children were exposed to various
language and culture practices.

6.2.3 Social Practice

The high value that the Cho family places on HL and culture is realized in their
daily lives. Their theories about HL and their actual HL practices can be seen in the
following sections (6.2.3.1 and 6.2.3.2).

6.2.3.1 Cultural Practice

The children learned Korean language and culture through watching Korean
movies and dramas. Due to the sensational Korean wave, many young Koreans have
become proud of their Korean culture. In the interviews, Jiye and Jiwŏn expressed great
pride in the ‘excellence’ (wuswuseng; see 4.2.3.1 for details) of the Korean language and
culture. The family watches Korean dramas and TV programs through the Internet. In
Table 6.3, Mrs. Cho advocates watching Korean dramas and movies as a means of
enjoying family time and of improving her children’s Korean. In her specific reflections,
she revealed that she explained to her children any incomprehensible words her children
came across.

Table 6.3: Cultural Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Understanding Korean contemporary culture is important. Watching Korean dramas and movies is a good way to make family time enjoyable and to improve my children’s Korean. (Mrs. Cho) | I watch and listen to Korean Sunday worship services via the Internet. We also watched Korean dramas together. When my children asked us about some expressions they couldn’t understand, I taught them. (Mrs. Cho) | Jiye: Mom, did you see the drama I downloaded?  
Mother: Not yet, because I was really busy yesterday preparing for prayer and preparing the materials the women’s group will provide after Sunday’s mass.  
Mother: I look forward to it.  
Jiye: Then let’s watch it on Sunday night together.  
Mother: I look forward to it. |
General Reflections | Specific Reflections | Action
---|---|---
*We are living in a multi-cultural society. I enjoy different cultures with friends who have different backgrounds. I proudly introduce my Korean culture to them.* Everybody seems interested in different and new cultures. (Jiye)

*My Korean culture is one of my merits which I have and enjoy.* My friends want to learn Korean from me. I sometimes teach them useful expressions used in Korean restaurants and in Korean soap operas. (Jiwŏn)

*Culture-wise, the only thing I learn from is those Korean dramas like General Sunsin Lee* and my dad explains things if I have any questions or if I don’t understand. (Jiwŏn)

*I learned a lot from watching Korean dramas.* Not only language itself, but I also learned a lot about Korean contemporary culture. I downloaded the dramas from various websites. Korean dramas are so good. (Jiye)

6.2.3.2 Support for Job and Career

Mr. and Mrs. Cho are very supportive of their children’s education and job/career choices. Jiye’s parents seem very liberal and democratic in terms of supporting their children’s career paths, while the other parents were more controlling (Kijŏng’s, Sharon’s, Yujin’s, and Julie’s parents). Jiye’s parents do not force their children to conform to the parents’ wishes. The parents want their children to carve out their own path to satisfaction. Thus, the children’s taking time to find their own path is not regarded as a failure or falling behind. As seen in the conversation below, Mr. Cho agrees with Jiwŏn’s postponing of his entrance to university because Mr. Cho already saw many examples of failures when students’ motivation was not yet mature. He would rather introduce his son to his friend so that Jiwŏn could gain some work experience. Through the work experience, Jiwŏn became more serious about his career. With a deep longing for success, and hoping that their children would be able to secure successful careers, the parents of the previous cases strongly emphasized the importance of their children’s academic
achievements. However, Jiye and Jiwŏn’s parents focus more on self-motivation in pursuing one’s goal, and on stressing a well-rounded education in order to become a good Christian role model. The parental points of view allowed the children to follow their own interests and choose their own path.

Table 6.4: Support for Job and Career

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We want to support whatever they want to do. If possible, we want them to take advantage of speaking Korean. (Mrs. Cho)</td>
<td>I introduced Jiwŏn to one of my friends who was looking for a helper in his restaurant. They were looking for a young Korean, who could speak both Korean and English fluently. Because Jiwŏn wanted to have a working experience, I introduced him to the friend. (Mr. Cho)</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think their Korean will support my children to have a better job. (Mr. Cho)</td>
<td>My working experience gave me an invaluable lesson because I realized how hard making money was. There was nothing easy even though everything looked simple and easy at first, and tremendous efforts should have been made to get myself used to it. The work experience seriously made me think about my future career. (Jiwŏn)</td>
<td>Father: Jiwŏn-a, did you apply for any schools? Jiwŏn: Not yet. Father: Isn’t it time to prepare your applications? One of my students has already applied to schools. Jiwŏn: Yeah, I know. Mother: Have you ever thought of what you want to do? Jiwŏn: I’m not sure, but what I’m thinking is that I’d better have one year off before I go to university. Father: Why do you want to have a year off? Jiwŏn: I want to have experience first. Father: You can get experience while attending university. Jiwŏn: A friend of mine had the same experience. While he was working in many places, he became more motivated to enter university. He also decided what he wants to do. Right now, I have no goal to achieve. I want to work first. Mother: I think if you are away from studying for a year, you will have a hard time getting yourself motivated to study again. Honey, don’t you think so? Father: Well, I would rather see more positive aspects from Jiwŏn’s idea. I think it depends on how Jiwŏn manages his time and his plan. I saw so many Korean students who had successful entries to university but took a while to graduate. It will be the same if Jiwŏn goes to university this year and takes five or six years to graduate because of his lack of a goal. In that case, it would be better if we allow him to do whatever he wants or plans.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I want to be an animator or video game designer. Although my parents are musicians, they agree with my choice and as long as I try my best, they will be ok with it. My parents support my goal and respect my opinions. (Jiwŏn) |

My parents always say that we can produce the best results when we do our best. We can do our best when we do what we want to do. My parents are very supportive and democratic. (Jiye) |

I believe my Korean ethnicity and language fluency will help me have many chances after graduation. (Jiye) |
In the following sections, I discuss the participants’ reflections and actions regarding technology use for HL maintenance.

6.2.4 Views of Technology Use

Overall, the views on technology use for HL maintenance are positive for the participants. The parents appreciate the power of technology, which provides a variety of resources not only for their children’s studies but also for their access to Korean church websites to listen to sermons every Sunday. Even if they are living in a foreign country, they can still attend preferred Korean church services online.

The children’s views on technology use for HL maintenance are different for Jiye and Jiwôn. Jiye revealed great enthusiasm about technology use for her work, access to Korean culture, and communication with her friends beyond geographical boundaries, but Jiwôn expressed some concerns about technology use for language learning. His skeptical points come from the frequent fragmentary and shortened language use via online communication. Jiwôn believes that technology use helps to gain information about Korea and to communicate with people but that it does not help to learn language.

The participants’ general views about technology use for HL acquisition and maintenance are that technology helps access information about Korea and enables them to attend their favorite Sunday services online.
Table 6.5: The Chos’ Reflections on Technology Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accessing information about Korea</td>
<td>The computer enables many things to become possible. I can see more positive sides than negative sides from technology use. It helps us access information about Korea anytime. (Mr. Cho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I can do research for my school projects. The Internet is a powerful means of gaining information. Everything is on the Internet. I don’t have to visit libraries in Korea because I can see everything about Korea from the computer monitor. (Jiwôn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending Sunday services online</td>
<td>The Internet allows us to attend every Sunday service even if physically, we are apart from the church. The more vivid and closer images captured through the camera bring the inspiring message to us. (Mrs. Cho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing resources</td>
<td>I am a very strong advocate for the use of computer because all my work is on the computer and my school work is always on the computer. To get ideas for web design, it is very useful to refer to online communities that Korean people created. Sharing in the community is a phenomenon. (Jiye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interacting with friends</td>
<td>The Internet helps me to interact with my friends. It is a very easy way to interact with friends even if they are on the other side of the country or the world. (Jiye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiencing Korean culture</td>
<td>Acquisition of Korean culture through the Internet is unbelievable. Everyone talks about Korean stuff. All the up-to-date trends in Korea are spread to Koreans here in a short time. The Internet puts Korean culture right here everyday. (Jiye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only for communicating but not learning</td>
<td>The Internet enables people to communicate regardless of their living, but I don’t think that using the computer can be a good medium to learn language. It is more about learning the chat language or slang on the Internet. When people are on the net, everything is shortened or in a language made up to use on the Internet. Unless you are actually focused on using the net for educational purposes, there is really nothing to learn. People don’t spell things right or put correct grammar to use. The computer itself is just a tool to get to the Internet and the internet itself is just a communication tool, unless the person is online in a well organized site and the person is well aware of netiquette. (Jiwôn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.4.1 Language Violation

Jiwôn’s skeptical points about technology use for learning stemmed from his unpleasant experience on the Internet. Due to the swearing, cursing, and rude language use on the Internet, Jiwôn experienced frustration with Instant Messenger and reading opinion sections. The following interview excerpt reveals his negative perspectives about inappropriate Internet use.
I was very upset about people’s bad language and incomprehensible language use. I can tell that my Korean is very fluent in face-to-face conversation but I feel very behind or dull when I use my Korean on the Internet, due to the fast stream of conversation flow and incomprehensible symbol usage. I need more time but they blame my slow typing. There is no respect at all. (email from Jiwŏn)

Jiwŏn’s critical views about Internet etiquette seem sharply opposed to Sangmin’s (to be discussed in Chapter 7) “coolness” of using the acronyms. Jiwŏn’s anxieties about the effect of the Internet on language reflects the general concerns between correct (good)/incorrect (bad) language usage and prescription/description. Due to the influences exerted by the media and pop culture, some linguists50 critically cite the Internet as a cause of the degradation of language. Jiwŏn’s complaints about language violation in online communication are in a similar vein to the contemporary debates in Korea on the pernicious influence of chat language (J-K An, 2000; H-N No, 2000). The debates center on the problems of teenagers’ inappropriate and violent language use online, and their derogated language use violates all the ‘excellence’ of the Korean script, hankul. The language ideology (focused on the excellence of the Korean script) further seems to promote language ‘purification: swunhwa’51 among Korean linguists and grammarians. Their criticisms about the decline of the language strongly urge the rectification of the current language policy and strict preservation of the standard language forms in schools (cf. H-N No, 2000). The linguistic tensions seem to be an issue in Korean society because of Korea’s reputation as one of the most advanced countries in technology applications as

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50 The linguist and cultural critic John McWhorter, who is at UC Berkeley, complains about Americans’ brazen disregard for their native tongue. Even though he acknowledges that the grammatical rules are arbitrary and language constantly evolves, he cynically criticizes the collapse of the distinction between the written and oral languages. More details: http://www.manhattan-institute.org/html/_nyt-going_at_the_changes.htm

51 The official purification campaigns initiated in the 1970s and early 1980s intended to purify the national language of mostly Japanese elements after gaining sovereignty from Japanese colonization for almost half a decade. (For details, see King, 1997, 1998b.)
well as the pervasive popularity of the Korean contemporary pop culture, which is called the ‘Korean wave: hanlyu’.

The discussion of language ideology ‘purification’ or ‘sanitizing’ is reminiscent of the problems of *Verbal Hygiene*\(^{52}\) (1995). According to Cameron (1995), certain groups attempt to advance particular agendas by controlling or prescribing language use. One form of verbal hygiene practice is ‘political correctness’, which attempts to eliminate certain lexical items or phrases from the language. Cameron notes that “arguments about language [provide] a symbolic way of addressing conflicts about class, race, culture and gender” (p. 216). A Korean example of this is the government-driven Korean language policy, ‘purification: swunhwa,” that aims at eradicating the Japanese words from the Korean language. This language ideology is applied to the criticism of the current destructions of language as a consequence of the influence of media and the Internet. However, all languages are equally complex and useful for human communication. The wide variety of registers and more complex social structures make language constantly evolve and change. Language should be understood as context-embedded and a social semiotic. Thus, language standards will always be fluid.

### 6.2.5 Online Practice

Jiye and Jiwŏn’s online practice using Instant Messenger represents how this communication tool can be used as a means of HL acquisition and maintenance.

#### 6.2.5.1 Language and Culture Practice

Jiye’s interaction with her friends leads to many opportunities to practice Korean, which results in Korean cultural practice. The interaction with her boyfriend, shown

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\(^{52}\) The term ‘Verbal Hygiene’ was coined by Debora Cameron, at the University of Oxford. She defines the terms as “the urge to meddle in matters of language.” The term implies other synonyms such as ‘developing’ or ‘cleaning up’ language.
below in Excerpt 1, demonstrates how she practices Korean. Jiye’s various language features demonstrate her personal preference for using colloquial expressions. For example, [oteylo] and [ccangintey] have characteristics of Korean colloquial speech. The word [oteylo] is a witty variant of the standard form, [otilo]. Also [ccang-] which means “very good” is used to reinforce and emphasize the speaker’s emotion. She also uses emoticons (ㅠ.ㅠ, ㅋㅋㅋ) to deliver her feelings humourously through the symbols. Her use of phonological approximation “아라쓰” [a-la-ssu] instead of “알았어” [al-ass-e] (I got it) and her switch of vowels from “ㅏ” [e] to “ㅡ” [u] for softness of pronunciation demonstrates Korean chat language’s economy in typing and pronunciation. Furthermore, her multiple punctuation (!) use delivers her emotion more vividly.

**Excerpt 1: “Jiye and Her Boyfriend”**

**Chat Log: Jiye and Her Boyfriend**

(1)  Jiye: 오데로~? [oteylo] (To where?)
(2)  Boyfriend: 뭐 정한데가 있나 (I have not determined.)
(3)  Jiye: ㅋㅋㅋ
(4)  Boyfriend: 그냥 아무데나 가고싶은거지 (I just want to go anywhere.)
(5)  Jiye: 이런날엔 차 타고 (In this weather, by car)
드라이브 하는게 [ccangintey] (driving is the best)
해안가 기고 (along the coast)
(6)  Boyfriend: ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ
(7)  Jiye: 내가 아직 파이널이 안끝나서 야 갈이 드라이브 가자고 할 수도 없고 (because my finals are not done yet, I cannot come drive with you)
ㅠ.ㅠ
짜증나!!!!!!!!!!!!!! (Piss me off!)
(8)  Boyfriend: 푸하하하 (haha…)
드라이브는 무슨 (what the heck with driving then)
나는 야 지금 숙제때문에 과자아파 죽겠다 (I have a headache because of my homework right now)
(9)  Jiye: ㅋㅋㅋ 숙제해 그럼 (Do your homework then)

Jiye’s language and culture practice is well presented in Excerpt 2 below. She had a conversation with her boyfriend’s older brother’s girlfriend. She calls her church friend (older male) “Koo oppa” (Koo is his last name; Oppa is ‘[girl’s] older brother’

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even though the church friend is not a family brother; in Korea, it is common to use
kinship terms when addressing people, even if they are not related (King, 2006; D-J. Lee,
1975).

Even though Jiye does not have any family relationship with her boyfriend, they
used kinship terms. The relational terms help Jiye practice Korean culture in her
relationships. For example, the use of the kinship terms [olkhey: husband’s younger
female side] and [hyengnim: husband’s older female side] brings closeness between
conversation partners and helps Jiye have better knowledge about how Korean families
are structured. She explains:

We feel closer when using the kinship terms. Also, I am getting more aware of the
complex Korean family structure. The family structure in Korea is very different
from that of Canada. Korean culture focuses more on relationship, age, gender,
and so on. (email from Jiye)

Excerpt 2: “Jiye and Her Church Friend”

Chat Log: Jiye and Her Friend

(1)   Friend:   hey you
(2)   Jiye:     I have some things~~~ to give you
(3)   Friend:   yeah?
(4)   Jiye:     so hold on~ and don’t go anywhere!
(5)   Friend:   ok
(6)   Jiye:     here you are!
               there's three webpage layouts
(7)   Friend:   thanks ^^
(8)   Jiye:     and web layout 1 is the one i had trouble with.. I didn't put the top header part
               in on that one.. photoshop wouldn't let me for some reason.. so I just did the
               menu and body part. the logo goes on top and then that layout goes below.. and
               it also needs to be aligned to the bottom but that didn't work out for some odd
               reason..
               sorry about that ^^*
(9)   Friend:   you did quite a bit of work
(10)  Jiye:     not really.. I tried to~ ^^*
               t's for my koo~ oppa
               I had to~
               pu hahahahaha~~~
               koo oppa~
(11)  Friend:   :D
(12)  Jiye:     hehe
Jiwŏn’s chat log in Excerpt 4 alludes to his understanding of Korean culture in terms of the immense parental support for children’s education. The log is about Jiwŏn’s friend’s skipping school. Jiwŏn wants to convince his friend, who is struggling with living in Canada and keeping up with school work as an international student, of the

Excerpt 3: “Jiye and Her Boyfriend’s Older Brother’s Girlfriend”

Chat Log: Jiye and Her Boyfriend’s Older Brother’s Girlfriend

(1) Susi: 어머나 (oh!)
   올케 [olkhey ] (hi, husband’s younger female side)
(2) Jiye: 웅 형님 [hyengnim] (Yes, husband’s older female side/old sister)
(3) Susi: 안주무서? (you are not sleeping?)
(4) Jiye: 왜일이심? (why?)
   나 인재 쫋려고 (I am about to sleep)
(5) Susi: 너무형 (well…)
   전화한다해노쿠 (you promised to call me)
   모해 (what are you doing?)
(6) Jiye: 나 지금 내 디자인 회사 이름 생각해 (I am thinking of a new name for a design company)
   －－;
   무슨이름으로 활동할까.. (under what name I should work…)
   숙제해야되는데 (I have to do my homework…)
   －－;
(7) Susi: 아 (ha)
   바쁘시내? (you’re busy, eh?)
(8) Jiye: ＝＝＝
(9) Susi: 그러면 (then)
   나 어차피 일하러 가야하니까 (I have to go out for work)
   그때 저나하께 (I will call you then)
(10) Jiye: 웅 (yes)
    그래 (yes)
    아라쓰~ [a-la-ssu] (I got it)
(11) Susi: 접전화가 모어써? (what is your phone number?)
(12) Jiye: 604 583 4032
    자전 집 (that is the home number)
(13) Susi: 아 (aha)
    그래 (yes)
(14) Jiye: 웅 (yes)
(15) Susi: 이제 알아씀 (I know it now)
    그래 (yes)
    그럼 씨유 (then I will see you)
(16) Jiye: 웅~~~ (yes)
importance of school work. Jiwŏn highlights his parents’ financial and mental support for their son’s education. Jiwŏn states:

Korean parents’ support for their children’s education is immense. I think my friend should appreciate his parents’ financial and mental support. He should be committed to his education as a way of paying back his parents’ support. His successful entry to a university is what his parents have been dreaming of. (interview with Jiwŏn)

His comments on parental sacrifice and support for their children’s academic education demonstrate his comprehensive understanding of Korean culture in which education is a priority.

**Excerpt 4: “Jiwŏn and His School Friend”**

**Chat Log: Jiwŏn and His Friend**

(1) Friend: where are u??
(2) Jiwŏn: at home
(3) Friend: oh... i skipped. im so bad
(4) Jiwŏn: @
(5) Friend: i dunno wuts wrong with me
(6) Jiwŏn: something is wrong!!
you cant skip skool
it's not high skool anymore!
(7) Friend: i noe i noe
(8) Jiwŏn: You have to think about your parents their sacrifice, expectations
(9) Friend: I noe...

**6.3 The Kim Family (Ashley and Tim)**

The Kim family came to Vancouver as investors. Mr. Kim is still in Korea running his own business to support his family financially. The motivation to immigrate to Canada was based on two reasons: hostility to Korean social culture and the parents’ zeal for a better education for their children. Mr. and Mrs. Kim had a difficult time coping as they were victims of a close friend’s fraud in Korea. They had animosity against the nature of the Korean societal fabric because they believe that dishonesty has become pervasive in Korea. Thus, the negative experience with Korea made Mrs. Kim
choose North Vancouver, where Caucasian culture was dominant, as the place to begin their new life in Canada. There were few Koreans in the area in the early 1990s.

Ashley and Tim came to Canada in Grade 6 and 3 respectively. They wanted to be accepted by white people. Ashley picked up English within six months after she came. Her Korean started to deteriorate as her English improved. She finally lost most of her Korean when she entered high school. She chose Canadian outdoor activities, such as rock climbing, which are not favored by Korean girls in general. However, in the interviews, Ashley and Tim expressed their experiences of identity crisis as a consequence of being disengaged from their home country and engaging in the adaptation process. Acting Caucasian and being associated with affluent Caucasian friends, they never had a chance to value Korean ethnicity. They appreciate Canadian cultural values instead of Korean values. The children’s assimilation to Canadian culture was interlaced with their formation of negative images about Korean culture. The parents became proud of their children’s rapid and strenuous acculturation and assimilation to the mainstream culture. Even though their unconditional financial support of their children attending private schools did not allow them to enjoy their hobbies or to spend money on themselves, the parents believed that the financial support would lead the children to success in the future.

However, a shift towards Korean language and culture occurred for Ashley when she saw big advertisements about Korean brands such as Samsung and LG. She realized that Korea is not an inferior or underdeveloped country anymore. She does not want to alienate herself from Korean language and culture because being Korean seems to provide her with more chances to achieve her dream of being multilingual.
In the interviews, Mrs. Kim expressed her regret over her aspirations for her children to grow up as Canadians, having abandoned their Korean language and culture. After the children’s Korean language and culture had been nearly eradicated, she realized the importance of HL for successful communication between parents and children. She regretted her indifference towards her children’s HL acquisition and maintenance and suffers remorse about the disconnected communication with her children.

6.3.1 Negative Attitudes

In interviews, the Kim family displayed negative attitudes towards HL acquisition and maintenance. Due to the parents’ negative perspectives about their home country, the children focused on assimilation and acculturation to the mainstream of Canadian culture. The children aspired to become friends with Canadians to the extent of actively participating in the Caucasian culture which was dominant in their affluent school and residential area.

These negative perspectives towards HL maintenance seemed to stem from both the parents’ deeply engrained negative experience in their home country and from the children’s desire to be successful in their new land. They believed that HL maintenance hinders mastery of English, thwarts acculturation and assimilation to mainstream culture, and delays the process of becoming Canadian. The participants’ views on HL are summarized in Table 6.8 below.
### Table 6.6: The Kims’ General Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obstacle to mastery of English</td>
<td>I thought using Korean would prevent my children from improving their English. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>I believed that my Korean didn’t help me master English. I thought mastery of English was the first priority I wanted to achieve. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I believed my Korean didn’t help me master English.</td>
<td>English was the language I had to master in order to make friends. I thought my Korean bothered my English learning. (Tim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I thought my Korean bothered my English learning.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English was the language I had to master.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I thought English was the first priority I wanted to achieve.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I thought my Korean bothered my English learning.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thwarting of acculturation and assimilation</td>
<td>I believed my children could learn Canadian culture more by throwing away Korean language and culture. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>I thought my Korean language and culture didn’t help me to learn a new culture. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thinking and behaving like Canadians is necessary to be a Canadian. Keeping the same way of thinking and behaving as Koreans doesn’t help to learn a new culture. (Mr. Kim)</td>
<td>Canadian culture was very different from that of Korea in many ways. I thought the more I kept my Korean culture, the more my learning of Canadian culture got tardy. (Tim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delay of being Canadian</td>
<td>We thought if we emphasized any Korean practices, my children could not be true Canadian citizens. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>My belief was that my Korean identity would delay my becoming Canadian. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 6.8, the Kim family did not appreciate the importance of HL acquisition and maintenance due to their beliefs that HL would hinder the children’s mastery of English and their assimilation into the dominant Canadian culture and hence would delay their becoming Canadians. However, the family experienced some changes in valuing Korean language and culture. The critical turning point in Ashley’s transformation in recognizing ethnic attachment occurred when she traveled to Toronto, where she witnessed the growing reputation of Korean technology and heard of the quality of Korean brands. She became very proud of her heritage and tried to rediscover her Korean identity. Tim’s change ensued from his re-connection with Korean friends in his school due to the influx of affluent Korean students into the Caucasian dominant
society. The mother’s change in appreciating HL occurred due to her unsuccessful communication with her children and her traumatic experience with Tim. She shared an embarrassing moment in which Tim’s lack of Korean cultural understanding about proper behavior to elders shocked her. She elaborates:

I was very hungry when I came home from English language class. Tim said something to me but I couldn’t hear clearly what he said because I was vigorously chewing at the moment. I asked him again and he bluntly asked me not to chew so loudly. All of a sudden, I was stunned. First, I was very ashamed about my ill-mannered behaviour and soon became irritated by his extreme rudeness. I thought that I had raised my children incorrectly. I thought this is not what I expected. I should have taught them how to behave not only as a Canadian but also as a Korean. How dare children say ‘don’t chew loudly’ to their parents in a blunt and insulting way? I was almost paranoid. Everything was my fault. (interview with Mrs. Kim)

The instance Mrs. Kim experienced made her realize that her children’s fluent English had nothing to do with a well-rounded education. She regretted her inability to transfer Korean culture to her children. In the next section, the family’s re-appreciation of the importance of HL will be described.

6.3.2 Re-appreciated Importance of Heritage Language and Culture

The family expressed their willingness to regain Korean fluency because HL maintenance means pride in being Korean, reconnection to Korea, more opportunities for jobs and career, and successful communication with family members. The mother particularly highlighted the importance of successful communication with her children. Even though the mother’s assimilationist language ideology lay in her antipathy towards Korea, she came to realize the value of the Korean language. Table 6.9 shows the changed perceptions towards HL. Their negative attitudes toward HL and culture, legitimizing English over their first language, Korean, by trying to eliminate Korean in their household, have shifted to positive ones.
Table 6.7: Changed Views of HL Maintenance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pride in being Korean</td>
<td>Korea seems very different from the days when we left. More people are aware of Korea. Korean culture is getting popular. Many Canadian people ask me how to make kimchi. I haven’t had any confidence in myself as a Korean before, but I now feel pride in my Korean culture. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>The Korean language and culture is important because they increase my pride in myself. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconnexion to Korea</td>
<td>Unlike 10 years ago, as long as their Korean is fluent, they can be connected with Korea. (Mr. Kim)</td>
<td>The Korean culture my Korean friends bring to me helps me reconnect to my lost Korean identity and to Korean culture. (Tim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities in jobs/career</td>
<td>Being Korean, being a minority doesn’t mean a minus factor to my children’s job career. It is rather a plus factor to them. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>I believe if my Korean is fluent, I will have a better job and get better payment. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Being bilingual or multilingual gives us more chances. (Tim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful communication</td>
<td>Without a shared language, it is impossible to communicate successfully. Now, I know the importance of Korean language for my children. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>If my Korean becomes more fluent, I think I can have better communication with my parents. (Tim)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rich Caucasian culture, they had no Korean at home, no Korean friends, no experience of visiting Korea, no Korean keyboard being used, and overwhelming financial support.

Their reflections about the reasons that discouraged them from practicing the HL are presented in Table 6.10 below.

**Table 6.8: Actions for Acculturation and Assimilation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Korean at home</td>
<td>I have never bought any Korean books since we came to Canada. I didn’t discourage my children from speaking English at home. I rather encouraged them to speak English more, even though I couldn’t clearly understand their conversation. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>My mom wanted us to speak English at home. I’ve never read any Korean books at home. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I tried to watch TV a lot so that I could learn a lot of English daily expressions. My mom encouraged me to speak English as much as I could. I speak English even when I talk to my mom. (Tim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Korean friends</td>
<td>There were only few Koreans when we came for the first time, but later more Koreans came to their school and to our community, but I didn’t want my children to make Korean friends because I wanted to raise my children as Canadians. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>I had no Korean friends. Therefore, I had no space to practice my Korean. All my friends were rich, white kids. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I told my children not to make Korean friends because it didn’t help to improve their English. I wanted them to forget their Korean being. (Mr. Kim)</td>
<td>I was lonely when I couldn’t find any Korean friends. All of my friends were Canadians. (Tim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No visiting Korea</td>
<td>I’ve never taken my kids to Korea since we came here even though my husband has been in Korea. I have visited only once due to a family matter. I didn’t want to visit Korea because I didn’t like the people in a hurry and busy environment. I didn’t want to show that negative aspect to my children. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>I’ve never visited Korea yet, so I have never had any chances to learn Korean culture extensively since I came to Canada. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions</td>
<td>Parents’ Comments</td>
<td>Children’s Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Korean keyboard</td>
<td>I have used email to ask Ashley how she’s doing, but our home computer only had an English keyboard, so I typed in English. Thus, my sentences were very short. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>I sometimes emailed my mom and dad, but I used English just to say hi. My mother used the English keyboard but my dad used Korean but their messages were always short. I don’t have the Korean keyboard, so I responded to them in English with short sentences. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The main purpose of my short email was to let my children know that their father is always concerned about them. Even though we couldn’t exchange any deep conversation due to the different languages, I sometimes emailed them. (Mr. Kim)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overwhelming financial support</td>
<td>We have never bought any new and good clothes since we came to Canada because we always struggled with supporting the two children’s hefty tuition fees and extra-curricular activities. Due to their relationships with rich white kids, my children spent a lot of money every month. My daughter’s friends’ parents are lawyers and doctors. We didn’t discourage our children from maintaining relationships with the white, rich kids due to financial issues. In fact, the financial support was overwhelming, but we did for them as much as we could. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>I know my parents spent a lot of money for my education. They did whatever I wanted. (Ashley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Even though my parents always say that they sacrificed a lot for our education, I was still able to see some gap between my friends who were very rich and got incredible support from their parents and myself because I was sometimes ashamed of my living in a small apartment. When I lived in a big house with two cute dogs, I was so happy but I felt ashamed and disappointed when we moved to a small apartment. (Tim)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.3.1 Acculturation and Assimilation to the Dominant Culture

The family chose assimilation and acculturation as the first steps to becoming successful immigrants in a new land. Their sense of being Canadian came from a pride of having relationships with white, rich Canadian friends. To be a fully recognized Canadian in a short time, the children limited their use of Korean and their practice of Korean culture at home. Their rapid acculturation and assimilation to the dominant culture was possible due to the parents’ active support for the children’s switch from being Korean to
Canadian and also to their previous negative impressions about Korean society. In an interview, Mrs. Kim stated her aspirations for her children’s success through the process of acculturation and assimilation: “I want my children to become successful, speak English perfectly, and behave like Canadians.” I was intrigued by the word ‘success’ and learned that she held an idealist concept about success. She reiterated that for her, success was a life in which her children’s dreams came true.

6.3.3.2 Overwhelming Financial Support

One interesting issue with the Kim family is the parents’ immense financial support and their expectations of success on the part of their children due to this financial support. Even though the father’s financial status was not affluent, the parents wanted to provide their children with the best educational environment. In addition to expensive tuition fees, they rented a big house so that the children did not feel intimidated by any sense of financial deficiency. They still dispense about a thousand dollars every month in pocket money to Ashley even though she sometimes makes money from her own work. The mother believes that a strong relationship with rich Caucasian kids costs that much money. This appears to be an ironic clash of cultures, as the Kims are trying to acculturate their children as Canadians, but the high level of dependency suggested by the money coming from the parents is actually rather more Korean, culturally speaking. Furthermore, the father has never played golf, even during his visits to Vancouver, because of his financial burdens. This is unlike most Korean immigrants (in particular rich Korean immigrants), who generally enjoy playing golf here due to the relatively low costs in Canada compared to Korea. Their sense of being good parents seemed to be expressed in their immense and unconditional financial support for their children. In an
interview, Mrs. Kim elaborated about her dilemma: overwhelming financial support for her children and her need to earn money.

I wanted to work as a part-timer while my children were in school, but I was not brave enough because I was afraid of how my children would perceive my working. They might feel ashamed of my working once this fact was revealed, because their friends are all rich. I didn’t want to do anything which could affect relationships with their friends. (interview with Mrs. Kim)

However, as shown in Tim’s reflections, the parents’ support clearly requires finances. For example, Tim was ashamed about the family’s move from a big house to a small apartment when Ashley left home for her college studies. In an interview, Mrs. Kim was again considering renting a big house to soothe Tim’s frustrations about their current humble residence. The dilemma of her immense support and Tim’s lack of appreciation for his parents’ financial sacrifices became accentuated when she discussed her estranged relationship with Tim. Her remorseful emotions were expressed as follows:

I don’t know why Tim is upset about me. All I did is to sacrifice my life just for their success. However, I sometimes feel bitter about his lack of appreciation and the irresolvable conflict with him. I can’t see any problems, but he started shutting up except for when he asks me to buy something for him. Even though it looks like our conflicted relationship was caused by his dissatisfaction with the financial support from us, I can tell that all the problems must have stemmed from our lack of communication. Even though we spend a lot of time within the same space, we cannot tell each other everything because our different languages don’t allow us to share anything fully. As they grow up, I feel distant from my children and I have no clue how to resolve this unknown conflict with my son. (interview with Mrs. Kim)

6.3.4 Lingering Language Ideologies

The Kim family values being accepted into mainstream Caucasian culture as part of the key to success through the process of acculturation and assimilation. Thus, the earlier part of their immigrant life produced negative attitudes towards HL maintenance. However, the children’s negative attitudes changed to positive through their experience
of Korean social and economic growth in Canada. Nevertheless, the participants’ positive perceptions toward the HL were not actually implemented into their daily life practices due to their long-held language ideologies as shown in 6.3.4.1 and 6.3.4.2. below.

6.3.4.1 Learning Korean is Not a Priority at This Time

In their general reflections, Mrs. Kim and Ashley reveal their positive attitudes towards HL language. In their specific reflections, the mother mentions her support for her children’s Korean learning and Ashley discusses the reasons she wants to improve her Korean. However, as shown in Table 6.11, the conversation between Mrs. Kim and Ashley reveals that their language ideologies resonate with their priority in languages. The daughter’s and mother’s priority is in learning other languages and the daughter’s graduation. The mother believes that the daughter’s lost Korean can be mastered within a short time when she lives in Korea. It cannot be denied that living in the culture is one of the most effective ways of learning language but the dilemma in the interview was in the observation of the gap between the mother’s despair about her children’s HL loss in communication and her persistent promotion of English and academic issues. Their language ideologies seem to lie in their judgment that the HL can be attained easily compared to other foreign languages. Even though Mrs. Kim emphasizes the importance of HL for successful communication between parents and children, she puts priority on other subjects and other languages. In addition, Ashley delays learning Korean due to the current urgency for her to learn other languages such as Spanish and Chinese. It is often seen that HL learning yields pride of place to other academic subjects or mastery of English and as a result, immigrant children lose their HL completely. As a consequence,
the parents and children end up paying a higher price for HL acquisition than they would have otherwise.

### Table 6.9: Learning Korean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Without a shared language, it is impossible to communicate successfully.**  
Now I know the importance of the Korean language to my children. (Mrs. Kim) | If we were faced with the same situation again, I would teach my children Korean at home. I would also send them to Korean Heritage School during the weekend. (Mrs. Kim) | Ashley: Mom, when was dad going to send me to Korea for me to learn Korean?  
Mrs. Kim: Next summer.  
Ashley: Which university?  
Mrs. Kim: Yonsei University.  
Ashley: I heard that there are other good universities offering Korean classes.  
Mrs. Kim: Do you think there will be any problem with graduation even though you’re going to Korea?  
Ashley: Well, I want to learn my Korean before I graduate but honestly, at this moment, learning Korean is not a priority on my list. Firstly, I want to improve my Spanish.  
Mrs. Kim: How’s your study of Chinese going?  
Ashley: It’s going well.  
Mrs. Kim: Don’t focus on going to Korea for learning Korean next year too much because your Korean will dramatically improve once you live in Korea. You can also learn Korean anytime when we are resolved to learn. You’d better focus on other, harder, languages, and more important subjects for your graduation. |

| The Korean language and culture is important because they increase my pride in myself. (Ashley) | I want to learn Korean and to improve my Korean to become quadrilingual to achieve my goal. I want to work with the United Nations in the future. (Ashley) |

#### 6.3.4.2 Korean Culture is Important but Academics are More Important

As described in the earlier section, Tim believed that his Korean hindered his English acquisition and he learned daily expressions through English TV programs until he met some Korean friends who recently immigrated to Canada. He started becoming interested in Korean songs and practiced his Korean culture by downloading the songs
from the Internet. As shown in Table 6.12, Mrs. Kim realized the importance of Korean culture once she was faced with Ashley’s proclamation of being a vegetarian and Tim’s rude behavior (discussed in the earlier section). She wanted to emphasize the ‘excellence’ of Korean food in which fermented and marinated preparations prevail even though she had never seriously introduced Korean culture to her children before. Despite her appreciation of the Korean culture, she still worries that the relatively great amount of time that Tim spends on Korean songs might lower his academic performance. She highlights the importance of English for entering university, and ignores Tim’s learning of Korean.
### Table 6.10: Korean Culture and Academics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understanding Korean culture is important because the shared culture will help us to understand each other. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>I started gradually introducing the good things of Korean culture to my children. Even though I hadn’t done it before, I tried to do as much as possible. I never appreciated Korean food until Ashley became a vegetarian. I’ve never emphasized the excellence of Korean food. Korean people love kimchi, bulgogi, kalbi… but Ashley rejected Korean food due to the strong smell and meat ingredients after she entered university, so I prepared three different types of food: Canadian veggie stuff like salads for Ashley, meat for Tim, and Korean side dishes for me. (Mrs. Kim)</td>
<td>Tim: I want to ask dad to buy a MP3 from Korea when he comes next time. Mrs. Kim: Why do you need a new one? Tim: I want to download more Korean songs, so I need more memory. Mrs. Kim: I think you spend too much time on the computer these days. Why are you obsessed with Korean songs these days? By the way, do you understand what they say? Tim: Not all of them, but I am learning. Mrs. Kim: I don’t think you have enough time to listen to music, especially nowadays. Tim: I am studying while I am listening. Mrs. Kim: Didn’t your English tutor complain about the incompletion of your assignments? Tim: Only on that day. Mrs. Kim: You know the importance of English marks to enter university? Focus on your studies and improving your English marks right now and you can listen to Korean songs as much as you like later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Korean culture my Korean friends bring to me helps me reconnect my lost Korean identity to Korean culture. (Tim)</td>
<td>To listen to Korean songs, my Korean friends informed me of free websites from which I could obtain free music. (Tim)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During an interview with Mrs. Kim, Tim walked by listening to music, bobbing his head to the beat, and briefly sat down on the couch. Mrs. Kim’s mismatch between her appreciation of the importance of Korean culture and her actual behavior is illustrated in the following excerpt:
Excerpt 5: “Korean Songs”

(1) Mrs. Kim: 뭐하냐? (What are you doing?)
(2) Tim: I am listening to Korean songs.
(3) Mrs. Kim: 뭐래? (What song are you listening to?)
(4) Tim: Do you know any Korean songs?
(5) Mrs. Kim: 내가 어떻게 요즘 한국 노래를 알겠냐? (How would I know any current Korean songs?)
(6) Tim: It’s fabulous… You listen too.
(7) Mrs. Kim: 내가 들어서 뭐하냐? (Why would I want to listen to it?)

From this excerpt, Mrs. Kim’s indifference towards Korean culture (especially contemporary Korean songs) is revealed. When Tim asks her if she knows any contemporary Korean songs (line 4), she rebuts Tim’s question because different generations have different tastes. To Tim’s further persuasion to listen to Korean songs (line 6), she refuses to accept Tim’s offer (line 7). It would appear that sharing the same topic and interest might be a good way to improve communication between parents and children. If Mrs. Kim had shared and expressed similar interest in the Korean songs, their familial relationship could have been much improved. However, it is common that many parents do not share similar interests to their children.

In the following sections, I present the participants’ technology use for HL and culture acquisition and maintenance. Unlike the rest of the family members’ indifference to technology use for language and culture experience, Tim’s exposure to Korean culture online is noteworthy.

6.3.5 Views of Technology Use

Tim’s view on technology use for HL maintenance is connected to Korean culture online. Before Tim met his Korean friends, he never enjoyed Korean culture, due to the family’s aggressive encouragement of assimilation and acculturation to the mainstream. However, he became interested in exploring Korean pop culture because it made him feel
like his “Korean-ness” was alive and well. His identity as a Korean had been inactive for more than ten years, but when he was introduced to fashionable Korean mobile phones and contemporary songs, he wanted to reconnect himself to Korean culture. Thus, his attitude about the use of the computer for HL is now very positive. He thinks that technology use helps him revive his Korean identity and connects him to Korean culture.

**Table 6.11: Tim’s Views of Technology Use**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Tim’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reviving Korean identity</td>
<td><em>Contact with Korean pop culture through the Internet revives my Korean identity.</em> Whenever I listen to Korean songs, even though I don’t understand most of the fast Korean words, I feel something different which I have never felt before.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection to Korean culture</td>
<td><em>Through many readings about Korean celebrities, I am very connected to Korean culture.</em> Even when I am living in Canada, I am enjoying Korean pop culture. The knowledge and information I gained from the Internet and the advanced technology in Korea such as mobile phones and MP3s and stuff sometimes intrigues me to visit Korea for a direct cultural experience.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.3.6 Online Practice

Tim does not have a Korean keyboard like Ashley does, but he uses English websites containing Korean pop culture to download Korean songs. Even though he reads and writes in English, his cultural experience through the Internet is vast. He stays up to date about Korean celebrities through various websites. In an interview, he even discussed BoA’s⁵³ popularity in Japan. Excerpt 6 demonstrates how he exchanges updates about Korean pop culture with his Korean friends.

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⁵³ One of Korea’s most popular singers.
Excerpt 6: “Getting Information about Korean Pop Culture”

Chat Log: Tim and His Classmate Friend

(1) Tim: hey
(2) Friend: what’s up?
(3) Tim: I couldn’t access the music video downloads
(4) Friend: the one kpop music http://www.kpopmusic.co.uk/?
    havy registered the membership yet?
(5) Tim: nop, I haven’t
(6) Friend: that section is for registered members only.
(7) Tim: ic
(8) Friend: read top 10 section. BoA, Hyori, Bi…
(9) Tim: are you gona bring boa’s poster?
(10) Friend: donno
(11) Tim: why?
(12) Friend: cuz I have lots of stuff to bring tomorrow

6.4 A Comparison of the Two Families

As with the previous two cases, the main reason that the two families in this chapter left Korea was to sever their connection to their relationships in Korea. However, the two families showed drastic differences in their attitudes toward and practices of HL acquisition and maintenance. The Cho family valued HL and carried out various practices for HL acquisition and maintenance. Due to the father’s social status, the children were consciously or unconsciously obliged to become role models as ideal Korean-Canadians. Korean fluency is one of the qualities they are expected to have. The Internet is being used as a main resource for language and culture practice by the family. On the other hand, the Kim family experienced severe attrition in the children’s HL. The family pushed acculturation and assimilation in order to be successful immigrants in a new land. However, as Korea’s social and economic situation got better, the family’s negative attitudes towards their home country became more positive. Nonetheless, their changed attitudes could not quickly eradicate their deep-rooted language ideologies. The parents and children’s conversations still revealed that Korean language and culture is a low
priority. Tim is the only one who enjoys the Internet for the acquisition of Korean pop cultural knowledge.

One difference is found in the family relationships. Jiye and Jiwŏn’s fluent Korean does not hinder family conversation at all. Through deep and supportive conversations in Korean, they can keep a harmonious and close relationship among themselves. In contrast, the Kim family has suffered from distance between parents and children. Due to the lack of shared language and culture, as the children grew up their relationship became more distant and the parents ended up being indifferent in order to avoid any fierce conflicts resulting from the children’s lack of appreciation of the parents’ unceasing desire to support their children through numerous personal sacrifices.

**Figure 6.1: A Comparison of Emotional Relationships**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KEY (modified for purposes)</th>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Harmonious</th>
<th>Distant / Poor</th>
<th>Indifferent / Apathetic</th>
<th>Discord / Conflict</th>
<th>Cutoff / Estranged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Cho Family</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Diagram of the Cho Family" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kim Family</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Diagram of the Kim Family" /></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
6.5 Conclusions

The data from the two families in this chapter make apparent once again the important role of parents in children’s HL acquisition and maintenance. Ashley’s parents’ negative attitudes towards HL were reflected in the children’s vigorous assimilation and acculturation to the mainstream culture by resisting their Korean identity. As a result, the children lost their HL. The parents’ subtractive bilingualism led to the children’s loss of their HL and culture. In addition to the parents’ role in the children’s HL, the social environment plays another important role in children’s HL acquisition and maintenance. Ashley’s parents chose North Vancouver, where affluent Caucasian culture was predominant, as their first place of settlement in order to expose their children to the dominant culture. Rich Canadians were the dominant context for the children. Thus, they had no chance to experience Korean culture and language for some ten years. In contrast, Jiye and Jiwŏn have been exposed extensively to Korean culture and language through their church and through their online activities.
Chapter 7

Satellite54/ ‘Father Goose’55 Cases: English and Education are Top Priority (Less than 10 years of Immigrant Life)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is about the An and Ko families. Mastery of English and a North American education were their main motivations for their emigration from Korea. The two families’ fathers continue to run their businesses in Korea and are financially affluent. The parents emphasize ‘globalization’, and the children’s mastery of a couple foreign languages is regarded as an essential quality in becoming a global citizen. In particular, providing their children with a chance to have an education in an English language environment is one form of support that upper-middle class Korean parents think they should provide for their children. To these families, emigration does not mean separation from their home country in any way. The fathers live in two countries, Canada and Korea, with a certain amount of time spent in each. Their immigration is regarded as one way of living globally regardless of their physical presence. Even in diaspora, their immigrant lives are still strongly attached to the Korean culture, economy, and politics. The Korean language and culture cannot be neglected and their Korean way of life is always prevalent in their daily lives. Attrition of the Korean language and culture cannot be sacrificed for the mastery of English. For these two families, both computers and air travel are essential tools for connection between their home country and their new land.

54 A satellite family refers to families living apart for their jobs or business but maintaining contact through satellite communication channels.
55 The term “father goose” is derived from the nature of the migrating birds who during the migration season fly a long distance and have a special dedication to their youngsters. The term emerged in the early 1990s when families in Korea began to send their children to grade school to the US. Downloaded from the New America Media on the World Wide Web: http://news.ncmonline.com/news/view_article.html?article_id=1585a9d19045a34b8d1de6b0794735fb
7.2  The An Family (Sangmin and Minji)

Sangmin and Minji’s family used to be a ‘satellite family’ and the father used to be a ‘father goose’. But now the father lives with the rest of the family in Vancouver. The family is a stereotypical case in which many recent immigrants choose Canada in hopes of their children’s mastery of English and a better education (Hurh, 1998; Jo, 1999). One recent trend among many new immigrants is to send their children ahead to Canada on their own as international students before the parents consider their own immigration, or at least before their own immigration procedures have been completed. They believe that a homestay experience in a Canadian home will greatly help their children. Later, the parents realize that their children spend most of their time hanging around with mainly Korean friends rather than focusing on their studies, which, in turn, are often negatively affected. Afterwards, the parents decide (sometimes hastily) to move to Canada. Of course, not all international students neglect their studies because of the absence of parental supervision.

Like many other Korean immigrants, Mr. and Mrs. An’s main reason for choosing Canada was for Sangmin and Minji’s education. Both Sangmin and Minji did an excellent job of their academics in Korea. Mr. and Mrs. An wanted to give them a chance to experience a different culture and to improve their English skills. Sangmin was sent to Canada as an international student and lived apart from his family from age 14 to 15. However, contrary to his parents’ expectations, Sangmin was not successful in his studies. Unchallenging school homework regimes and the teachers’ laid-back attitudes did not encourage him to challenge his studies. His struggles with English greatly affected his schoolwork. In the beginning he tried to approach native English speakers, but he soon
realized that the peer groups had already been so tightly formed that he could not be accepted into any of the native speakers’ groups. Hanging around with many Korean international students in the same boat and skipping classes, he started failing many subjects. The young Korean students socialized among themselves. Drinking, singing at ‘noraebang’ parties (Korean Karaoke), going to ‘PC-bang’s (computer game rooms), going out with girl/boy friends, and skipping classes characterized the main culture Sangmin enjoyed with his Korean friends. He was keener to be up to date with Korean youth culture such as pop songs, games, and so on than the local culture he lived in. His parents noticed that Sangmin had a hard time pursuing his academics and immediately decided to immigrate to Canada. Sangmin started studying hard to make up lost ground and with the support of his family at his side, he was successful in gaining entry to a university. He was accepted to one of the most prestigious commerce programs offered at a Canadian university.

Minji, on the other side, is a determined person in terms of pursuing her own interests, goals, and understanding of multiculturalism. She gets along with native English speakers as well as Koreans. She rejects a total assimilation and acculturation into the Canadian culture because she believes that her inherited Korean language and culture is a great source of pride. She wants to be perfectly bilingual so that she can successfully pursue a career in Canada with pride in being a ‘1.5-generation’ Korean-Canadian.

Mr. and Mrs. An accept that their way of thinking and doing is different from that of their children. In particular, Mr. An is very open-minded towards the children’s marriage partners and careers. Where Mrs. An prefers people of an Asian background for
their children’s marriage partners, Mr. An does not have any preference at all regarding ethnicity. Mr. and Mrs. An have no problem communicating with their children because they all speak Korean at home. They would rather their children improve their English to succeed in their studies. Sangmin’s and Minji’s lives are very dominated by Instant Messenger. Even Mr. An is highly dependant upon the Internet. Even though he lives in Canada, online banking helps him to run his business smoothly from afar. He said that he would not have dared to immigrate to Canada unless he was assured of the effectiveness of Internet banking. To this family, Korea is not a country of the past that they long to visit, but a country they can access anytime whenever necessary.

7.2.1 Integrative and Instrumental Attitudes

The participants highlighted the importance of the HL. The parents were well aware of the consequences of a rupture in communication between parents and children as a result of children’s HL attrition, often exacerbated by lack of parental support. They had already learned about the importance of children’s HL and culture maintenance from previously immigrated families. However, they have not forced their children to ‘stay Korean’ in the sense of adhering strictly to Korean traditional views. Their perceptions about ‘being Korean’ are different from those of the earlier immigrants. Being Korean does not mean the exclusion of other cultural aspects but the incorporation of new cultural influences based upon great pride in the HL. The children’s attitudes towards HL maintenance pertain to their fluid identity as Koreans. The participants’ perceptions about living in a new land do not mean total detachment from their home country but translate into more opportunities for growth as a multicultural and multilingual individual. Sangmin’s and Minji’s discourse below demonstrates how positively they interpret their
identity encompassing their inherited Korean identity and newly formed Canadian identity. Learning a new language and culture has nothing to do with the loss of their HL. The newly gained knowledge and experiences in a new land contribute to reinforcing the creation of a fluid and proud Korean being. Their additive bilingualism is well represented in the interviews. The participants believe that HL acquisition and maintenance reinforces positive family relationships, Korean identity, connections to Korea, multiculturalism, and social and cultural capital.

Table 7.1: The Ans’ General Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive family</td>
<td>Korean is important because we don’t have any problems in communication. We always share and exchange our thoughts freely, so we can build a good relationship. (Mrs. An)</td>
<td>I believe the Korean language contributes to constructing a positive family relationship within a family structure. Without a shared language, how can we form a relationship with my parents? (Minji)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relationships</td>
<td>Using the same language is fundamental to understanding each other. (Mr. An)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean identity</td>
<td>Language tells us who they are. If they cannot speak Korean, they cannot be Korean. (Mr. An)</td>
<td>Language forms me into who I am. Defining myself, I am a Canadian-Korean because I still want to learn this Canadian culture I am living in. (Minji)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I think the Korean language is important to my children because it is one of their genuine pieces they have. (Mrs. An)</td>
<td>I think Korean is important to me. Regardless of how long I have been living in Canada, it is necessary to keep a balance between my own identity as a Korean and my new identity as a Canadian. I think the Korean language is the main thing to acknowledging that I am Korean. (Sangmin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection to Korea</td>
<td>I want them to keep the same level of Korean fluency because it is the main language being used to communicate with their friends and relatives. (Mrs. An)</td>
<td>Korean is important. I still keep in touch with my old friends in Korea. Korea is my hometown to me. The nuances of familiar Korean expressions cannot be found in any other languages. My mother tongue refines my Korean roots (Minji)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Views

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiculturalism</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaking Korean will be a benefit to their future careers in Canada’s multicultural society. The world is getting smaller and more multi-lingual individuals are in demand. (Mr. An)</td>
<td>I believe my Korean will help me enjoy my life in Canada. In a multicultural society, retaining one’s native language is encouraged. (Minji)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social capital</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Korean language is important because it functions as a social capital which provides employment opportunities. The language is not just a home language anymore. The growing Korean community contributes to the Canadian economy. (Mr. An)</td>
<td>Korean is a resource for employment. (Sangmin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.2.1.1 Additive Bilingualism

The participants’ positive attitudes towards the HL stem from their understanding of additive bilingualism. They advocate Canada’s multiculturalism and bilingualism and try to practice their understanding of the policy in their daily lives. The parents believe that learning English should not interfere with the maintenance of their children’s Korean; they believe a positive correlation exists between a high level of bilingual proficiency and the extent to which the first language is developed (Cummins, 1993). Mr. An recollected his memory of reading an article about additive bilingualism:

I have read an article describing the important role of developing children’s first language. When the first language is well developed, the second language can be effectively developed. The first generation of Korean immigrants used to regard their children’s Korean as prohibiting their mastery of English. Therefore, they forced their children to emphasize English over Korean but we do not want our children to lose their Korean at the cost of learning English. They can develop both. (interview with Mr. An)

Minji also expressed the importance of improving her Korean as well as English. She puts equal importance on both languages. She highlighted positive cognitive and educational effects which are associated with additive bilingualism:
Among my friends, those who are excellent in their studies speak Korean very well. They are 1.5-generation Korean-Canadians, are perfect bilinguals, and seem smart. There was an old saying that one language prevents learning another language, but not anymore. The main issue seems to be in terms of when one is exposed to another language. The more fluent their Korean is, the more fluent their English is. I want to be a perfect bilingual like my friends. (interview with Minji)

Sangmin introduced his interpretation about Canada’s multiculturalism and bilingualism:

I learned about Canada’s multilingualism and bilingualism in Gr. 10 social studies. We are encouraged to maintain our language and culture. This makes Canada culturally unique. (interview with Sangmin)

To this family, HL is not a separate domain but part of a resource-rich domain within which to enjoy Canada’s multiculturalism and bilingualism. Unlike Ashley’s family (see Chapter 6), who valued subtractive bilingualism for the sake of their children’s English mastery and assimilation to ‘white culture’, the An family showed positive attitudes in HL and culture maintenance and their positive attitudes come from their understanding of additive bilingualism.

7.2.2 Korean Is Our Main Language for Communication

Due to Minji and Sangmin’s already-formed Korean fluency before their arrival in Canada, the parents did not pay special attention to the children’s HL acquisition. The parents’ speaking Korean with their children and watching Korean dramas and TV programs were the main sources of practicing Korean at home. Minji and Sangmin practice Korean in everyday routines not only at home but also in school, where they associate extensively with Korean friends. The friends share and practice Korean culture through face-to-face interactions and through online activities. This generation’s children
enjoy up-to-date tangible access to Korean culture. Table 7.2 is a summary of the participants’ engagement in HL and culture acquisition and maintenance.

**Table 7.2: The Ans’ Specific Reflections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Practicing Korean language and culture at home</td>
<td><strong>We sometimes use difficult expressions such as Chinese proverbs on purpose so that my children can learn more difficult words.</strong> We also try to reflect on our past, for example, what we did on Korean traditional days and explain the traditions. (Mrs. An) <strong>We still practice Korean culture.</strong> We celebrate kujŏng (Lunar New Year) and Ch’usŏk (Korean Harvest Moon Festival). We call Korea when our ancestors’ chesa day (memorial rite) approaches. We are more likely to emphasize these traditions than when we were in Korea. (Mr. An)</td>
<td>When my parents used difficult words I couldn’t understand, I asked them to explain. This is how I learned and improved my Korean. (Minji) We are supposed to call my grandmother and grandfather from time to time. In particular, when special days come, we talk with many relatives. (Sangmin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching Korean dramas and TV programs</td>
<td>We watched Korean dramas and news together. It helped us to share contemporary Korean culture and it led us to find common ground to start our communication. (Mrs. An)</td>
<td>We watch Korean dramas and entertainment programs together. (Minji)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology use</td>
<td>We use the Internet for many reasons. I use it mainly for my business. I showed my children how to use online banking to get them used to it. (Mr. An)</td>
<td>Chatting with my friends allows me to practice my Korean a lot. (Minji) I download Korean songs to my MP3. In particular, I download Korean TV programs for my mother. She used to rent Korean videos but I download the dramas and comic programs from the free website. (Sangmin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network of friends</td>
<td>I keep in touch with my friends in Korea through frequent emailing. Through the frequent interactions with my business friends, I am very well informed of Korean political and economic situations. (Mr. An)</td>
<td>My friends are mostly 1.5-generation Korean-Canadians. When I first came here, I intermingled with Canadians, but 1.5-generation students who were in the same boat naturally bonded together. Through close relationships with Korean friends, I mostly use Korean and enjoy Korean culture. (Minji)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.2.2.1 Practicing Korean Language and Culture

This family still keeps in close contact with their relatives living in Korea. On family events or holidays, the children are encouraged to call their relatives. Their Korean language and cultural practice is very rich through frequent contact with the relatives living in Korea. Due to the immense access to Korea with the aid of the telephone, mass media, and the computer, the family has never felt that isolation ensued from immigration. They still celebrate Korean traditional holidays and family events. Their daily life patterns have not changed since they came to Canada except for their physical presence in a foreign land. Unlike the nostalgic feelings and the remoteness of the home country felt by earlier immigrant generations with a major motivation for language and culture maintenance, this family’s Korean linguistic and cultural practice seem to lie in their economic pride towards the affluent social capital brought by recent Korean immigrants.

The parents sometimes focus even more on family traditions than they did in Korea because their Korean identities are more emphasized in a foreign land. Mr. An elaborates on his patriotism for Korea:

When people live in a foreign country, they become more patriotic towards their country. Being surrounded by other ethnic groups, one becomes more appreciative of my ethnicity. Before I came to Canada, I had never thought of what it means to be Korean. But living in a new land, my country, my nationality
comes to me very meaningfully. This is why I try to remind my children of our family traditions and customs more than I did in Korea. (interview with Mr. An)

Here, Mr. An emphasizes Korean ethnicity and nationality. His living in a new land with people from different ethnic backgrounds allows him to foster his patriotism. As he mentioned, he had never essentialized his ethnic identity before he immigrated to Canada, but he is now more appreciative. From the interview, I wondered about the meaning of patriotism. When we say patriotism, how much do we truly internalize its meaning? To Korean immigrants, including myself, it is a generally held belief that one is likely to become patriotic when one lives outside the homeland.

7.2.2.2 Ethnic Group Formation (Affirmative Adaptation)

Ethnic group formation is an interesting point which arose in the interviews with the children. As Sangmin and Minji expressed in Table 7.2, Network of Friends, getting along with the same ethnicity occurs when the children get older. As Minji said, she made some Canadian friends when she was young, but became associated more with Koreans once she got into high school. Sangmin’s case is more obvious in terms of socialization with peers from his own ethnic group. Having come to Canada as an international student at a later age than Minji, Sangmin naturally craved peers who could offer him refuge from his sense of marginalization due to his lack of English fluency and cultural understanding. Their own ethnic group formation serves as a positive strategy for newcomers by providing positive social and ethnic identity and group empowerment. However, this may sound like it contradicts their positive attitude towards Canada’s multiculturalism. One might object that sticking to visible minority group formation with fellow ethnic group members hinders newcomers’ adaptation to the mainstream. Among 1.5-generation Korean-Canadians, social and cultural alienation from the mainstream is
the main reason they reactively cluster in their own groups to cope in a new land. After being excluded from Canadian groups in school, they built their own little Korea with other Koreans. As Sangmin revealed in the first interview, it is difficult to see the successful practice of Canada’s cultural diversity: “due to a language barrier, different cultural practices, and different physical characteristics, it is hard to see a perfect integration between new immigrants and the majority of Canadians” (interview with Sangmin). However, Minji revealed a different point of view about Canadian values and newcomers’ integration into a Canadian community. She highlighted the adaptation process. Her main point is that adaptation does not imply complete disruption with or discontinuity of contact with your own ethnic group. She elaborated:

I learned that Canada values a cultural mosaic. In a balanced mosaic, every element should represent a unique color and shape. Any imposing image hinders creation of true integration or balance. According to my path of adaptation to Canadian culture, having white Canadian friends does not mean I truly become a Canadian; nor does getting along with Koreans and maintaining a tangible tie with contemporary Korean culture mean that I am marginalized. I always try to strike a good balance between my inherited culture and my newly created one. It is always on-going. Adaptation does not have to include a total separation from the past. (interview with Minji)

She continues:

I know that there are some concerns about ethnocentric grouping, but it is a stereotypical concern. There has always been an issue about grouping, even in Korea. We don’t have to see this fact through a negative lens. Isn’t it natural to associate with those who share the same background, language, and appearance? An important issue is in our positive attitude towards living in Canada as a multi-cultural person. (interview with Minji)

From the conversations with Sangmin and Minji, I learned that their strong attachment to their own ethnic group in a new land is a natural process before connecting the two cultures and creating new multicultural selves. In the process of their transition and adjustment, they sometimes experience cultural alienation and even some conflicts
with the mainstream culture; however, they try to negotiate a way to live in-and-between the two cultures by embracing both the old culture and the new one. Their network formation with fellow ethnic group members does not have to be viewed negatively as a way of resisting Canadian values; new immigrants’ settlement, adaptation, and integration process is by its very nature not a smooth and linear path. Instead, it can be viewed as a positive and consolidating process to foster a sense of adaptation. Minji’s affirmative adaptation is based upon her positive confirmation and pride in her heritage. Her astute adaptation does not require her to relinquish compliance with or reliance on her own language and cultural resources as a price for accommodation to Canadian culture. Her adaptation sounds more active and dynamic than the ‘adhesive adaptation’ (B-L. Kim, 1988; Hurh & H-C. Kim, 1984), which characterizes the acculturative process as grafting elements of the mainstream culture onto one’s own transplanted customs and manners. Adaptation can be an overwhelming, dilemma-laden, yet rewarding process.

7.2.3 Social Practice

Sangmin’s family values its HL. The children’s thorough understanding of multiculturalism and bilingualism supports their practice of the Korean language and culture not only in their daily lives, but also in their ethnic group in school. However, the parents’ understanding of multiculturalism seems to stem from instrumental motivation concerning their children’s future. When it comes to the details of their children’s education, they still show ambivalent responses.

7.2.3.1 Watching Korean Dramas is Meaningful, but English is Still Important

Korean dramas and entertainment programs are preferred by the An family for the children’s Korean language and cultural experience. Not only is watching Korean TV
programs useful for the children’s HL acquisition and maintenance, but it also contributes
to the parents’ relief from nostalgia for life back in Korea. Even though their nostalgic
feelings are less intense than those of the previous immigrants who came to Canada 30
years ago (e.g., Kijŏng’s and Sharon’s parents), Minji’s parents sometimes consider a
return migration to Korea for cultural, social, and economic reasons. Regardless of their
positive attitude towards Canada’s multiculturalism, the parents’ cultural adaptation is
still slower than that of their children. Unlike earlier immigrants who wanted to start their
life anew in a new land, Sangmin’s parents want to lead dual lives in dual countries
because their major financial support still comes from Korea. Therefore, watching
Korean TV programs still helps parents like Mrs. An soothe their nostalgia for living in
Korea.

The following conversation took place while Minji and Mrs. An were watching a
Korean TV program titled T’ae Jang Kŭm. They were watching an episode where the
protagonist, Jang Kŭm, was constantly being tricked by her rivals.

Excerpt 1: “The Lack of Korean Vocabulary”

(1) Minji: 아휴 답답해? 왜 저렇게 당하고만 있냐? 답답해 죽겠네. (Wow, this is
frustrating. Why is she just letting herself be bothered? This is so
frustrating it’s killing me.)
(2) Mrs. An: 그러게 말이다. (Yeah, I know.)
(3) Minji:: 아니 저런 착한 게 아니잖아. (That’s beyond the point of benevolence
now.)
(4) Mrs. An: 그러니까 드라마지. (That’s why it’s called a drama.)
(5) Minji: 아까 그 그 워죠? 그 할머니? (Who was that woman from before; that
grandmother?)
(7) Minji: 아니 할머니 있었잖아요? 무슨 마마였나? (No, remember the woman
from before? What was her title, it was such and such mama?)
(8) Mrs. An: 대비마마 말이나? (You mean the Taepi Mama?)
(9) Minji: 맞아, 대비마마… 근데 대비마마면 관계가 어떻게 되요? (Yes, the Taepi
Mama… by the way if she’s the Taepi Mama, how does she relate to the
relationship?)
(10) Mrs. An: 임금의 어머니시지. (She is the king’s mother.)
(11) Minji: 염마, 난 요새 이제 점점 사극 보기가 힘들어져. 단어를 자꾸 까먹어서...
(Mom, lately, history dramas have been confusing to me. I always forget the vocabulary.)
(12) Mrs. An: 그러니까 나랑 자주 사극 보자. (So let’s watch history dramas with me more often.)

In lines 5 to 8, Minji and her mother interact to figure out the character’s title that Minji forgets. Minji asks her mother about the title of an old grandmother (line 5). Then her mother is not sure the character Minji meant (line 6). Minji tries to recollect her memory about the character by giving her mother a hint “such and such mama” (line 7). Mrs. An finally informs Minji of the correct title for the woman, “Taepi Mama” (line 8). Minji confesses her degraded abilities of remembering Korean vocabulary (line 11). In line 12, the mother suggests to watch Korean history dramas more often.

However, even though the mother advocates watching Korean TV programs as a way of HL acquisition and maintenance, when it comes to children’s academic integrity, she highlights the importance of English for Minji’s successful university entrance. The mother tries to reiterate the importance of time management, but Minji’s response seems inattentive to her mother’s ambivalent advice.
Table 7.3: The Ans’ Social Practice 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I think <strong>watching Korean TV programs with the children is a good way to learn contemporary expressions and trends.</strong> (Mrs. An)</td>
<td>We watched Korean dramas and news together. <strong>It helped us to share contemporary Korean culture and it led us to find common ground to start our communication.</strong> (Mrs. An)</td>
<td>Minji: You watch Korean videos too much. Mother: Yes, it is my only hobby I can enjoy here in Canada… Mother: You also spend most of your time watching Korean drama without studying. Does watching videos help you relieve stress? Minji: If I watch Korean dramas while studying, all the stress seems to go away. Also it helps me to update contemporary colloquial expressions. Mother: If so, let’s continue to rent videos. I have heard that ‘T’ae Jang Kŭm’ is very interesting. By the way, you need to manage your time well. <strong>I know that watching Korean dramas helps you learn Korean but you shouldn’t forget to improve your English to get into a good university.</strong> Minji: You always talk like that…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Watching the most up-to-date Korean TV programs in Canada makes the boundary of our physical presence blurred.</strong> I think it certainly helps to soothe my wife’s homesickness. (Mr. An)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I like to watch historical dramas because I can learn a lot about Korean history. The more I learn about Korean history, the more I become proud of my Korean heritage. (Minji)</td>
<td>I often watch Korean dramas and entertainment programs with my parents. (Minji)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Watching Korean TV programs is a main source of access to Korean pop culture.</strong> (Sangmin)</td>
<td>When I was in high school, I followed popular Korean trends. Once a popular drama episode or popular TV show was released, <strong>I copied and disseminated the styles to Koreans in our school.</strong> We similarly wore baggy clothing and a necklace like Korean celebrities. (Sangmin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.3.2 Marriage is Their Own Decision

Unlike the conservative views on marriage still existing in Korea, Sangmin’s parents’ openness and liberal attitudes toward intercultural marriage is evident. They believe that their children should decide on their own marriage partners. In traditional Korean society, the parents made decisions concerning their children’s marriage. This contrasts with the earlier immigrants (e.g., Kijŏng’s parents and Ashley’s parents) and recent immigrants (Kŭnil’s parents in the next section). The earlier generations of Korean immigrants centered on Korean in-laws because traditional perceptions about marriage
still predominated. However, recent Korean immigrants in this study seem more liberal about their children’s marriage than ever before, particularly the men. A couple of issues seem to be related to this changed attitude to intercultural/international marriage among Koreans in Korea.

Firstly, Korean perceptions about intercultural or international marriage used to be negative. Korean women marrying US soldiers stationed in Korea were the majority of cases of international marriage in Korea. The remaining mixed-raced children were treated as outcasts and suffered prejudice in Korean society, along with their mothers. The sad narratives from some Korean celebrities are sometimes broadcasted.

However, negative impressions about intercultural marriage have weakened as Korean society has changed to a more global society. Many Koreans go abroad for travel or study, and conversely many foreigners visit Korea to teach English or to work in Korea. As the number of exchanges with foreigners grew, perceptions of foreigners changed.

Most of all, the influx of foreign laborers from Southeast Asia into Korea has been one of the major factors that has increased the numbers of international marriages in Korea. Since the Korean economy has improved dramatically, native Koreans have become increasingly unwilling to take ‘3-D’ jobs (difficult, dirty, and dangerous jobs). Employers facing the resulting manpower crisis began to look for legal or illegal foreign workers from Bangladesh, Uzbekistan, Russia, Sri Lanka, India, the Philippines, and China. Some of these foreign workers married Korean women.

As Korean women want to avoid what is perceived to be the hard life of farming in the countryside, Korean farmers unable to find brides in Korea have begun to use
marriage agencies to find foreign brides from China, Vietnam, Mongolia, and other
countries. Since the late 1990s, marriage agencies have increased dramatically. Due to
the arranged marriages of foreign wives and the increased numbers of foreign residents,
Korean is becoming a more multi-ethnic society.

As Mr. An mentions below, *paegūi minjok* (the ‘white clothing’ ethnos, used to
refer to ‘pure’ Korean ethnicity in premodern Korea, when Koreans dressed primarily in
all white clothing) is now a thing of the past. Not only has the changed Korean society
affected Mr. An’s perceptions about intercultural marriage, but his residence in a
multicultural society has also contributed to his openness to intercultural marriage.
However, interestingly, Mrs. An’s comments on the ethnicities of her future in-laws
display conservativeness and traditional male-centered ideology in contrast to her
husband’s openness. She still prefers a Korean for her daughter-in-law because her
expectations towards a future daughter-in-law seem to be more demanding; she may also
hope for a closer relationship with a daughter-in-law than a son-in-law.
**Table 7.4: The Ans’ Social Practice 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Marriage should be decided on their own. These are not the days when parents decide | One day, Minji asked what we think about intercultural marriage. We had never thought of it before, but my wife and I came to the conclusion that **intercultural marriage is acceptable to us.** Even in Korea, where *paegūi minjok* (pure ethnicity) used to be advocated, intercultural marriage takes place now. (Mr. An) | **Mother:** Our generation got married at about age 24 or 25, but the marriage age seems to be getting older. Nowadays, 30 or 31 is OK or you don’t even have to marry if you cannot find a good man.  
**Minji:** You have said before that I had to marry for sure because I would be lonely if I live by myself.  
**Mother:** No, it is different now. It is more important to meet a good man than to get married.  
**Minji:** What is your definition of a good man?  
**Mother:** He must have a stable job and a good personality.  
**Minji:** It would be hard to see anything when someone falls in love.  
**Mother:** How can hungry people fall in love? Marriage cannot be sustained solely with love. Marriage is real.  
**Minji:** Love can empower to solve any problems if the couple truly loves each other.  
**Mother:** You cannot say that when you are really hungry. You need to live more and then you will understand.  
**Minji:** Should my husband be Korean?  
**Mother:** It doesn’t matter as long as he is financially stable and is a caring person.  
**Minji:** What about communication?  
**Mother:** Why don’t we communicate in English? **He is going to live with you, not with me. I want a Korean daughter-in-law but I don’t mind about the son-in-law.** |
| their children’s marriage. As long as they love each other, and they respect their family members, it doesn’t matter what ethnicities they are. Living in a multicultural society, my children will have more chances to meet ethnically and culturally diverse people. Even in Korea, there are a lot of international marriage couples. **Korean is not a paegūi minjok anymore.** (Mr. An) |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| It would be better if my children meet Koreans but I don’t think I have to expect only Koreans for my in-laws. **For a daughter-in-law, I prefer a Korean but for a son-in-law, it would be good to have one who has a different ethnic background.** (Mrs. An) |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| To me, a Korean would be the most preferred because I believe marriage can be successfully maintained when successful communication is made. (Sangmin) | I used to have a few Korean girlfriends. I haven’t thought of meeting one who has a different cultural background. (Minji)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| There are pros and cons to intercultural marriage. Racial differences do not matter anymore but **I think the most important quality is his personality.** Personality is a complex entity in which his education, family relationship, and characteristic traits are interrelated. (Minji) | When I first came to Canada, white Canadian boys gained my attention due to their handsome appearance. Their chiselled features, blue eyes, white skin color, and tall height were so attractive. However, **I was not comfortable to make a Canadian boyfriend.** I don’t know why. (Minji) |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
The following sections deal with the participants’ reflections on the use of technology for HL acquisition and maintenance.

7.2.4 Views of Technology Use

The participants expressed very positive attitudes about technology use for HL maintenance. The Internet is an indispensable tool for the father in managing his business in Korea from Canada. Even while living in Canada with his family, he maintains his business in Korea, and the flexible and convenient financial transactions through Internet banking enable him to conduct his business from a distance. Thus, he attributes his immigration to Internet banking.

The children’s views on technology use for HL practice and learning are very positive. Even though they indicated some problems with time management due to excessive use of the computer/Internet, they cannot resist the usefulness of technology use for language and culture practice and learning. The participants view technology use for HL maintenance as a positive behavior because they can access information about Korea, practice Korean language and culture, and communicate effectively.

Table 7.5: The Ans’ Reflections on Technology Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accessing information about Korea</td>
<td>The Internet is very useful because it allows me to access Korea any time. (Mr. An)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nothing can be more powerful than the Internet. It allows us to do anything and go anywhere. (Sangmin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practicing Korean language and culture</td>
<td>The Internet is so amazing in many ways. It allows me to practice my Korean and it makes me not forget who I am. (Minji)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicating differently</td>
<td>Communication through the Internet is so quick and fun. The communication is very different from our face-to-face conversation. (Sangmin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Using MSN is faster and more convenient than using the telephone. Communication on MSN is unique and more revolutionary. The communication is sometimes fake but not harmful at all. (Minji)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.2.5 **Online Practice**

Minji and Sangmin’s online practices for HL acquisition and maintenance will be discussed in the following sections.

7.2.5.1 **Interest in Korean Celebrities**

Minji and Minji’s friend, Suji, communicate via Instant Messenger with each other. They talk about Korean celebrities. For example, Minji’s friend bought a Korean MP3 and the product is advertised by one of Korea’s pop groups, Dong Bang Sin Ki (Chat Log 1). According to Minji’s explanation, 1.5-generation Korean-Canadians prefer to choose Korean brands advertised by their Korean idols. She states:

> The MP3, Yepp made by Samsung, is very popular among us not only because of its high quality and nice design, but also because of the influence of the commercial model who advertises the product. We wish to have it. (interview with Minji)

Similarly, the two girls share a story about a Korean kick-boxer, Choi Hong-man, who is very popular among teenagers (Chat Log 2). When Minji informs Suji of the kick-boxer’s girlfriend, Suji expresses her disappointment through an emoticon “ㅜㅜ” for crying (line 17).

As revealed in Minji’s and Suji’s conversations below in Excerpt 2, Korean entertainment is enjoyed not only by Koreans inside Korea but also by Koreans residing outside of Korea. These examples illustrate how 1.5-generation Korean-Canadians access contemporary Korean culture and share information through online conversation.
Excerpt 2: “About Korean Celebrities”

Chat Log 1: Minji and Her Friend

(1) Suji: *i finally got an mp3 player*
(2) Minji: 오 (oh)
(3) Minji: nice
(4) Minji: 어떤거? (Which one?)
(5) Suji: yepp
(6) Minji: 오....
(7) Suji: Ya...
(8) Minji: 남방신기가 선전한다는 그 유명한? (The famous one Nam Bang Sin Ki advertises?)
(9) Suji: hahahahaha
(10) Suji: Dong bang sin gi
(11) Minji: ㅋㅋㅋ

Chat Log 2: Minji and Her Friend

(1) Minji: 너 그거 알아? (Do you know something?)
(2) Suji: what
(3) Minji: 재일교포 가수중에 소닌이라고... (Sonin, the Korean-Japanese singer…)
(4) Suji: nope
(5) Suji: i've never heard anything like that before
(6) Suji: -.- is she from russia??
(7) Minji: 아니 (No)
(8) Minji: japan????
(9) Minji: 응 일본 (Yes, Japan)
(10) Suji: hmm..
(11) Minji: 일본에서 활동하는 가수인데 (The singer who works in Japan.)
(12) Suji: yeah
(13) Suji: what's the matter with her
(14) Minji: 내가 이번에 K-1 시합에서 최홍만이인가? 내가 시합에서 이기는거 보고 눈물을 주룩주룩주룩 (She broke into tears when she saw Choi Hong-man win the title game at K-1.)
(15) Suji: really?? Does choi hong man like her too?
(16) Minji: 아마 ... (Maybe)
(17) Suji: ㅠㅠ

7.2.5.2 Quick and Short Online Communication

The uniqueness of online communication is in the new linguistic forms that are created. The fast stream of online communication fosters unique language use and non-standard uses of language. These creative language forms are different from the standard,
prescribed forms\textsuperscript{56}. Common characteristics\textsuperscript{57} of Korean online language use have already been described by a number of researchers (e.g., Y. Kim & Ra, 2003; Noh, 2000; K. Song, 2002 as cited in J-S.Lee, 2006, p. 96):

- **word contractions:** ‘much’ 쓰 [hwel] = 쓼 [hwel –ssin]; ‘because’ 때문에 [taymay] = 대해 [ttay-mwun-ey]; ‘too’ 네 [nem] = 너무 [ne-mwu],
- **phonological contractions:** ‘thinking of doing something’ 할까 [halkka] = 하까 [hakka]; ‘changing something’ 바꿀까 [pakkwulkka] = 바꾸까 [pakkwukka]
- **phonological accretions:** ‘could you give me’ 주시겠어요? [cwusikeyssehyo] = 주시겠어요? [cwusikeysseyo]
- **phonetic spellings:** ‘sending’ 보낼까요 [Ponaymnita] = 보내고 [Ponaypnita]
- **new lexical additions:** 헐 [Hel]
- **emoticons:** 흠
- **morphological creativity:** 웃 [kh-kh-kh] (chuckle); ‘what’s up?’ 왜죠? [wassep?]
- **no word spacing:** 엽애еньк두고 전화를왜하니? [eymeyssyeynnayptwuko cenhwalulwayhani] = 엽애еньк두고 전화를왜하니? [eymeyssyeyn nayptwuko cenhwalul way hani]

The usage of shortened forms makes online conversation shorter and quicker.

Promptness is one of the qualities that make online communication unique despite the absence of face-to-face contact. For a fast stream of conversation, interlocutors prefer to use short, convenient, easy, but effective forms. They can easily find out who is available at any particular moment through Instant Messenger; therefore, they prefer online communication rather than telephone calls due to its promptness and convenience as shown in Excerpt 3. As Minji states, “Typing is faster than talking. We don’t want to use the telephone. We are always online, so we know who is available.” To make her text communication faster than telephone communication, she frequently uses many shortened forms. Sangmin expresses the coolness of using abbreviations and other shortened forms in fast and short conversation: “It is so cool to have our own language.”

\textsuperscript{56} Here, descriptive and prescriptive forms refer to non-standard and standard language respectively. (Androutsopoulos, 2000).
\textsuperscript{57} I have used my own data to illustrate the various categories.
However, the shortened forms sometimes make conversation unclear due to excessive
omissions or typos, but young people do not care about accuracy or clearness as long as
they are in context.

Excerpt 3: “MSN is Preferred to the Phone”

Chat Log: Minji and Her Friend

(1)  Friend: 전화 좀 주시겠어 효? (Could you give me a call?)
(2)  Friend: 나 지금 나가혀 (I am going out)
(3)  Minji: 어딜 또 (Again? Where?)
(4)  Friend: kingston?
(5)  Minji: 엠에涉足두고 전화를 왜하니? (Why don’t we use MSN instead of the phone?)

Excerpt 4: “New Linguistic Forms”

Chat Log 1: Sangmin and His Classmate

(1)   Sangmin: 와썹? (What’s up?)
(2)   Friend: 내 토픽 머냐? (What is your paper topic?)
(3)   Sangmin: 아직 생각중 (still thinking about it)
(4)   Friend: racial and ethnicity?
(5)   Sangmin: => => ((chuckle))
(6)   Friend: 왜? (Why?)
(7)   Sangmin: 내가 하까 생각중… (I am thinking of doing that ….)
(8)   Friend: hassle? (expression of confusion or surprise in English.)
(9)   Sangmin: 토픽을 바꾸까? (Should I changing my topic?)
(10)  Friend: did u make up ur hypothesis?
(11)  Sangmin: nop
(12)  Friend: 며짜여찌? (How many words?)
(13)  Sangmin: 1200 자 지난번보다 훨씬 나지 (1200 words; this is much better than last time.)

Chat Log 2: Sangmin and His Junior in School.

(1)   Sangmin: 이 소시오 에세이때매 쏙째 느지마.. (I came in a little late due to the Sociology
        homework.)
(2)   Junior: 서비스 팩 만들어 놓셔요 (I am ready for the service pack.)
(3)   Junior: 자 보냅니다. (I’m sending.)
(4)   Sangmin: 아직? (Still?)
(5)   Junior: 널 느리서… 이런다니깐요~ 헐 (Because my computer is so slow… it’s always
        like this ~)

7.2.5.3 Multi-tasking

Another interesting feature of online communication is the freedom and flexibility
it affords to do multiple tasks simultaneously. Multi-tasking is a distinctive characteristic
of the younger generation compared to previous generations. They like to listen to music or Instant Messager while doing their homework. A portable music device such as MP3 or IPOD is often placed in their pockets, and earphones are often hanging around their necks. Communication online does not require a single-task mindset which demands that interlocutors pay attention to each other with eye contact or body language. Communication online gives children more flexibility and allows multiple tasks to be run simultaneously. As shown in Excerpt 5, Minji is wondering why her friend’s replies have slowed down; it turns out that her friend was downloading something while talking to Minji.

**Excerpt 5: “Downloading Music While Chatting”**

**Chat Log: Minji and her friend**

(1) Minji: 나 지금 쌓아먹 돌아다니다가 갔어 (I have just come back from Cyworld.)
(2) Friend: *haha*... *cyworld is boring*
(3) Minji: *혀*( huh)
(4) Friend: it was 재미있었어 (It used be fun.)
(5) Minji: 아이야 재밌다구 (No, it’s fun.)
(6) Minji: 그래.. 마저... 좀 재미없어졌어 (Yeah… you’re right… it got a little boring for me.)
(7) Minji: 왜 그러지? (Why?)
(8) Minji: *모하شراء*? (What are you doing?)
(9) Friend: 쫓리 다운 받느라... (Sorry, I was downloading ...)
(10) Friend: *i don’t go to people’s cyworld*
(11) Friend: *everything is turning to 1 chon*58 gong ge (allowed to only close people) *these days*
(12) Minji: 마저 (I agree.)

**7.2.5.4 Multiple Identities**

Creation of a new identity is another reason children prefer online communication. Fun and instant gratification are two top priorities for teenagers, and the current technology contributes to identity construction. Living within global networks adds

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58 Ch’on means degree of kinship in Korea. Ch’on ‘inch’ indicates the relational distance between an ego and the person referred to. The relation between an ego and a parent is il-ch’ on ‘one inch’. (H-M. Sohn, 1999, p. 114) Thus, il-ch’on means the closest degree of kinship. Cyworld uses this kinship metaphor to indicate different degree of data sharing depending on kinship level.
another layer of identity construction that allows one to form multiple selves beyond one’s geographical and physical borders in a dynamic society. In particular, online communication allows the construction of a fluid identity (Nakamura, 2002; Castells, 1997; Turkle, 1995) and a non-static identity capable of taking on multiple roles.

Minji’s conversation with her school friend (Excerpt 6) illustrates how she can create another identity through online conversation. Minji informed her school friend that she initiated a conversation with a male friend who attends the same art institute (Line 1). Minji likes him but she has never been brave enough to start a conversation with him face-to-face due to her shyness; however, she seemed more comfortable being honest or brave during online communication. Minji reflected as follows on her experiences of being different or multiple beings when she is online:

I am sometimes surprised about my different behaviors online. I am more likely to be chatty, humorous, and even sarcastic. I am normally a listener instead of a speaker but I am different online. I really like my other self online because I tend to be braver online because no one cares. I try to make my conversation funnier.
(email from Minji)

**Excerpt 6: “Talking to a Male Friend”**

**Chat Log: Minji and Her Friend**

1. Minji: 나 섭한테 말 걸었다면 믿겠어? (Can you believe that I talked to Sep⁵⁹?)
2. Friend: 정말이세요? (Is that true?)
3. Minji: 못믿네 (You don’t believe it, do you?)
4. Friend: 어디서 그런 용기가? (Where did you get the courage?)
5. Minji: 얼굴 보곤 말 못해 (I can’t say it to his face)
6. Friend: 엠에센에선 가능할까? (Is it possible to do it through MSN?)
7. Minji: 그래 (Of course)

**7.3 The Ko Family (Kŭnil and Kŭnsŏk)**

Kŭnil and Kŭnsŏk’s family is a satellite family. Mr. Ko has been visiting his family once every one and a half months since their family immigrated to Vancouver in

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⁵⁹ ‘Sep’ is Minji’s male friend in her art institute.
2000, when Künsŏk was in Gr. 2 and Kŭnil was in Gr. 7. Mr. Ko is still in Korea to run his business, financially supporting his family. Mr. Ko and Mrs. Ko chose Vancouver to provide their two sons with a better educational environment. They were concerned about their two sons’ futures. They thought their children would not cope with the soaring interest in English language abilities and the limited employment opportunities in Korea. Mrs. Ko focuses more on her two sons’ academic pursuits than Mr. Ko, who instead puts a greater emphasis on a well-rounded life instead. Conversely, Mr. Ko wants his children to do whatever they want in the future. He is very open to different ethnicities. He does not care who his children marry. His view on connections between generations is that parents should not have too many expectations of their children. This does not mean that he does not love his children, but he is not a stereotypical, patriarchal Korean father. In turn, he does not ask his children to perform filial duties towards their parents. However, Mrs. Ko has a more traditional view of her children’s marriage partners. She prefers Korean in-laws because she thinks this will lead to successful communication between the parties.

Künsŏk, who came to Canada in Gr. 2, has lost his Korean to some extent. Thus, he has been attending a weekend Korean program at the church his family attends. He likes the church Korean program but sometimes complains about the late class time as it meets late Friday evenings. Künsŏk’s friends are from various countries, whereas Kŭnil’s friends are mostly Korean. Künsŏk and Kŭnil communicate mostly in English but they talk to their parents in Korean. Mrs. Ko has attended an ESL program not only to learn English, but also to socialize with other people who are in the same situation as she is. Mr. and Mrs. Ko very often use Instant Messenger to communicate with each other. They
sometimes use the telephone, but mostly communicate through Instant Messenger. They have webcams installed on top of their computers so that they can chat while viewing each other’s face. Mrs. Ko does not have many problems living in Vancouver even though her husband is not here. Whenever she needs to make decisions, she uses Instant Messenger to discuss the issues with her husband. They exchange e-cards with their favorite songs. The topics of their chat conversations vary from their children’s studies to their detailed daily activities. Their physical remoteness does not seem to affect their closeness as family members. The children’s frequent chats with the father and seeing the father’s face on their computer screen make Kùnil and Kùnsök feel more like their father is upstairs than Korea. They cannot believe that they have lived in Canada without their father’s continual residence for more than five years. Mrs. Ko mentioned that she could not have been living in Canada without her husband unless she had frequent conversation with him through Instant Messenger.

7.3.1 Integrative and Instrumental Attitudes

The Ko family, like the Ans, has a strong sense of pride in Korean language and culture. Their positive attitude stems from the growing Korean immigrant community in the GVRD and the social and economic improvement in Korea. The pride of the recent immigrants seems different from that of earlier immigrants in terms of its nature. Unlike the pride of the previous generation, which came from their idealistic and nostalgic stances (Mr. Yu and Mrs. Pak), the recent immigrants’ pride comes from a more practical sense of the rise of Korea’s social and economic status. The older sense of duty toward HL maintenance as Koreans, regardless of its practical usage, seems to have disappeared and instead, the actual need to learn and motivations for learning Korean language and
culture are accentuated as a source of providing pride. The Kos’ parents believe that HL maintenance helps children return to Korea, makes the Korean community stronger, and nurtures their children into full multicultural citizens. The importance of children’s HL maintenance is shown in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6: The Ko Parents’ General Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Returning to Korea</td>
<td>I think if my children keep their Korean fluent, it will be much easier for them to adjust their lives in Korea when they return to Korea in the future. When they grow up, returning to Korea could be a possibility. I think their level of Korean fluency will greatly impact whether they stay in Canada or return to Korea. (Mr. Ko) I believe Korean is important to my children because when they go back to Korea, they will have no problem interacting with people in Korea. (Mrs. Ko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making the Korean community stronger</td>
<td>The Korean community is growing. I believe that even though the total number of immigrants contributes to making a powerful ethnic group, a more important thing is how immigrants value their own language and culture. A good command of Korean means not only individual ability but also community power. (Mr. Ko) How convenient is it living in this community? Due to the frequent opportunities to use Korean, I acknowledge the power of Korean. (Mrs. Ko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurturing children into full multicultural citizens</td>
<td>I want them to understand that being a multicultural citizen doesn’t mean the loss of his/her own language and culture. By using one’s own language at home and with friends, practicing one’s own culture, one can be a true multicultural citizen. (Mr. Ko)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.1.1 Returning to Korea

Unlike the previous generation, who harbored nostalgia towards their home country but had limited access due to their lack of finances, Mr. and Mrs. Ko regard Korea as an always-accessible country that they can visit whenever they want. Their attitude toward their immigration to Canada does not mean a separation from their home country; furthermore, Canada is not regarded as their final or permanent destination, but an extended space wherein their life can be enriched. For this recently immigrated family,
location is not something regarded as fixed or static, but rather is something fluid and mobile. They can move to wherever they are given more opportunities. Thus, the parents believe that returning to Korea is one option their children can exercise in the future, as stated in detail below:

I hope my children live broadly and internationally. I think if they have a chance to have a job in Korea in the future, it would be great. Even though they immigrated to Canada, they don’t have to live here permanently. They can go wherever they have more chances. (interview with Mr. Ko)

The children’s attitudes towards HL are positive, too, but their perspectives are slightly different from those of their parents. Their HL acquisition and maintenance seems more internalized than the earlier sense of duty or obligation, that ‘Koreans should speak Korean’. They evince no resistance against the parental imposition of HL acquisition and maintenance, unlike Julie and Jack (in Chapter 5). Nor do they encounter any significant cultural gap with their parents, unlike Kijŏng and Kiŭn (in Chapter 4). Even though Kŭnsŏk and Kŭnil might have some cultural gap with their parents (see 7.3.3), their attitudes about Korean culture are in line with those of their parents. Their understanding about Korean culture stems from a preference for this culture, not out of sympathy and understanding for their parents’ situation (e.g., Kijŏng and Kiŭn). For them, the significance of HL acquisition and maintenance is because it is natural for Koreans to speak Korean and this gives them comfort and relief. The children’s detailed explanation is shown in Table 7.7.
Table 7.7: The Ko Children’s General Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koreans speak Korean</td>
<td>It is very natural for Koreans to speak Korean and practice Korean culture. I don’t understand how others can ignore their own language and culture. I don’t think a good command of Korean is dutiful. I think ‘it is a matter of course’. (Kǔnil)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Comfort and relief | Speaking Korean and eating Korean food gives me relief because I don’t have to be nervous about erroneous pronunciation and grammar. Also, eating Korean food is a way of comforting myself. (Kǔnil)  
I think I am comfortable with both cultures, Canadian and Korean, but Korean culture seems to be more formal and specific than that of Canada. Even though Korean culture requires more politeness and complex procedures, ironically, I feel comfortable when Korean culture is practiced by my family members. (Kǔnsŏk) |

7.3.2 Korean Needs to be Practiced

The children practice Korean in their daily lives. Whereas Kǔnil’s proficiency in Korean is very solid, Kǔnsŏk’s Korean has deteriorated to some extent because of his immigration at an early age. Therefore, the mother takes Kǔnsŏk to Korean Heritage School. Kǔnil practices his Korean by involving himself in Korean community events. They also both practice their Korean through online communication, playing games, and reading Korean newspapers. Above all, family dinnertime is the best practice time for Korean. These are the ways the family practices Korean: having family dinnertime, attending Korean Heritage School, participating in Korean community events, and using technology. The participants’ specific reflections on HL acquisition and maintenance are illustrated in Table 7.8 below.
Table 7.8: The Kos’ Specific Reflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Having family dinner time</td>
<td>I always try to have dinner together with my children so that I can hear about their lives. (Mrs. Ko)</td>
<td>I talk a lot during dinner time. I talk about school, teachers, friends, etc. (Kǔnil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I share a lot of stuff with my family at dinner time. My mom always talks about the value of Korean food. (Kǔnsǒk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending Korean Heritage School</td>
<td>I have been taking Kǔnsǒk to the Heritage School because this was the only way he can improve his Korean. As Korean is not taught in the public system, Heritage School is one of the only opportunities for children to learn Korean. (Mrs. Ko)</td>
<td>I have been learning Korean from the school. The teachers are nice but the time, late Friday from 7:00 to 9:00 pm, makes me tired. (Kǔnsǒk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When I heard about Kǔnsǒk’s Korean school attendance, I certainly supported the idea. (Mr. Ko)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in Korean community events</td>
<td>I encouraged Kǔnil to participate in the Hanin events (Korean community-led events) as a volunteer. (Mrs. Ko)</td>
<td>At first, I simply started being involved in the community work just for getting working hours to meet my school work experience. However, I voluntarily became involved in the events every year after the first experience because I learned a lot through the work. I met many people through the events and the work experience gave me a lot of pride as a Korean. I learned more about Korean culture and norms. I want to see more people involved in the community events. (Kǔnil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We have been attending the community events every year because being involved in the community events gives my children a lot of pride. (Mr. Ko)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using technology</td>
<td>We actively use MSN. Of course, my children use Korean when they chat with their father. (Mrs. Ko)</td>
<td>I use technology as a means of practice for Korean extensively. For example, my computer settings are in Korean. I chat in Korean with many Korean friends in Canada, my father, and relatives in Korea. I also play games a lot. Everything is in Korean. Most of all, I regularly read Korean newspapers through the Internet. (Kǔnil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whenever we use MSN, I always put great emphasis on correct forms of Korean. I sometimes correct Kǔnsǒk’s poor honorific forms and orthography. (Mr. Ko)</td>
<td>Even though I mainly use English at school, I mostly use Korean on the computer, but my father points out my poor Korean. (Kǔnsǒk)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3.2.1 Wishing for Korean to be Taught in Public School

Much research conducted in the US reports that most Korean parents would like to see Korean offered as a foreign language in US public schools (e.g., Cho, 2001; J-S. Lee, 2002; Shin, 2005). When discussing Heritage School, Mrs. Ko expressed her wishes for Korean to be taught as a second language in public school so that her children can take Korean as a regular subject. Because Kûnsŏk’s Korean Heritage School is run by the church they attend, the program takes place on Fridays from 7:00 to 9:00 in the evening. Due to the late hour of the class, Kûnsŏk sometimes falls asleep and complains about the inconvenient time. Thus, Mrs. Ko wishes Korean was taught in public school. She states:

Due to the inconvenient class time Friday nights, I am sometimes not able to drive to the school. It is also really hard to convince Kûnsŏk to go to school because he wants to play computer games Friday evenings. Even though Kûnsŏk seems to enjoy the Korean class once he gets there, it seems hard to maintain constant attendance due to the inconvenient time. That’s why I wish Korean could be taught in public schools as soon as possible.

She continues:

According to Kûnil, most Chinese students take their own language as a second language, and they get easy marks compared to other ethnic students. I hope the Korean project can be implemented soon and Kûnil can take advantage of it before graduating from high school. (interviews with Mrs. Ko)

Here, Mrs. Ko shows her support for the Korean IRP project, which has been driven by one sector of the Korean community pushing for Korean to be taught in the public domain. Her support for the public program, though, seems predicated more on her son’s ability to get an easy grade in an easy language class than in any deeper concern for valuing or promoting Korean language and culture. Her support is different from that of Yujin’s father (in Chapter 5), who is concerned about Korean being taken only by Koreans. Her main interest seems to be for her son to get a good mark.
7.3.2.2 Socialization through Community Involvement

Kūnil’s volunteer experience in the Korean community events gave him pride because the events allowed him to realize the value of being Korean. By directly meeting successful Korean-Canadian figures, his pride as a Korean was reinforced. This pride functioned as the initial driving force pushing him to practice Korean language and culture. Through socialization with other volunteers and successful figures, he has become more motivated to maintain his Korean and Korean culture. Through his language socialization with the community members, Kūnil has learned the behaviors that are culturally appropriate in the Korean community. He expresses his community involvement in a positive way:

Politeness to elders was one of the important qualities that volunteers were required to show. I had to use honorific forms and do big bows to elders. The polite behaviors had been forgotten after I immigrated to Canada, but through volunteering, I became more aware of Korean ways of behavior. (interview with Kūnil)

As children are socialized both through language and in using language within a community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984), social interaction beyond the family context becomes important for children’s linguistic and cultural development.

7.3.3 Gap between Korean and Canadian Cultures

Even though Mr. Ko is open-minded towards Canadian culture through his positive understanding of multiculturalism, he still harbors uncomfortable feelings towards his children’s Canadian behaviors. The parents’ and children’s cultural practices are common in some ways but sometimes the parents encounter conflicts which are caused by the different degrees of the children’s cultural practice on a daily basis. For example, even though Kūnsŏk has a strong attachment to the HL, his cultural practice is
more complex than that of his parents because the social space in which cultures meet for him is different than his parents’. The children’s living in between cultures and language sometimes induces culture displacement which leads to conflict with their parents.

7.3.3.1 Shrugging is Not Korean Culture

According to one of the definitions in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary\textsuperscript{60}, culture is “the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations.” This definition lies in the anthropological analysis of culture and behavior. Because of its symbolic composition, culture is attributed not only to individual behaviors but also to the behaviors of entire social groups. According to cultural theories, Hall (1997, p. 2), culture is “a process, a set of practices” which emphasizes social practices.

Mr. Ko’s explanation about Korean behavioral practices and caveats and the need for balance between the two cultural behaviors of Koreans and Canadians highlights the importance of shared cultural understanding between parents and children. As shown in Mrs. Ko’s final utterance, many Korean immigrant parents sometimes have no knowledge about their children’s Canadian behaviors. Their conversation involves incomplete understanding, and eventually the unresolved or unspoken cultural gap may lead to conflict between parents and children. Here, Kūnsŏk’s shrugging of his shoulders is one of the symbolic cultural behaviors that the parents cannot understand. Even though a confusion or gap between parents and children exists in terms of cultural behavior, Table 7.9 delineates the potential for the problem to be resolved and the cultural gap to be closed, thanks to the family members’ frequent and in-depth conversations. Silence

\textsuperscript{60} The definition can be found at http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/culture.
resulting from linguistic and cultural inability to communicate is a prime culprit leading to estrangement among family members.

Table 7.9: The Kos’ Social Practice 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Culture is very important because it is everything.</strong> Thus, I believe Koreans should act as Koreans do. (Mr. Ko)</td>
<td>Even though Kûnsök speaks Korean, <strong>I am sometimes confused whether he is speaking Korean or English</strong> because he gestures like a Canadian. His body language is like what I see on TV. His nickname is “Ooops” He uses this word so often whenever he makes mistakes. (Mr. Ko)</td>
<td>Mr. Ko: You are Korean. Kûnil: Of course. Kûnsök: I am Korean but at the same time I am Canadian, too. Mr. Ko: I understand, but Korean is first. Mrs. Ko: Yes, … we are Korean. Kûnsök: ((Shrugging)) Why can’t we be both equally? Mr. Ko: You can, but mom and dad have limits on how hard we try. <strong>((Imitating his shrugging)) What does this mean?</strong> Kûnsök: A kind of showing of disagreement or suggestion… Mrs. Ko: They always do that. Mr. Ko: Kûnsök and Kûnil! I hope you guys act like Koreans when you speak Korean with us. It is OK if you act like Canadians when you speak with Canadians, but it is awkward to us. Koreans don’t use that kind of gesture in front of elders. Mom and dad are very confused and sometimes we get intimidated because we don’t fully understand the sign. Mrs. Ko: I am getting used to it now but I still don’t know exactly when and how they act like that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a lot of common sense in every culture, but I think there are many differences between Korean and Canadian cultures. <strong>It is important to keep a good balance between these two cultures.</strong> (Mrs. Ko)</td>
<td>It is awkward for Koreans to act like Canadians. Therefore, <strong>it is important to act appropriately at the appropriate time.</strong> (Kûnil) I think Korean culture is very important to me because it is part of my being, but <strong>it is hard to act properly as a full Korean.</strong> (Kûnsök)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My mom always asks me to eat more even though I say I’m full. When my parents’ friends visited our home while my parents were away, they had to wait for a half hour until my parents came back. I asked them if they wanted to drink while they were waiting and they didn’t want anything. When my mother came back, she blamed me for my poor hospitality to the guests. Even though I explained I had already asked, my mom said that Koreans do not request anything as a way of politeness; thus, I should have served them drinks or food. Honestly, <strong>I get sometimes confused on how to deal with Koreans, especially adults, politely.</strong> (Kûnsök)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
7.3.3.2 I like Macdonalds

Food is a salient cultural artifact because it sustains and enriches human’s lives. In Korea, which was an agrarian country until very recently, food has been regarded as one of the first priorities in cultural life because Koreans believe that Korean food reflects ancestors’ wisdom regarding health through unique and scientific preservation techniques. Kimchi, alleged to be one of the world’s top five healthiest foods\textsuperscript{61}, has a spicy taste and is favored by most Koreans. The Korean proverb, ‘small peppers are hot,’ connotes the Koreans’ fortitude and toughness compared to their diminutive appearance. It is often joked that Koreans’ perseverance and strength comes from their spicy diet. Kimchi satisfies Koreans’ craving for spicy food and provides healthy nutrition. Kimchi’s aesthetic and health benefits are well reported by many media outlets (e.g., Coppola, 2007).

According to the conversation in Table 7.10, Mrs. Ko and Kűnil try to persuade Kűnsŏk to eat Korean food instead of Macdonalds fast food. Mrs. Ko convinces Kűnsŏk to understand the excellence ‘wuswuseng’ of Korean food but Kűnsŏk rejects his mother’s recommendation. His preference for Macdonalds or different types of fast food over Korean food underlines his different cultural practice from the rest of his family. It seems that even though the parents revealed a willingness to take a multicultural position, they have not yet reached the point of appreciating other cultures’ food.

\textsuperscript{61} The relevant article can be downloaded from http://www.health.com/health/package/0,23653,1150042,00.html.
### Table 7.10: The Kos’ Social Practice 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Korean food is very healthy.** The fermented Kimchi has healthy bacteria. (Mrs. Ko) | **I always encourage my children to appreciate the value of Korean culture.** In particular, I let them know the excellence of Korean food. I spend a lot of time preparing for dinner because dinner time is the meal with my children. (Mrs. Ko) | Conversation 1  
Mrs. Ko: Delicious?  
Kūnil: Yes.  
Mrs. Ko: How about Kūnso?  
Kūnso: I want to eat Macdonalds.  
Mrs. Ko: Once in a while is OK, but **Macdonalds is not good for your health.**  
Kūnso: The new product… the sandwich seems healthy. I saw it in the commercial. **I like Macdonalds.**  
Mrs. Ko: You ate a hamburger yesterday! Koreans should eat Korean food! Why do you eat hamburgers so often?  
Kūnso: I like hamburgers better than Korean food. We always eat rice, soup, kimchi…  
Mrs. Ko: Korean food is healthy!  
Kūnil: I feel weird if I don’t eat rice and bean paste soup for even a day. |
| It is a matter of course for Korean people to enjoy Korean food. (Kūnil) | **I want to have a Korean meal at least once a day. The unique spiciness of Kimchi cannot be compared to anything. The chopping sound from my mom’s kitchen for dinner always makes me feel happy.** (Kūnil) | **Conversation 2**  
Kūnil: I’d rather marry a Korean woman because of the food.  
Mrs. Ko: You might think of that because food is important.  
Kūnso: I don’t care about food because I can buy or go to Korean restaurants if I want to eat Korean food.  
Mrs. Ko: It is different. How would it be the same between the food your family cooks and the food you buy?  
Kūnso: It’s fine as long as my wife is beautiful. |
| *I know Korean food is really good but there is a wide variety of different foods out there. We are living in a multicultural society. Why should we stick to one type of food every single time? Why don’t we enjoy the variety?* (Kūnso) | **I want to eat Korean food once in a while. Instead, I prefer to have more hamburgers and pizzas.** (Kūnso) | |

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**Conversation 1**

Mrs. Ko: Delicious?  
Kūnil: Yes.  
Mrs. Ko: How about Kūnso?  
Kūnso: I want to eat Macdonalds.  
Mrs. Ko: Once in a while is OK, but **Macdonalds is not good for your health.**  
Kūnso: The new product… the sandwich seems healthy. I saw it in the commercial. **I like Macdonalds.**  
Mrs. Ko: You ate a hamburger yesterday! Koreans should eat Korean food! Why do you eat hamburgers so often?  
Kūnso: I like hamburgers better than Korean food. We always eat rice, soup, kimchi…  
Mrs. Ko: Korean food is healthy!  
Kūnil: I feel weird if I don’t eat rice and bean paste soup for even a day.

**Conversation 2**

Kūnil: I’d rather marry a Korean woman because of the food.  
Mrs. Ko: You might think of that because food is important.  
Kūnso: I don’t care about food because I can buy or go to Korean restaurants if I want to eat Korean food.  
Mrs. Ko: It is different. How would it be the same between the food your family cooks and the food you buy?  
Kūnso: It’s fine as long as my wife is beautiful.
7.3.3.3 Korean Daughter-in-Law

As revealed in previous chapters, marriage is still regarded as a family bond by many Koreans. Unlike this traditional view, Mr. An (see 7.2.3.2) revealed his openness to intercultural marriage for his children. Likewise, Mr. Ko is open to different ethnic backgrounds for in-laws, but Mrs. Ko emphasizes Koreans for her daughter-in-laws for the same reasons as Mrs. An. Communication is the reason the mothers prefer Koreans for their sons’ partners.

Table 7.11: The Kos’ Social Practice 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Reflections</th>
<th>Specific Reflections</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It would be ok if my children meet partners who have different ethnic backgrounds,</td>
<td>I encouraged my children to make Canadian girlfriends. I always say to them that I am</td>
<td>Mr. Ko: I don’t care about different nationalities for my daughters-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as long as the partners can communicate in minimum conversation in a shared language</td>
<td>emphasize women’s important role within home. (Mrs. Ko)</td>
<td>Mrs. Ko: Well… I rather prefer Koreans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with us. (Mr. Ko)</td>
<td>I encourage my children to make Canadian girlfriends. I always say to them that I am</td>
<td>Mr. Ko: It is OK with whomever they like.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think marriage is really important because it is a family bond. Therefore, I hope</td>
<td>I emphasize women’s important role within home. (Mrs. Ko)</td>
<td>Mrs. Ko: How can I live with a daughter-in-law I cannot communicate with!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my two sons meet Korean women. (Mrs. Ko)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Ko: Why do you live with them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considering our family situation, it would be good if I meet a Korean woman as my</td>
<td>Even if I don’t have a girlfriend right now, I sometimes feel more intimacy to Korean</td>
<td>Mrs. Ko: Even if I don’t live with them, shouldn’t I communicate with them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage partner because it is easy to understand each other with the same language</td>
<td>girls instead of Caucasian girls. (Kũnil)</td>
<td>Kũnil: Communication is important among family members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and culture. (Kũnil)</td>
<td>I tried to make friends with white girls because they look beautiful and cool. (Kũnsök)</td>
<td>Kũnsök: I don’t care, but women should be beautiful like my mom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wouldn’t care about my partner’s ethnicity. (Kũnsök)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Ko family’s technology use for HL acquisition and maintenance follows in the next section.
7.3.4 Views of Technology Use

For the Ko family, as described earlier, the computer functions as a main communication channel which connects the father, who mostly resides in Korea, and the rest of the family members, who are in Canada. Their views on HL acquisition and maintenance are mostly positive. Kűnil and Kűnsŏk regard their online communication as an efficient way of practicing Korean and Korean culture. Through their various Internet activities such as reading Korean newspapers, watching Korean TV programs, playing games, and communicating with their friends and father, they acquire knowledge about Korea and practice their Korean extensively. The family’s views on technology use are summarized as follows: The technology helps practice Korean language and culture and connect family members.

Table 7.12: The Kos’ Views of Technology Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Parents’ Comments</th>
<th>Children’s Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Practicing Korean language and culture</td>
<td><strong>It is certain that my children can practice Korean a lot through online communication.</strong> (Mr. Ko)</td>
<td><strong>Online communication makes me practice my Korean always.</strong> As a result, I don’t think my Korean has become weaker since I came to Canada. (Kűnil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(Kűnil)</em></td>
<td><em>Gaming is very useful, and it allows me to practice Korean a lot.</em> (Kűnsŏk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecting family members</td>
<td><strong>Online communication is the perfect tool to keep our family connected, in spite of our physical separation.</strong> (Mr. Ko)</td>
<td><strong>The Internet is very important to our family because my father is always on the computer monitor.</strong> (Kűnil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The Internet breaks the physical distance</strong> between my husband in Korea and us here in Canada.** (Mrs. Ko)</td>
<td><strong>The computer is an essential tool to us because I can talk to my father whenever I want.</strong> (Kűnsŏk)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, Mr. Ko has a skeptical point of view about language learning through online communication. Due to the non-standard language use that prevails in online
communication, he is worried about his children’s language practice through the Internet (see 6.2.4.1 where the decline of language is discussed in detail).

7.3.4.1 Non-Standard Language

Mr. Ko’s criticism about language learning from online communication stems from his children’s frequent use of non-standard language forms. It is the children’s mimicking of spoken language which gives the father this negative impression about online language practice:

Even though I don’t deny the positive impact of online communication in terms of language practice, the negative side effects are more serious. Their language forms are so fragmented, ungrammatical, inappropriate, and incomprehensible. Even though they type words, the language mimics what is spoken. That’s why it took a while for me to figure out what they meant and I found that they mimicked the verbal sound of words. (interview with Mr. Ko)

This interview revealed that his judgment of language fluency was in terms of accuracy of written linguistic forms. Due to the text-based nature of CMC, the father sees the children’s lack of accuracy in Korean written forms in all its gory details—much of the time, this is all he sees of their Korean when he is separated from them. For instance, Mr. Ko pointed out the children’s poor honorific usage, orthography, and new lexical forms that the parents were not familiar with as evidence of the negative aspects of computer usage as a way of language learning.

7.3.4.2 Language is a System of Choices

Unlike Mr. Ko’s concerns about his children’s non-standard linguistic forms, the children reveal their own language learning from their exercise of online communication. Their CMC in Korean does not follow the prescriptive norms of written Korean. This is typical of all CMC in youth cultures. Their language learning practice mainly focuses on making meaning. Language is not simply a set of rules for them, but a resource; thus, it is
a dynamic, complex system for making meaning. Kūnil expressed his views on language learning through online communication as follows:

Language learning through MSN is amazing. I don’t think learning language means only how to spell correctly. The most important thing is how to communicate with others properly. Our online language is another language we communicate through. We choose and create a new language for effective communication. I don’t think it is a bad way. (interview with Kūnil)

His point is in line with a functional approach to language. The functional perspective emphasizes how people use authentic language in various contexts in real life to achieve communication. To achieve a range of social purposes, a wide range of text types are employed. In addition, to interact with others, people use language effectively. Therefore, language changes from situation to situation, depending on the social purpose for which it is being used, the subject matter, who is involved, and whether the language is spoken or written (Derewianka, 2000, p. 1). As a way of achieving their social purposes, as discussed earlier (in 7.2.5.2) in Sangmin and Minji’s online practice, children create unique language forms. Therefore, their views on language learning through interactive online communication are positive.

7.3.5 Online Practice

The family’s online practice for HL acquisition and maintenance varies from exploring Korean websites to learning Korean language and culture.

7.3.5.1 Daily Conversation

When they are apart, Mr. and Mrs. Ko communicate almost everyday through Instant Messenger. They deal with everything that happens within their environment. They talk about their children, relatives, the father’s business, the mother’s English progress, their progress in playing golf in Canada and in Korea. As shown in Excerpt 7,
Mr. and Mrs. Ko talk about the recent tragic case in North Vancouver in which a Korean father assaulted his son as punishment for the son’s skipping school and being rude to his mother. Mrs. Ko also informs her husband of how Kŭnsŏk’s tooth was pulled out. The detailed daily conversation keeps the couple updated about their surroundings. They see each other through the webcam but they still use Text Messenger. It is their routine to check their Messenger before they go to bed and whenever they have time. Due to the different time zones, if they cannot communicate directly, they leave an instant message so that their counterpart can check the message anytime.

Excerpt 7: “Daily Conversation”

Chat Log 1: Mr. and Mrs. Ko

(1) Mr. Ko: 참, 거기 뉴스 봤어? (Did you see the news?)
(2) Mrs. Ko: 몰라 (What do you mean?)
(3) Mr. Ko: 아들 화초리사건 (The case of the father caning his son)
(4) Mr. Ko: 몰라? (You don’t know about it?)
(5) Mrs. Ko: 응 (No, I don’t.)
(6) Mr. Ko: 유학생 아빠가 고등학생 아들을 화초리기를 한 300대를 때린걸 (An international student’s father caned his high school son with about 300 blows.)
(7) Mr. Ko: 아이가 학교 상담선생한테 말해서 (The son told his counselor and)
(8) Mr. Ko: 아빠가 재판받았어 (the father was taken to court.)
(9) Mrs. Ko: 한국사람? (Is he Korean?)
(10) Mr. Ko: 응 (Yes)
(11) Mr. Ko: 인터넷에 나와 (The news is on the Internet)
(12) Mrs. Ko: 많이도 때렸네 (That’s a lot of blows.)
(13) Mrs. Ko: 얼마나 비웠으면 (How awful…)
(14) Mr. Ko: 그러니까 말야 (Yeah…)
(15) Mrs. Ko: 이해가가 (I think I can understand him.)
(16) Mr. Ko: 한국선 잘한 매였다는데 (He used to be a good student in Korea.)
(17) Mr. Ko: 얘기 적음을 못해서 엎으로 쫓아봤 (I guess he failed to adapt himself to Canadian life and went astray.)

Chat Log 2: Mr. and Mrs. Ko

(1) Mrs. Ko: 근석이는 어제 이빨을 하나 지가 쫓 뽑더니 (Kŭnsŏk had one of his teeth pulled out yesterday)
(2) Mr. Ko: 응 (Really?)
(3) Mrs. Ko: 오늘 또하나 훌들어서 뽑는거야 (Today he wiggled and pulled out another one)
(4) Mrs. Ko: 지난번에 10 볼렸거든 (I gave him $10 last time)

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(5)  Mr. Ko: 깔도 없나? (Wasn’t he scared?)
(6)  Mrs. Ko: 내가 뽑아준다니까 만지지도 못하게하더라 (He didn’t allow me to touch it at all even though I offered to pull it out for him)
(7)  Mrs. Ko: 결국은 쓰다 뽑았어 (He just reached in and pulled it out.)
(8)  Mr. Ko: 10불주니까? (Because of the $10?)
(9)  Mrs. Ko: 물라 (I don’t know)
(10) Mr. Ko: 그래 또 했어? (So did you give him money again?)
(11) Mrs. Ko: 또 뽑으려니가 있어 (There is another loose one)
(12) Mrs. Ko: 내돈 다 나가게 생겼어 (Uh-oh, there goes all my money)
(13) Mr. Ko: 그냥 뽑아줘야해 (You should pull it out for him)
(14) Mr. Ko: 맞니가되 (Otherwise, the next one will grow in crooked)
(15) Mrs. Ko: 지아 뽑는다고 만지지도 못하게해 (He doesn’t allow me to even touch it)
(16) Mr. Ko: 돈을 더 준다고 해 (Tell him that you’ll give him more money)
(17) Mrs. Ko: 돈은 내가 주는게 아니지 (I’m not the one who gives him money)
(18) Mr. Ko: 그럼? (Then who?)
(19) Mrs. Ko: 이빨요정이 주는거니까 (The tooth fairy gives the money)
(20) Mr. Ko: 그렇게 말어? (Does he believe it?)
(21) Mrs. Ko: 읱 (Yes)
(22) Mrs. Ko: 별써 베퍼들여서 갖다썼더라구요 (He already put it under the pillow)
(23) Mr. Ko: 그분으로 캅싸디 산다그חלק까지야. (He’ll probably say he’s going to buy a game CD with the money)
(24) Mrs. Ko: 그러겠지 (I thought he would)

7.3.5.2 Father Is Displayed on The Monitor But It Seems like He Is Upstairs

The frequent online conversation allows a certain level of intimacy and attachment among family members even though they are physically separate. Through the webcam, they see each other and continue daily conversation in a very natural way. The father wants to deliver his “good night” online to the family members and he adds his compliments to his wife. The father gets a good comment about his new hairstyle from Kǔnil. Kǔnsŏk asks if the father sleeps by the monitor and Mr. Ko replies that he sleeps in the living room where the computer is located (lines 16-17). Kǔnsŏk revealed his confusion about his father’s presence:

It seems like my father is upstairs. He is always there on the monitor whenever I need him. When I sleep, I feel my father is upstairs or in the living room. One day, even when my father was home here in Canada and sleeping upstairs, I opened the MSN to talk to my father and realized that he was with me. On the other hand, I sometimes call my father loudly so that he can hear from upstairs even though he is in Korea because I always feel he is here with us. (interview with Kǔnsŏk)
Kūnsōk’s experience illustrates how frequent online interaction and conversation can overcome the limitations resulting from physical separation and how, sometimes, it can even be better than real physical interaction.

The family has more interactive conversation online than when they reside together physically. Mrs. Ko states:

In fact, we talk more online. When we lived together, we didn’t talk that much because he was already tired and I didn’t share every instance with him because we lived together. I don’t think living together always guarantees successful communication. The most important issue is how interactively the family members communicate and how much they understand each other. From a distance, I can see my husband’s hard work and his support for the family from a more abstract point of view. I can be more expressive when talking online than in our face-to-face conversation. According to the mass media, many goose families end up getting divorced as a result of the ramification that such separation brings and due to the lack of communication. However, it is not our case due to our frequent communication online. (Interview with Mrs. Ko)

The ‘father goose’ phenomenon became a social problem in Korea because of the numerous fathers who remained in Korea and sent their wives and children overseas for the purpose of acquiring a better education and mastery of English. Finally, the society read frequently of the mournful deaths of Father Gooses who suffered the financial burdens and hardships of separation. Many recent immigrants choose this goose family pattern because the father’s work in Korea can provide the family with more financial support than if he were to work in Canada because of the limited job opportunities as an immigrant. Therefore, the fathers are still willing to remain in Korea even though it means enduring the painful separation from their families. Kūnil’s father also has to maintain his business in Korea. However, he chose his own way of adjusting to living alone and taking care of his family from a distance. Online communication through Instant Messenger was the answer for him. He has no time to suffer the agony of
loneliness. He busily logs on whenever and wherever the Internet is available. From this case, it seems clear that online communication is more likely to be positively evaluated when adequate motivation and efforts are made.

**Excerpt 8: “Father is in the Living room”**

**Chat Log: Father, Mother, Kűnil and Künsök**

1. Mr. Ko: 오늘은 그럼 이만 안녕해야겠네 (I think I have to say good bye now.)
2. Mr. Ko: 음마는? (How about mom?)
3. Kűnil: 주방 (In the Kitchen.)
4. Mr. Ko: 끊어도 되는가고 여쭈어봐. (Ask mom if we can log off.)
5. Mr. Ko: 뭐라고 하시니? (What did she say?)
6. Kűnil: 그냥 넌두시랍니다 (She said to just leave it)
7. Kűnil: 데터 꺼자는 알고 (to leave the computer on)
8. Kűnil: 참 아빠 오늘 머리스타일은 최곱니다. (aha, dad, your hairstyle today is the best.)
9. Mr. Ko: 그래 고맙다. 금일이 잘자라. (Well, thanks. Good night, Kűnil)
10. Künsök: 물레카메라 작동중 (A secret camera is running)
11. Künsök: 음마 봤어? (Did you see mom?)
12. Mr. Ko: 카~ 죽인다 (Ahh, her beauty is killing me!)
13. Mr. Ko: 텔레비젼에 나오는 여자가!!! (Like a woman on TV!!!)
14. Kűnil: 그럼 전 이만 올라갑니다요 (OK, then, I’m going upstairs.)
15. Mr. Ko: 잘자 (Good night)
16. Künsök: 아빠는 모니터 안에서 자나? (Do you sleep inside the monitor?)
17. Mr. Ko: 아니지 아빠는 거실에서 주무시지 (No, daddy is sleeping in the living room.)
18. Mrs. Ko: 왜 안끊었어요? (Why didn’t you log off?)
19. Mrs. Ko: 나 아침 준비하는거야 (I’m fixing breakfast.)

**7.3.5.3 Gaming Requires Speedy Typing Skills**

There is an extensive body of research about the impact of gaming on language learning in terms of making language learning fun and allowing learners to engage in natural language practice. The digital role-playing games enable players to practice and interact constantly in progressively more challenging tasks and advance to new levels (Gee, 2005; Standford & Williamson, 2005). Despite the problems and criticisms, support for defining games as learning resources is growing. A handbook from Futurelab (http://www.futurelab.org.uk) is useful in understanding the role of digital games in education. As Johnson (2005) advocates, players of computer games “literally learn by
playing.” Literacy in the new media age means reading and writing from page to screen (Kress, 2003). It includes images, sounds, and actions. The ‘electronic literacy’ that emerged in the 1980s highlights the notion that learners of today and tomorrow cannot be merely literate, but must be “multiliterate” (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000).

Due to the nature of multi-tasking games, fast typing skills are required. While playing a game, the players communicate with each other simultaneously. The speedier the typing skill, the more advantageous it is for the players because it helps the players to enjoy the game more dynamically. Kūnil and Kūnsŏk expressed that playing games helps them to improve their typing skills: “If you are not good at typing, it is hard to enjoy the game. There is no time to look down at the keyboard.” Excerpt 9 illustrates how game players communicate with each other while playing a game. Kūnil wants to assist his friend so that he can achieve a higher level to get a prize. Kūnil said that the speed of his typing has increased dramatically as he plays more. Kūnil and Kūnsŏk are good at dealing with keyboards in both Korean and English. Both can type quickly while playing, which supports their bilingual ability. J-S. Lee (2006) reports as follows:

being able to type in two languages is an important bilingual skill in our technological age. It requires cognitive flexibility and dexterity to automatically reposition the fingers on the keyboard as one code-mixes from English to Korean and vice versa. (p. 106)
Excerpt 9: “Game Playing”

Game Log: Kűnil and His Friend

(1) Friend: 형 나빨랑 2 차해아해坐落 (I need to do the second round soon.)
(2) Kűnil: Who?
(3) Friend: 손유창 (Son Yuchang)
(4) Kűnil: 여기서 해. 여기가 빨리 적은편 (Play here because it is more likely to have less lag62)
(5) Friend: 이돈으로 뭐사지 (What do I buy with this money)
(6) Kűnil: 집중해서 열심히 해 (Concentrate and do your best.)
(7) Friend: 68
(8) Kűnil: 아직은 낮아 (It’s still low.)
(9) Friend: 89 까지 언제 하나 (When can I ever get to 89!)
(10) Friend: 21 더 올려야되 (I need go up another 21 levels.)
(11) Kűnil: 대반 집고있네 (You are almost killing the enemies.)
(12) Kűnil: 내가 비호해주께 (I’ll cover you.)
(13) Kűnil: 레벨 몇? (What is your level?)
(14) Friend: 68
(15) Kűnil: ^
(16) Friend: ^ ^
(17) Kűnil: hmm... do the second round later.
(18) Friend: 34 个国家
(19) Friend: 나 신발살란다 (I want to buy a pair of shoes.)
(20) Kűnil: 좋기도 하겠다 (good for you: in a sarcastic tone.)

7.3.5.4 Language Learning Through Corrections

Second language acquisition researchers have claimed that feedback during conversational interaction promotes language acquisition. The main purpose of giving feedback is to have learners notice (Schmidt, 1990) and pay attention (Aljaafreh & Lantolf, 1994; Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Long, Inagaki, & Ortega, 1998). There are two dimensions in the ways of giving feedback: explicitness and implicitness63. Lyster and Ranta (1997) categorize six kinds of corrective feedback: explicit, recasts, clarification, metalinguistic, elicitation, and repetition. Among the six categories, the most common feedback type is recasts, which is generally implicit reformulation of all the erroneous language forms and meanings.

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52 Game lag is a slowed-down or momentarily frozen in-game experience that occurs when the computer does not have the capabilities to run a certain program or application.

53 Explicit correctness provides overt metalinguistic explanation and implicit correctness is vice versa.
Mr. Ko provides Künsök with extensive corrections. He notices Künsök’s colloquial style of text, ignoring proper honorific forms and spellings, and feels it is getting worse. His corrections vary from explicit to implicit. He mentioned that he purposefully used honorific forms as much as possible so that his sons can be exposed to the proper forms. Whenever he talks to his sons about his wife, he uses honorific forms.

**Excerpt 10: “Language Corrections”**

**Chat Log 1: Mr. Ko and Künsök**

(1) Mr. Ko: 잘 쉬고 있어요? (Are you getting a good rest?)
(2) Mr. Ko: 형님, 근석 ('Honorable older brother', Künsök)
(3) Künsök: 여 (Yes: Korean ‘E’ is used when responded to peers)
(4) Künsök: -_-;;
(5) Mr. Ko: 아-> 네, 하셔아지요. 아드님 (You should say Ney, My honorable son: the father uses the honorific form of ‘son’ to his son for sarcastic effect to his son who does not use honorific forms to his father properly)
(6) Künsök: 아드님??? [Atunim???] (Honorable son???)
(7) Mr. Ko: 그래 (Yes)
(8) Mr. Ko: 아들을 높여서 부를때 쓰는 호칭이야 (It’s the honorific form for ‘son’)
(9) Künsök: 아들님이지 무순 아드님 (Why not ‘Atulnim’ instead of ‘Atunim’)
(10) Mr. Ko: 단이 하나하나로는 근석이말이 맞는데 한국말에 연음 현상이라는게 있어 (That’s right if we break it down word by word but when Atul (('son')) is combined with ‘Nim’ ((honorific suffix)), the final consonant L drops.)

**Chat Log 2: Mr. Ko and Künsök**

(1) Mr. Ko: 근석? (Künsök?)
(2) Künsök: 하이하이ㅋㅋ (Hi hi)
(3) Künsök: 아抽检 오고나서 PS2 CD 사도대??? (Dad, can I buy a PS2 CD when you come?)
(4) Mr. Ko: 오앙? 무슨 씩디만데? (What? What is the CD?)
(5) Künsök: 아직은 물라... (I don’t know yet.)
(6) Künsök: -_-;;
(7) Mr. Ko: 엄마께 말씀드렸어? (Have you talked to mom about it?)
(8) Künsök: 아니 (No.)
(9) Mr. Ko: 말씀드리 (Please tell her.)
(10) Künsök: 아직 안무려바서-_-; (I haven’t asked her yet.)
(11) Mr. Ko: 엄마께 여쭤봐 (Ask her)
(12) Künsök: 아抽检는 안돼?? (How about you?)
(13) Mr. Ko: 그래도 엄마께 여쭤봐야지요. 엄마께 여쭈어 보세요 (But then you should ask mom first. Please ask her)
(14) Künsök: 엄마께 여쭈어 봐급요 [emmakkey yeccwue polkkeyyo] (I will ask her)
(15) Künsök: 엄마가 허락하시면 사도 되요?????? [emmaka helakha-si-nyen sado toyyo] (Can I buy it if mom permits??????)
(16) Mr. Ko: 오케이!! (OK!!)
Kûnsôk’s proper honorific forms (lines 14-15, Chat Log 2) are demonstrated through interactions with his father. His honorific language forms [emma*key* yec*wue* polkkeyyo and emmaka helakha-si-myen sado toyyo] seem to result from the father’s persistent nudging to use proper language forms and his own consistent use of honorific forms as models. In line 14, Kûnsôk repeats the father’s honorific form of [Mwutta], [Yeccwupta: ‘to ask (a superior)’] as a response to the father’s advice (line 13, Log 2). In line 15, Kûnsôk makes an honorific verb [Helakha-si-myen: to permit] by inserting honorific ‘-(u)si-’ after the verb stem [Helakha-] to show his respect for his mother. In line with Mr. Song’s (Yujin’s father in Chapter 5) language use for Yujin’s language practice, Mr. Ko also actively uses online communication as a means of improving Kûnsôk’s Korean language.

7.4 A Comparison of the Two Families

The two families’ main reason to immigrate to Canada was for their children’s mastery of English and a better education in North America. Similarities are found in the fact that the two families have experienced separation because of living as satellite families; the Ko family still sustains the satellite family pattern after more than four years. Next, technology is significant for both families. Technology plays a major role in connecting their immigrant lives to Korea. For Sangmin’s family, online banking allows Mr. An (the father) to run his business in Korea from Canada and for the Ko family, Instant Messenger helps the family members stay constantly connected in their daily lives. The two families’ parental attitudes towards the HL are very positive and the children express great pride about their ethnicity and identity as Koreans.
To these recent immigrants, living in Canada does not mean any separation from their home country. For them, their Korean-ness is a part of their pride because of advanced technology and the growing and affluent Korean community in Canada. Their attitude about Canada’s multiculturalism is also very positive. Their understanding of multiculturalism is not as something that leads to complete acculturalism or assimilation to the dominant Anglo-culture, but as something that includes the maintenance of their Korean language and culture, and that encourages the integration of two cultures—their own and the newly gained Canadian culture. Therefore, they do not regard mastery of English as subtractive or at the expense of a loss of the HL. In their daily lives, the children constantly practice their Korean at home, school, and community events. As an extension of the understanding of multiculturalism, the fathers in the two families show openness toward different ethnicities for their children’s marriage partners; this is different from Kijŏng’s and Ashley’s fathers’ advocacy of Koreans as their children’s partners. Not only the influence of a sense of multiculturalism or globalization, but also changed perceptions about intercultural marriage within Korea itself, seem to have affected the father’s attitudes about intercultural marriage.

Another interesting issue that arises from these two families is their openness to the potential of returning to Korea in the future when the children grow up, or the possibility that the children might have a chance to work in Korea. Unlike the previous immigrant generation families such as Kijŏng’s and Sharon’s, who regard Canada as their permanent place to live, these families are always willing to return to Korea.

Due to the parents’ and children’s positive attitudes toward the HL and culture and the children’s constant practice of the language and culture, the two families do not
seem to have any serious problems in communication (as shown in Figure 7.1). Kūnsŏk’s immigration at a young age compared to Kŭnil, Sangmin, and Minji made Kūnsŏk gradually lose Korean to some degree, but Mr. Ko’s consistent efforts to improve Kūnsŏk’s Korean through online communication help Kūnsŏk practice Korean in a more accurate manner.

Figure 7.1: A Comparison of Emotional Relationships

KEY (modified for purposes)
- - - - - - - Distant / Poor
- - - - - - - - Indifferent / Apathetic
- - - - - - - - - Discord / Conflict
- - - - - - - - - - - - Cutoff / Estranged

The An Family
Langley (Father Goose -> Immigrant)

The Ko Family
Coquitlam (Satellite Family)
7.5 Conclusions

The two families’ parents revealed positive attitudes towards HL acquisition and maintenance due to the more practical benefits (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) of speaking Korean rather than due to symbolic reasons. In the line with their positive perceptions toward HL and culture, the parents support their children’s HL acquisition and maintenance through various activities such as watching Korean dramas, having family time, and interacting through online communication. However, when it comes to education, the parents show an undeniably strong interest in their children’s English mastery for successful entry to university. Even Mrs. Ko’s advocacy of Korean being taught in the public system is motivated primarily by the self-serving desire for an easy mark. In these two families, the importance of HL acquisition and maintenance is greatly appreciated by the children not only because of parental support but also because of Korea’s social and economic context which is profoundly linked to the children’s pride in being Korean.
Chapter 8
Conclusions

8.1. Introduction

This research has examined the social practice of HL acquisition and maintenance in eight different Korean immigrant families residing in the GVRD with varied lengths of residence in Canada, ranging from four to thirty four years of residence. Based on social practice theory, I have examined and discussed their attitudes toward their HL language as well as their actual practices on behalf of HL acquisition and maintenance in their daily lives. In addition, I have examined their technology use for HL acquisition and maintenance. In particular, this investigation has paid close attention to the participants’ online communication practice. In this final chapter, I provide a summary of the results of the research by discussing the two sets of research questions originally posed in Chapter One. I also consider the limitations of this research, and discuss various implications for researchers, educators, policy makers, and immigrant parents. The final section concludes with some of my own personal reflections on this research.

8.2. Summary of Findings

This research has examined Korean immigrant parents’ and children’s social practice of HL acquisition and maintenance. The parents’ and children’s attitudes towards their HL and culture and their various practices for HL acquisition and maintenance emerged from multiple data collection and analysis methods. Using qualitative methods and social practice theory, the research has been directed by the following research questions:
1) What are parents’ and children’s attitudes towards heritage language maintenance? How are parents and their children involved in language acquisition and maintenance?

2) What are parents’ and children’s attitudes towards technology use for heritage language maintenance? How do parents and their children use the technology as a means for language acquisition and maintenance?

8.2.1 What are Parents’ and Children’s Attitudes towards Heritage Language Maintenance?

Attitudes toward the HL can be positive and negative. For the positive attitudes, I have analyzed three possibilities or categories: integrative, instrumental, and obligatory. An integrative attitude indicates an intrinsic desire to communicate with the target language group. This attitude is associated with additive bilingualism and pride in cultural and ethnic identity. An instrumental attitude is an attitude which helps to achieve extrinsic/external incentives such as employment. This attitude seems to be consistent with the employment benefits of Canada’s official bilingualism and multiculturalism. Frequently, obligatory bilingualism is associated with a weakened positive attitude. Even though there is no strong willingness to maintain the HL, HL acquisition and maintenance are still perceived as important because the HL indexes ethnonationalist ideology.

Attitudes to language are fundamentally ideological. The parents in this research demonstrated various language ideologies depending on their familial, educational, religious, socio-cultural, and historical status. Here I will briefly summarize some language ideologies which were manifested in the eight families. First, script nationalism (“excellence: wuswuseng” in the Korean script) appears in the parents of the Yu’s. The
parents’ ideology of valuing Korean is closely related to their Korean national identity. The parents’ happy memories about their past in the old days of Korea, their enthusiasm towards their children’s education, and their emphasis on family values all seem to contribute to the fabrication of their ideology towards their children’s language. All family members appreciate the value of the HL in a sense of linguistic and ethnic pride.

On the other hand, the Pak parents opined a sense of “duty” or “obligation” towards HL maintenance. Their ethnonationalist view of language and race, exemplified by “Koreans should be able to speak Korean because they are Korean,” seems essentially biased against bilingualism and multiculturalism as we understand the terms in Canada.

Sharon’s intercultural marriage with Brian, who is Caucasian, seems to illustrate the lack of a shared language between parents and children. According to the interviews with the parents and Sharon, Sharon’s intercultural marriage seemed to be the result of her resistance to or contesting of the parents’ ethnic and linguistic ideology that had been imposed on her. Sharon’s understanding of multiculturalism is more balanced than that of her parents. She values her HL from not only instrumental views but also the intrinsic link between the Korean language and heritage. However, her multicultural and bilingual understanding is not still completely practiced in the domain of family. Even though Sharon and Brian opined the value of a HL in this multicultural society, and Sharon emphasized the importance of a shared language for the fabrication of a successful family relationship, Brian was not learning Korean yet. His learning of Korean was on his wish list but it did not seem to be the first priority. The family’s need to communicate with Brian in English only did not appear to encourage him to learn Korean. Compared to the earlier immigrant families, the recent immigrant parents (Sangmin’s and Kūnil’s) are
keenly aware of the globalization worldview. Their language ideology tends to be more instrumental than sentimental or aesthetic towards HL maintenance. Their ‘return ideology’ is not rooted in their nostalgic reminiscences or homesickness towards their home country or potential plans to return to the home country ‘someday’. Thanks to the social mobility and pervasive technology use, the participants are able to access the home language and its culture extensively from their home in Vancouver. Their return migration is no longer viewed as a failure of immigrant life but can be associated with ‘brain gains’ to the home country. The participants broaden their horizon of opportunity in employment not only to Canada but also to their home country.

Changing negative attitudes towards Korean appear when the participants appreciate the instrumental value of Korean in the domain of employment. The Kim parents’ ideology of assimilation into English language and culture caused further attrition of the home language. However, Ashley’s instrumental value of Korean as an economic language contributed to her valuing Korean positively. Ironically, her keen awareness of the value of Korean for her future employment still did not motivate her to learn and improve her Korean immediately. It is still a plan on her future schedule. As for the assimilationist language ideology, Julie experienced the devaluation of Korean when she resided in Montreal, where Caucasian culture was dominant. However, after she moved to Vancouver, which has a different demographic and linguistic environment, and after she was exposed to Korean pop culture through the ubiquitous Internet, her language and cultural identity became revitalized. Her resistance and rejection towards her parents’ linguistic and cultural imposition was transformed through the trajectories of identity and she started to have a nascent understanding of her parents’ language.
ideologies in her own development of Korean through interactions with her Korean-
Canadian friends and Korean relatives. Even though the ideology of assimilation was
heavily weighted in Ashley’s and Julie’s pasts, their ideologies are differently practiced
in their daily lives. While Ashley still postpones her HL learning, Julie is actively
involved in her friendship domains in which she can socialize with different people in
both Korean and English. Her social practice of HL and culture is done heavily online.

According to the response to the questionnaires asking about Korean language
proficiency (see Table 3.3 in Section 3.3.2), the children tend to underestimate their
Korean proficiency in productive skills, particularly in writing. The imbalance between
receptive and productive skills suggests that the children need to have a broader domain
for language practice. Many children’s underestimated Korean fluency seems to be
related to the different levels of confidence in using the Korean language. The
devaluation of their writing proficiency is related to the fact that their language practice is
limited within their home domain. Therefore, it is suggested that children need to be
connected to broader language communities to achieve confidence in their language use
and for balanced language use.

Not surprisingly, the importance of English appears to be significant mainly in the
domain of education for Ashley’s, Julie’s, and Sangmin’s parents because English is one
of the main subjects for successful entry to university. The parents’ common beliefs
about English which has hegemony over their children’s other languages resonate that
language is a symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991).

Each family’s detailed information about the attitudes towards HL is provided in
the following figure. Figure 8.1 depicts in detail each family’s self-professed attitudes
towards the HL. Their attitudes are shaped by the direct and indirect preferences in personal, social, political, and economic domains.

**Figure 8.1: Participants’ Attitudes towards HL Maintenance**

8.2.2 How are Parents and Their Children Involved in Heritage Language Acquisition and Maintenance?

Through the data analysis, it is revealed that the participants have been involved in various activities for learning and maintaining the HL. HL maintenance requires mutual effort and strategies between parents and children. The children’s language practices are closely related to the parents’ support and investment of time and money. As shown by Mrs. Yu (Kijŏng’s mother) and Mrs. Song (Yujin’s mother), support and investment for their children’s HL maintenance was formidable. They actively volunteered at their children’s school and the weekend Heritage School. They were vigorously supportive compared to the other parents. The various activities for HL
maintenance (see Table 8.1 below) sometimes worked out successfully but sometimes there were conflicts and dilemmas between the parents and their children. Sometimes the children’s resistance towards the parents’ various attempts for HL maintenance was repositioned and their aspiration towards HL maintenance and further acquisition was renewed. One interesting language behavior is the participants’ code-switching. The code-switching occurred heavily in the conversations between parents and children of the Yu, Park, and Hong families. Considering the surrounding contexts, the quantity of code-switching seems to have something to do with the years of immigration and the parents’ comfort level speaking English. Compared to the rest of the parents, Mr. Yu, Mr. Park, and Mr. and Mrs. Hong are relatively comfortable using English because of their heavy use of English at work. As many research articles advocate the communicative value of code-switching, the code-switching in this study functions as a way of facilitating successful communication. The findings offer insight into the complexity and the dynamics of the social practices of HL maintenance in the lives of Korean immigrants.
Table 8.1: Summary of Language and Culture Practices in the Present Research

Key
Often (Regularly) = O
Sometimes (Irregularly) = S
Rarely (Once in a while) = R
Never = N

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behaviors</th>
<th>Kijŏng/ Kŭn</th>
<th>Sharon/ Linsey</th>
<th>Yujin/ Yulim</th>
<th>Jack/ Julie</th>
<th>Jiye/ Jiwŏn</th>
<th>Ashley/ Tim</th>
<th>Sangmin/ Minji</th>
<th>Kŭnil/ Kŭnsŏk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In-depth conversation</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking Korean at home</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>S/S</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family literacies</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>S/S</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>S/S</td>
<td>R/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on Korean being</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>S/S</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on family value/roots</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in Korean church activities</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>S/S</td>
<td>N/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in Korean community events</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>R/S</td>
<td>S/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending Heritage School</td>
<td>S/S</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking accredited courses</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>R/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent visits to Korea</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>R/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using computer for HL maintenance</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>S/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/N</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/S</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code-switching</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>O/O</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>R/R</td>
<td>N/N</td>
<td>N/R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based upon the participants’ self report about their behaviors for HL acquisition and maintenance, Table 8.2 proposes a rough estimate for the investment for HL education in a year.

**Table 8.2: Summary of Investment for HL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Equipment</th>
<th>Fees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watching Korean drama/news</td>
<td>Satellite TV Installation: $250</td>
<td>Monthly: $40 ($480) or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internet Download</td>
<td>Monthly: $4 ($48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending Heritage School</td>
<td>Weekend Heritage School</td>
<td>Yearly (8 months): $200-300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking accredited courses</td>
<td>Highschool: Korean Course (KSL)</td>
<td>One term (3 months): $325-350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UBC: 6 credits</td>
<td>Per credit $142 ($851)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent visits to Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td>One time: $1000-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using computer for HL maintenance</td>
<td>A New Computer: $1000</td>
<td>Monthly: $30-40 ($360-$480)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internet Connection for online communication and games</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>= $1933 - $3911</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The prices are based upon the actual value of Canadian dollar as of March 2008.

The range of the investment for HL acquisition and maintenance is from $1933 to $3911 per year (see the numbers in the parentheses for yearly estimate). Considering the majority of the trips to Korea during summer vacation, which is the peak season for air flights, the cost generally comes to more than $3000 a year, depending on children’s HL maintenance activities. Due to potential variables, some costs for family literacy (e.g., books and learning resources) and equipment for Satellite TV program and computer use has been excluded. As for the computer, it can be used for other purposes but the monthly Internet connection fee has been included due to its effectiveness for HL acquisition and maintenance. Even though other language courses taught as part of a regular program do
not cost at all, taking an after-class Korean course still costs learners extra money. For example, there is an elementary school child who attends a Heritage School on weekends, frequently watches Korean TV programs through satellite, visits Korea once a year during summer vacation, and uses the Internet for games, and the cost comes out to $2,408-2,628 annually. As another example, there is a university student who takes Korean at UBC, visits Korea once a year during winter vacation, and downloads Korean dramas/programs over the Internet. The cost is $3,058-3,179 annually. Compared to Julie’s English subject tutoring fee ($45 for 1.5 hour per week for 8 months = $1620), the expense for HL maintenance seems almost double that of children who have to invest in other subjects. Even though this is a rough estimate for active learners, it still seems meaningful to reiterate that HL maintenance demands not only parents’ constant encouragement but also a fairly large amount of money.

8.2.3 Social Practice

In this case study, which explores issues from a social practice theory perspective, three major findings emerge from the data analysis. First, a match between children’s and parents’ attitudes towards HL and behaviors for HL acquisition and maintenance contributes to children’s language maintenance. Different degrees of investment, such as time, effort, and money spent on children’s language maintenance (sending the children to Korea regularly, or to a Saturday Korean Heritage School for many years, volunteering at the Heritage School, and so on) appear to be closely related to children’s language maintenance. Again, this research supports the view that the parental role is extremely important in children’s language maintenance. Furthermore, children’s language maintenance is intertwined with their family relationships (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002;
Wong Fillmore, 2000). As shown in the genograms (see 4.4; 5.4; 6.4; 7.4), a shared language can be a medium of constructing positive relationships between family members. Second, a mismatch or inconsistency between children’s and parents’ attitudes and behaviors correlates with children’s language attrition or loss. It appears that family relationships are influenced by the weakness of the children’s HL. Third, language re-vitalization can occur through HL and cultural practices in various online activities such as synchronous and asynchronous online communication, including access to Korean websites, and playing games in Korean (see Julie’s and Tim’s cases). This research reidentifies and rearticulates children’s loss of the HL as a consequence of mismatches in parental theory and practice. Conversely, the HL can be vigorously revitalized through rich online language and cultural practices by both parents and children. These match and mismatch relationships reveal the continuum of development of HL acquisition and maintenance through various and dynamic social practices. The match and mismatch relationships within social practices are not linear but ecological and contextual.

Not only is the children’s HL maintenance related to the parents’ attitudes and behaviors, it is also significantly influenced by social factors such as the economy, social class, education, and status. As illustrated in Sharon’s case (see 4.3), Julie’s case (see 5.3), and Ashley’s case (see 6.3), despite the low parental investment in HL maintenance, the children’s attitudes towards their HL voluntarily changed from indifference and negative attitudes to positive attitudes due to their awareness of the high demand for their HL in business. Their ethnicity was no longer marginalized, at least within this multicultural context in a globalized era. The size and affluence of the Korean population in the metropolitan area of Vancouver today cannot be compared with other regions in the
1970s and 1980s, when families struggled financially. The current large and financially affluent Korean immigrant community in Vancouver seems to influence the children to have positive attitudes towards their HL. The children know their HL can be a factor in finding good employment opportunities. This changed status has appeared to motivate the children to improve their HL and learn more about their culture. Their learning motivation includes both integrative and instrumental attitudes. Conversely, for earlier immigrants such as the fathers of Sharon and Julie, even though they acknowledged the importance of HL for successful communication between parents and children, they themselves did not have great pride in their heritage due to their low self-esteem resulting from their labor intensive work and lack of financial affluence. Their hopes for their children’s success were pinned not to HL maintenance but to academic excellence and financial affluence. This demonstrates how HL maintenance is situational and positional depending on how the HL is valued and practiced by the immigrant families and by their larger society.

8.2.4 What are Parents’ and Children’s Attitudes towards Technology Use for Heritage Language Maintenance?

This research found both positive and negative attitudes towards technology use for HL acquisition and maintenance. Among the positive views, the use of a computer was found to provide speedy communication, information about Korea, entertainment, identity construction, cultural experience, language learning and practice, and relationship maintenance. However, concerns were also expressed about computer usage for language learning because computer use may negatively influence time management in terms of game playing and other entertainment, health due to inactivity, cultural understanding, and language learning due to non-standard language forms.
Overall, most participants reported that the computer is useful in terms of HL acquisition and maintenance. They believe that the computer plays a role in maintaining HL and culture, and furthermore, in shaping and reinforcing one’s identity. Because of various online activities, immigration to Canada no longer means a remoteness or detachment from the home country. However, some parents expressed skepticism about the use of computers for language learning. Due to children’s obsessive computer use, parents are likely to be concerned about their children’s health matters such as eye strain and sedentary behavior. Also, Mr. Hong (Jack’s father) expressed some concerns about the cultural gap between Koreans in Canada and Koreans in Korea. Moreover, as Jiwôn and Mr. Ko (Kûnil’s father) reported, there is a widespread fear that ubiquitous and prevalent non-standard language forms are another negative aspect which hinders learners from learning standard language forms.

8.2.5 How Do Parents and Children Use Technology as a Means of Language Acquisition and Maintenance?

The findings from Chapters 4 to 7 show that the computer serves a vital role as a communication vehicle connecting people. The findings shed light on the relation between technologies and language revitalization. Warschauer (1999) noted that the use of technology has helped Hawaiian language students have a sense of the future of their language. In this research, three characteristics emerged in the participants’ online activities.

First, technologies enable immigrants to access and participate in authentic and contemporary Korean culture. Young Korean-Canadians have access to Korean pop culture and socialize with other Koreans or Korean-Canadians with the shared knowledge of Korean culture. The HL is the main tool for accessing Korean culture. Besides
affording cultural access, technologies serve as an indispensable tool in connecting family members, too. Dependence on technologies in Korean immigrant families has increased from generation to generation.

Second, online communication technologies enable children to engage actively in conversation with little fear of making errors. Due to the nature of fast and popular online communication, young generation children do not care about typos or non-standard language forms. They care more about creating meanings than correcting language forms. Language is considered as social semiotic (Halliday, 1978). Regardless of their language forms and consistent with the functional approach, they cognitively compose Korean sentences, and thereby practice, and eventually develop (e.g., Julie) their HL. This development through the online socialization may eventually lead to the acquisition of communicative competence (Hyme, 1972).

Third, the presentation of identity using orthographic exaggeration, the interchange of upper and lower cases (in both English and romanized Korean), emoticons, and idiosyncratic expressions is prevalent in online communication in order to compensate for the lack of paralinguistic cues, which are otherwise common in face-to-face interaction. Through email addresses starting with “kr” (for “Korean”), Yujin and Yulim (see 5.2) represent their pride in Korean identity. In a similar manner, Julie uses her MSN ID as “kpbabee012” for her permanent pride as Korean (see 5.3.5.2). Julie’s trajectory of identity construction (see 5.3) was initiated by her exposure to online interaction with her Korean friend, who is bilingual and technology oriented. Julie’s identity was revitalized as a positive Korean-Canadian through rich cultural and linguistic
contacts and practices mediated by innovative technologies: “Through the Internet, my Korean identity had been continuously shaped and reshaped over time” (email from Julie).

8.3 Limitations

The limitations of this study include the limitation of generalization and methodology-related issues. First, hoping that the study might provide insights to help readers explore the dynamics of HL acquisition and maintenance via comparisons and contrasts through the lens of a qualitative research approach and social practice theory, I tried to recruit diverse immigrant groups ranging from early Korean immigrant families to more recent immigrant families. However, the findings from these eight families (despite the rich data collection) are not generalizable to all Korean immigrant families, since every family has a unique immigrant background and various practices for HL acquisition and maintenance.

Second, even though observing eight families through qualitative methods led to a relatively abundant data collection, a large-scale study based on a larger sample, employing both qualitative and quantitative methods, would likely produce a more reliable and broader overview of HL theory and practice.

Third, longitudinal studies on a similar topic are possible. Even though I intended to observe the participants’ actual involvement in HL acquisition and maintenance, data about their activities and involvements in HL acquisition and maintenance were gained mostly through their specific retrospective reflections, because their actions for HL acquisition and maintenance were already past experiences. In a similar vein, much of the data and observations were gained from family conversations and online communication because of the main objectives of this study; ideally, the scope of data collection needs to
be broadened. Therefore, the participants’ on-going actions for the sake of HL acquisition and maintenance should be analyzed in a more longitudinal manner in a subsequent study.

Fourth, with respect to the data collection, we should bear in mind the ever-present ‘observer’s paradox’ (Labov, 1966). I had a difficult time interpreting the interview data and making observations. Due to the sensitivity of the topic for the immigrants, some participants appear to have shared somewhat superficial or even artificial stances and postures rather than their actual and authentic views in their interviews. Thus, I tried to have informal conversations outside of their homes (in their workplace or Korean coffee shops) as much as possible. Furthermore, I tried to elicit more visceral stories related to their HL acquisition and maintenance so that the interviewees became less attentive to my recording and observation.

Yet another limitation emerges in the observations. Some parents were hesitant to share their actual family conversations, even though they were willing to share their theories about HL acquisition and maintenance. They did not want their children’s Korean to be judged by an outsider. It seems they worried about the possibility of inconsistency between what they said in the interviews and what happens in reality in their families. Therefore, in the observations, it was hard to hear the participants’ daily vernacular speech when I was physically present, and the cultural discourse they performed in my presence often showed signs of hypercorrection. This is why I gave the families audio-recorders so that they could record whenever and wherever recording was possible without my presence. Through this method, I was a successful in gaining more conversational data but at the same time I faced some difficulties in interpreting the participants’ emotional discourse due to not witnessing their body language and faces.
Fifth, a broader scope of data collection is required. I have restricted my focus to minimal actions, such as family conversations and online communication. Thus, I have not directly addressed various other possible aspects of actual HL maintenance activities such as Korean Heritage School, Korean church, or other Korean community venues. While these aspects have the importance and potential to produce a more thorough understanding of HL acquisition and maintenance, they are beyond the scope of this study.

8.4. Implications

Based upon the findings from this study, several implications and suggestions can be made for researchers, educators, and parents who are concerned about HL acquisition and maintenance.

8.4.1. Implications for Researchers: HL Maintenance as a Social Practice

This research has examined reciprocal relations between parents and children in HL maintenance from the perspective of the social practice paradigm. In fact, exploration of Korean immigrant parents’ attitudes towards their children’s HL maintenance and the parents’ efforts to help their children maintain Korean as their HL is not a new idea. Many studies have already asserted the importance of parents’ attitudes and their actual investments in their children’s successful language maintenance (Lao, 2004; Li, 1999; S-M. Park & Sarkar, 2007). However, the current research findings make four major contributions to the existing body of research.

First, more thorough research was made possible due to the wide range of participants studied. The entire range of Korean immigrant history in Vancouver, from early immigrants to the most recent, was covered, making the research findings relevant
to most of the Korean immigrant community. Second, this research highlights the usefulness of looking at HL maintenance research from a social practice perspective so as to explore the connections between participants’ theories and practices and to help identify the theories and practices involved in each of the social practices examined. Looking at multiple social practices can provide educational program planners and HL language teachers with a clearer understanding of the many factors which interrelate to help individuals maintain their HL. Children’s attitudes and practices are inevitably related to those of their parents. However, parents’ positive attitudes do not always translate into positive practices. The match and mismatch relations between theory and practice reveal how arduously HL maintenance is achieved. Third, HL maintenance in Canada is closely interrelated with the underpinning Canadian policies of HL bilingualism and multiculturalism. For successful HL maintenance, additive bilingualism should be encouraged by parents consistently. Differences in language and culture should be understood as resources and talents by children.

Fourth, this study has emphasized the role of technology in language acquisition. Technology use was also examined from the social practice paradigm. As we have seen, innovative technologies can change immigrant life patterns. Immigration no longer means separation from the home country thanks to tangible and constant access to one’s own language and culture through technology. In addition, in a mixed language environment where both the first and second language are being used at the same time, subtractive bilingualism may easily take place due to the lack of a balanced bilingual environment. Thus, the Korean language as HL can easily be displaced by English in the English-dominant linguistic context of Vancouver. Even though the parents’ role in
speaking the HL has been emphasized with respect to their children’s HL development and maintenance, speaking HL at home is not enough because of the limited interpersonal usage of the language in the familial context. This research opens a possibility that technology improves and facilitates children’s language socialization through online communication due to the unlimited range of language use and language registers that the Internet provides. The innovative use of technologies helps children to attain a more balanced bilingual environment with confident HL language use outside the home context on a variety of subjects. Moreover, bilingual children can use both their HL and English on the Internet depending on whether they are conversing with Korean speakers and relatives in Korea or English friends in Vancouver.

The combination of reflection and action discourse in the social practice of HL maintenance allowed an examination of not only the theories that the participants held in common but also the reasoning behind these patterns. The research findings can offer a new paradigm to researchers who are interested in HL maintenance. In the current era of globalization, HL maintenance is an inseparable issue that evolves hand in hand with the technology revolution. HL is not an ancestral language of the past, but a language of the here and now as well as of the future, and one which might be passed on to the next generation.

8.4.2. Implications for Educators

8.4.2.1 Teachers in Weekend Heritage Schools

Discussions of Heritage Weekend Schools for children’s HL acquisition and maintenance have generally been negative due to out-of-date materials, traditional teaching methods, unqualified teachers, and lack of HL practice within the school.
However, weekend Heritage Schools have played an important role in preserving and promoting Korean for more than two decades. The schools need to envision effective language and culture teaching through improved teacher quality, teaching methods, teaching materials, and effective communication with parents. As shown in Mrs. Song’s (Yujin’s mother) active involvement in her children’s Heritage School, the school should encourage the parents to engage themselves in the Heritage School activities. When the parents’ attitudes and behaviors are consistent, their influence on their children’s HL maintenance is greater. Furthermore, when children’s attitudes and behaviors are consistent with their parents’ attitudes and behaviors, their HL acquisition and maintenance is even greater. The parents’ attitudes and engagement in the Heritage School significantly impact continuity in children’s learning from the school (e.g., Yujin’s mother).

In addition, teachers must encourage students to speak Korean when interacting with peers not only during the instructional time but also during their socialization times, such as break time. As shown in the children’s comments, most of the students in the Heritage School speak English except during instruction time. Even though parents expect Korean to be the predominant language used in the Heritage School, in reality, children practice English more than Korean. Certain rules and instructions relating to the language spoken in the Heritage School should be planned. Many parents may send their children to the Heritage School to avoid teaching them Korean at home and think naively that the Heritage School will solve their children’s language problems (e.g., Kûnil’s mother). Lastly, Heritage Schools need to devise innovative activities which help students become interested in their learning. The major problem that the learners
complain about is the lack of variety at the Heritage School. Old style materials and pedagogy easily make the learners lose interest in learning the HL. By employing various cultural materials through innovative technologies, the learners, whose literacy skills are different from the previous generation, can maintain and enhance their learning.

8.4.2.2 Teachers of Korean as a Second Language

As shown in the case of Sangmin and Minji (see 7.2), language socialization in their HL takes place extensively at school. Through extensive interaction, not only for socializing among themselves but also for helping each other succeed in school life, a sense of group solidarity was demonstrated. This group solidarity was positively interpreted by Minji in terms of affirmative adaptation (see 7.2.2.2). Due to the sizeable Korean population in the Greater Vancouver area, Korean is not just a home language anymore. It is widely practiced in school with Koreans, and in business, especially in grocery stores and real estate. Schools should not pressure students to choose between the language of the school and the children’s native language. Their home language should be embraced. A dichotomy between the two languages in school and home may lead minority children to conflicts in their school and home lives. Educators in school should be open to the benefits of viewing HL acquisition and maintenance as a social practice. Educators of immigrant students should encourage students to be aware, understand, and appreciate their HL languages and cultures (Cummins, 1996; Nieto, 2002). They should fully understand that HL maintenance is not an easy task and that various HLs from different ethnic groups are invaluable resources that help Canada be unique and strong (Cummins, 1995). Cummins emphasized the empowerment of minority students in school context:
Students who are empowered by their school experiences develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically. They participate competently in instruction as a result of having developed a confident cultural identity as well as appropriate school-based knowledge and interactional structures. (p. 106)

Three suggestions are made for the teachers of Korean as a second language in a public domain. First, the research findings reveal that parents’ frequent use of HL impacts their children’s HL development. Teachers’ increased use of the target language greatly impacts students’ overall proficiency and automaticity in using language (Duff & Polio, 1990). Therefore, teacher’s HL use in class as well as encouragement of students’ HL use in class is recommended. Next, Mr. Song (Yujin’s father: Chapter 4) and Mrs. Ko (Kûnil’s mother: Chapter 7) expressed their aspirations for Korean language to be taught in public schools. However, their motivations for wanting to see Korean courses in the public domain are different. Mr. Song proposed the inclusion of all leveled learners having different ethnic backgrounds rather than the program only for recent Korean immigrants who are already fluent in the Korean language. Conversely, Mrs. Ko’s aspiration for the public school program seemed to lie in getting an easy mark. Korean immigrant parents need to embrace the notion of ‘Korean as a second language’ (KSL) in the public schools. They need to understand this as ‘Korean as a second language for everybody’, not just for Koreans. Even though teachers cannot meet everyone’s needs, they must increase language awareness (Lier, 1995). Lastly, with students’ different attitudes, aims and goals, teachers may encounter various practical issues such as low enrollment or lack of resources, in particular, in the beginning of teaching a language like Korean. However, innovative pedagogical strategies using effective technologies can help teachers and students be free from potential problems.
8.4.3 Implications for Immigrant Parents

Consistent with previous research claiming parental involvement and support is a key factor in children’s HL acquisition and maintenance (e.g., Koh, 2000; Shin, 1995; Siren, 1991), this research shows how parents play a role in children’s language acquisition and maintenance. Even though the parents’ role seems too overwhelming and even vague, language maintenance is largely left to the parents. One implication for immigrant parents, then, is that parents need to be more aware of the values of their HL and culture because their positive attitudes can be influential to their children. Furthermore, parents’ positive attitudes are important but are not the sole deciding factor, because concomitant actual effort and investment are crucial for HL learning and maintenance. HL acquisition and maintenance can occur when parents’ good intentions go along with good practice. Various family literacy activities (Koh, 2000) such as reading bedtime stories, having conversations during dinnertime, exposure to Korean language through mass media, and continued extensive investment are recommended (see Table 8.2). The rough estimate for the investment of HL acquisition and maintenance compared to other subjects suggests that almost double the amount of money needs to be invested. In other words, successful HL maintenance can be accomplished only when positive attitudes of parents as well as children go along with strenuous effort and investment with a great deal of consistency and patience.

Another important challenge to immigrant parents is in their cultural values within the Canadian context. As revealed in Julie’s comment, parents’ imposition of traditional Korean culture on children without specific and integrative support is one of the major reasons that led to her HL loss. The real meaning of multiculturalism cannot be
achieved until open-mindedness towards differences and self-confidence towards one’s heritage is practiced and realized in daily life by both the parents and children.

8.4.4 Implications for Policy Makers

The findings of this research show that Korean immigrants appreciate Canada’s official policies on HL bilingualism and multiculturalism. It is clear from the findings that many of the participants aspire to additive bilingualism and appreciate the role of their HL in a multicultural society. The changing demographic and linguistic landscape should be reexamined and reevaluated to exploit online communication technologies to encourage new immigrants to become bilingual. Current immigrants’ aims, interests, status, and education are different from those of earlier immigrants. This research reveals that earlier immigrants sought an ideal life in a new land, whereas recent immigrants center on their children’s education and mastery of English. Their attitudes and practices towards HL acquisition and maintenance are different from earlier immigrants, and their cultural and ethnic identity is realized differently, too. In the past, immigration was regarded as a distant journey and separation from the home country; but immigrants now can still have tangible and continuous access to the home country in this global era. Access to the home country is always open thanks to advances in transportation, financial affluence, and the ubiquitous Internet. For successful bilingualism and multiculturalism, a couple of suggestions can be made.

First, immigrants bring tremendous resources and potential to Canada. A recent newspaper article about Punjabi fluency as an asset in job searches and family relationships, published in the Vancouver Sun, supports the notion that the vitality of

64 More details: http://www.canada.com/vancouversun/story.html?id=9478c3ba-f571-4292-a9aa-8b033bc1bf3c&k=59124
ethnically and linguistically diverse immigrants contributes to make Canada globally unique and harmonious. Their HL should be viewed as a resource “linguistic resources are economic resources” (Cummins & Danesi, 1990).

Second, technologically innovative communication tools should be implemented into the school curriculum. As revealed in the research findings, children practice and learn HL through various online communication technologies. Innovative technological tools contribute to revitalizing HL and culture. Furthermore, technologies facilitate the acquisition of other languages and help raise intercultural awareness and understanding.

Policy makers should sustain and promote multiculturalism and multilingualism where Canadian immigrants can develop a positive image of living in Canada and eventually achieve a successful life in Canada. When I came to Canada for the first time, I used to ask questions about Canadian culture and customs: “What is Canadian culture? What is representative Canadian food?” Canadian culture is composed of different cultures whose uniqueness is still vibrant, and Canadian food can be a balanced combination of different ethnic dishes. Policy makers must provide integration and inclusion of multiculturalism and bilingualism into various contexts constantly and consistently so that the paradoxical contrast between positive beliefs and attitudes about bilingualism and actual investment behavior (reported in the CBC poll65) can be eradicated eventually.

8.5 Reflections on the Study

This research has been presented as an exploratory qualitative study; therefore, the data is presented as a series of case studies rather than as a set of generalizations.

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65 Please see 2.2.4 for details.
I hope that a more extensive and thorough analysis based on a broader data set can be conducted in the future.

Overall, this research has suggested that successful HL maintenance may occur when parents’ attitudes, as reflected in the interviews, match their behaviors and those of their children. In other words, this research provides evidence that parents’ theory—and their practice regarding that theory—appear to transfer to their children’s theory and practice of HL maintenance. It also suggests that there are many factors that come into play when examining HL maintenance (or lack thereof); but rather than focusing on finding a common list of factors that lead to successful language maintenance, this research suggests that success may be examined by looking at the match between participants’ theories and practices. In order to ensure children’s HL maintenance, parents’ positive theories must transfer into action by the parents together with their children. These theory/practice connections can be examined by looking at HL maintenance as a social practice, and findings from this social practice research can help educational program planners and HL language teachers understand the nature of HL maintenance to develop various ways of maintaining the HL.

This research has been a microcosm of my own personal, professional, and academic journey. Being a mother who is raising her children in a new land, a teacher who has been dedicated to teaching Korean as a HL as sessional lecturer in the UBC Department of Asian Studies and Korean as a second language in the Concordia Language Villages immersion program, a curriculum developer who has been involved in developing BC ’s Integrated Resource Package (IRP) for Korean and a researcher who is interested in sharing resources and discussion for HL education, I hope this research can
provide some insight into HL acquisition and maintenance, and promote further
deployment of technology in HL education. Of course, these research findings cannot be
the entire solution to the current problems in the area of HL; nevertheless, they can
perhaps lead to cultivating better practices for immigrant parents as well as educators.

Despite the limitations discussed above, this extended research project has
examined parents’ and children’s theory and practice through comparisons and contrasts
among various families with different years of residence in Canada. Even though HL
maintenance is situational and positional in nature due to each family’s different
background, motivation, language ideologies, theories, and practices, the findings of this
research can shed light on future research. Furthermore, this research has uncovered the
magnitude of the change in viability of the maintenance and further acquisition of Korean
by Korean immigrant children due to global economic changes and changes in the
technology of communication. One of the most important realizations for me in the
course of this research has been that the status of a language in terms of its economic,
political, and cultural power or capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Carey, 2003; Coulmas, 1992; de
Swaan, 2001; King, 2007b) is a major factor attracting children to acquire that language.
The increasing economic value and career value of fluency in Korean has revived the
status of the Korean language among Korean-Canadian youth.

Korea has become an economically advanced country with perhaps the highest
instances of broadband and cell phone penetration in the world66. The enhanced Internet
communication between Korean-Canadians and Koreans in Korea has greatly reduced the
cultural and linguistic isolation of Korean-Canadians from Korea. The use of
communicative technologies ranging from the Internet to cell phones is particularly

66 See details at http://www.gihyo.co.jp/magazine/SD/pacific/SD_0406.html.
prevalent in Korean culture, and Korean youth are among the most frequent users of communicative technology. Koreans are among the most highly computer literate people in the world. In the short ten years that I have lived in Vancouver, I have witnessed the further rise in the popularity of the Korean language and culture, and simultaneously seen how the further growth of Korean entertainment and cultural events in Vancouver have given reasons for children to maintain and acquire their HL. The contemporary popularity of Korean youth culture through online communicative technologies and live cultural entertainment in Vancouver provides evidence of the growing ethnolinguistic vitality of this youth culture. The confluence of the greater status of the Korean language and culture, coupled with the pervasive availability of popular youth entertainment culture, provides the possibility of exposure to Korean language and culture that realizes immersion principles of language acquisition in Vancouver. Official French-English bilingual programs which have been so heavily invested in the French Immersion model struggle to create a robust and authentic French culture to complement the school language immersion programs. On the other hand, Asian languages and cultures flourish in Vancouver in part because of the new global economy and the growing power of the Asia Pacific economy and culture that brings the Asian immigrants to this area. It is obvious that the rise of bilingualism and multilingualism will be an essential feature in the Asia Pacific region. English is being promoted and is advancing at a rapid rate all across Asia, and bilingualism in the form of English and one or more Asian languages is essential for the new citizens of the Asia-Pacific century.

67 Many famous Korean pop stars in Korea and worldwide Korean classic stars regularly visit and perform in Vancouver.
Given the fact that the new Myung-Bak Lee regime in South Korea is promoting an ambitious new plan to reform English Language Education in Korea, this research is timely. Amidst the influx of globalization and the ubiquitous and overpowering thirst for English mastery in Korea, King (2007b) criticizes the Korean government’s miniscule investment in overseas Korean language maintenance and strongly urges significant investment in both Korean as a Second Language (KSL) and Korean as a Heritage Language (KHL). He refers to the ‘onslaught of English’ in Korea as Korea facing a difficult choice: between losing its heart or losing its soul because “languages are increasingly viewed as scarce national resources” (Fishman, 2006, p. ix). The reason for supporting HL maintenance is well summed up in Fishman (2006):

> Speech and writing communities the world over are not only expected to exert themselves on behalf of their own languages, but to feel remiss if they fail to do so when their language resources are threatened. (p. x)

My definition of HL (see 2.2.1) implies a freedom from temporal and spatial limitations and is more inclusive of a comprehensive view of culture from ancestral cultural values to popular contemporary cultural artifacts. With the rise of global technology, education, and policy-induced shifts in attitudes and language ideologies, perhaps HLs in Canada will not be simply something to be ‘maintained’, but will flourish and be valuable resources for continuous and successful acquisition in the current global multiliteracies.
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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

Background Information

Age: _____

Gender: Male _____  Female _____

Country/City of Birth: _______________

If you were not born in Canada, how long have you lived in Canada? _____

If your parents were not born in Canada, how long have they lived in Canada?

Father _____  Mother _____

Please list all the people living in your family or household.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation to you</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Country of birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate the level of your Korean.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Myself</th>
<th>Very poor</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Please tell me about your educational history in chronological order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Place (country/city)</th>
<th>Month(s)/Year(s) Attended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate your learning experience in Korean in chronological order (Just for heritage language learners).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month(s)/Year(s) Learned</th>
<th>Learning Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From</td>
<td>To</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Learning Environment and Language Use Patterns in the Family** (This section applies only to heritage language learners.)

Which language do you speak with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Almost always English</th>
<th>Mainly English plus some Korean</th>
<th>Same amount of English and Korean</th>
<th>Mainly Korean plus some English</th>
<th>Almost always Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandparents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends (Korean)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which language do your family members use when they talk to you at home?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Almost always English</th>
<th>Mainly English plus some Korean</th>
<th>Same amount of English and Korean</th>
<th>Mainly Korean plus some English</th>
<th>Almost always Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandparents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In which other situations outside your home do you have contact with Korean speakers, and how often?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Monthly</th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>Daily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendship network</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work place/school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious domain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social organizations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Motivation towards using computers**

What motivates you to use the computer in Korean? Choose the items that apply and rank them from most important part (1) to least important (2, 3…).

_____ To maintain contact with family and friends in Korea

_____ To improve my Korean (writing, reading, listening, and speaking)

_____ To experience Korean culture

_____ To enjoy Korean entertainment

_____ Other (specify) ____________________________________________________________

*Thank you very much for your cooperation and time!*
APPENDIX B

SELF-REPORTS OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY QUESTIONNAIRE

Please indicate the level of your Korean. In the blank for each statement, please put the number from the scale that best represents your present ability in Korean. The scale is as follows:


**Listening**

_____ 1. I can understand very limited, highly frequent, daily Korean expressions used at home with modified speed.

_____ 2. I can understand simple questions and statements but I may need some repetition.

_____ 3. I can understand simple and mediocre dialogue and statements at normal speed.

_____ 4. I can understand almost everything in communication with my parents and relatives at normal speed.

_____ 5. I can understand everything, including idiomatic and humorous expressions in Korean TV drama and movies.

**Speaking**

_____ 1. I can speak only highly frequent daily Korean expressions used at home.

_____ 2. I can speak simple questions and statements with careful thought.

_____ 3. I can speak simple and mediocre dialogue and statements at normal speed.

_____ 4. I can speak about almost everything with my parents and relatives at normal speed.

_____ 5. I can speak using the appropriate Korean honorific forms to my parents, relatives, and Korean adults.

**Reading**

_____ 1. I can read a limited number of high frequency words.

_____ 2. I can read simple and short sentences.

_____ 3. I can read short Korean story books.
4. I can read Korean literature and novels, with minimal use of a dictionary.

5. I can read contemporary Korean newspapers/magazines/websites that demand a higher level of knowledge in Korean social cultural aspects.

Writing

1. I can write a few words.

2. I can write simple sentences.

3. I can write short letters/emails.

4. I can write essays expressing my personal opinions.

5. I can write essays with hardly any errors, such as correct orthographics, appropriate spacing, and verb conjugation.
APPENDIX C

Sample Interview Questions

For Children:

1. Tell me about your identity.

2. Do you think the Korean language (or English) is important to you? Why or why not?

3. How do you communicate with your parents and siblings?

4. How have you been maintaining your Korean language fluency and cultural understanding? If you have, what kinds of learning activities have you been engaged in (formal and informal learning experiences of Korean)?

4. How did your parents contribute to your Korean language and culture learning?

5. Do you have any specific preferences for your marriage partner in the future?

6. What kind of career would you like to have? Do your parents support the career you would like to have? Why or why not?

7. Have you experienced any communication problems with your parents due to problems caused by language and culture difference? If you have, how have you coped with them?

8. Tell me about your experience of using technology (computer, internet, games, etc.). How do you use the technology/computer/internet?

9. What language do you choose for online communication? What are the factors which make you choose that language?

10. What are the advantages or disadvantages of your technology use?

11. Do you agree that technology can be a medium of learning language and culture? Why or why not?

12. Please let me know your favorite websites and tell me the reasons you like them.

13. Please compose a DETAILED essay, in Korean. (계획 그리고 이유들도 자세하게 써주세요.)
APPENDIX D

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

FOR PARENTS:

1. Do you think the Korean language (or English) is important to your children? Why or why not?

2. How do you communicate with your children?

3. How have you been contributing to your children’s Korean language and culture learning?

4. Do you have any specific preferences for your children’s marriage partner in the future?

5. What kind of career do you want your children to have? Do you support the career your children would like to have? Why or why not?

6. Have you experienced any communication problems with your children due to problems caused by language and culture differences? If you have, how have you coped with them?

7. Tell me about your experience of using technology (computer, internet, games, etc.). How do you use the technology/computer/internet?

8. What language do you choose for online communication? What are the factors which make you choose that language?

9. What are the advantages or disadvantages of your/your children’s technology use?

10. Do you agree that technology can be a medium of learning language and culture? Why or why not?

11. Please let me know your favorite websites and tell me the reasons you like them.
APPENDIX E

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION

Times New Roman  Korean utterances

*Italic*  English utterances

**Bold & Underline**  Emphasis for discussion

(text)  Translation of Korean language utterances into English

(((text)))  Additional comments, e.g., gesture, intonation, or context

[text]  Romanization of Korean language utterances

This transcription convention is applied to excerpts, tables, and main texts.
APPENDIX E
The University of British Columbia
Office of Research Services and Administration
Behavioural Research Ethics Board

Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR
Carey, S.

DEPARTMENT
Language and Literacy Educ

NUMBER
B04-0835

INSTITUTION(S) WHERE RESEARCH WILL BE CARRIED OUT
UBC Campus ,

CO-INVESTIGATORS:
Cho, Sunah Park, Language and Literacy Educ

SPONSORING AGENCIES

TITLE:
How Do Korean Immigrant Families Use Technology as a Means of Maintaining / Acquiring Heritage Language and Culture?

APPROVAL DATE
DEC 5 2004

TERM (YEARS)
1

DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL:
Oct. 15, 2004, Advertisement / Contact letter / Consent forms / Assent form / Questionnaire

CERTIFICATION:
The protocol describing the above-named project has been reviewed by the Committee and the experimental procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

Approval of the Behavioural Research Ethics Board by one of the following:
Dr. James Frankish, Chair,
Dr. Cay Holbrook, Associate Chair,
Dr. Susan Rowley, Associate Chair
Dr. Anita Hubley, Associate Chair

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the experimental procedures.

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