MOVING ACROSS LINGUISTIC, CULTURAL, AND GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES: A MULTI-SITED ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

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Jungmin Kwon

This multi-sited ethnographic case study examines how transnationalism shapes the everyday lives of young immigrant children, particularly their literacies, identities, and learning. This study involved three second-generation Korean immigrant children whose lives encompass multiple languages, cultures, and countries through close connections with their parental homelands. Informed by a transnationalism framework and sociocultural perspective on literacy, I focused on three specific questions: How do second-generation immigrant children engage with language and literacy in and across various spaces? What transnational funds of knowledge do they build as they move across contexts? How do they position themselves and represent their identities? I employed a multi-sited ethnographic stance and collected data for one year in two locations: North Carolina, United States, and Seoul, South Korea. The data collected include participant observations, fieldnotes, parent questionnaires and interviews, child-centered interview activities, artifacts, documents, photographs, and a reflective journal.

Findings from the research indicated that second-generation immigrant children play crucial roles in building, maintaining, and extending transnational networks. As these children moved across geographical boundaries, they flexibly drew on multiple languages, linguistic features, and modes. As active agents, they engaged in the circulation of care by circulating love, support, and educational resources with family members across national borders. The children also mobilized their transnational funds of knowledge beyond local-global contexts through playful engagements that I refer to as *transcultural play.* Finally, the children presented complex and evolving transnational ways of belonging, which demonstrated that active participation in transnational practices does not necessarily lead to strong identification with the parents' home culture. This study provides a more comprehensive and nuanced picture of young immigrant children living in a transnational and transcultural world and challenges previous claims that second-generation immigrants lose meaningful connections with their parental homelands. By demonstrating the flexibility and mobility of young immigrant children's literacies, identities, and learning, I provide theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical insights that are essential for researchers and educators interested in cultivating a transnational curriculum and honoring young immigrant children's mobile experiences.

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DEDICATION

To my husband, Seokhyoung, and my daughter, Jane,

Thank you for making this journey forever meaningful and fulfilling

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This multi-sited ethnographic case study explores the fluidity and multiplicity of second-generation Korean immigrant children's[1] language and literacy practices across multiple spaces beyond geographic boundaries. In this study, I particularly focused on the transnational experiences of young immigrant children in North Carolina who frequently return to Korea for a substantial amount of time during the summer. Previous literature on immigrant children and their family members has primarily focused on the acculturation and assimilation process while situating their experiences within the geographical boundaries of either the country of origin or the country of settlement (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 1994). Immigrant children's language and literacy experiences that emerge in informal learning spaces outside of the fixed notions of home and school have been overlooked. Furthermore, the mobility of immigrant children's literacy practices across multiple locales in a transnational context, and whether those literacy practices remain constant, move, and/or shift, has been understudied.

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[1] In this study, second-generation immigrant children are children born in the U.S. who have at least one foreign-born parent who has migrated to the U.S. (Rumbaut, 2002; Sánchez, 2007b).

Drawing upon a sociocultural perspective on language and literacy and a transnationalism framework, this study moves away from the binaries of receiving/sending countries and home/school contexts. Rather, I focused on young immigrant children's dynamic and mobile experiences across time and space as they engaged in a transnational and transcultural world. Specifically, I turn attention to what young immigrant children do *with* their transnational and multilingual practices and how they use these literacies to position themselves.

Methodologically, this case study employed a multi-sited ethnographic stance (Marcus, 1995) to document three second-generation Korean immigrant children's transnational experiences in both the *sender* and *destination* communities. The multi-sited ethnographic approach allowed me to trace the flow and interaction of literacy practices in and across multiple countries and examine the children's experiences of constructing transnational funds of knowledge during their mobility. I considered both formal and informal spaces in Seoul, South Korea and North Carolina, U.S. (e.g., home, school, heritage language school, church, store, museum, after-school program, and community) as sites for participant observation to create a more comprehensive picture that incorporated the complexities and hybridity of immigrant children's experiences over space and time. Participant observations were combined with child-centered interview activities, parent questionnaires and interviews, child-generated photographs, artifacts, and documents. In doing so, I was able to understand how meanings get circulated across different spaces and situations (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) and gather qualitative data (e.g., stories, pictures, artifacts, and documents) that document young immigrant children's experiences in the context of transnationalism.

Participants in this study are three second-generation Korean immigrant children who currently reside in North Carolina, U.S. Beginning in the 1980s, North Carolina experienced an influx of immigration as part of a new social phenomenon (Rong, 2006). North Carolina is one of the "new gateway states" that possesses a unique context for immigration research because its immigration population tripled or quadrupled during the last two decades (Hilburn & Fitchett, 2012; Rong & Preissle, 2009). Many schools and communities in the state have no previous experiences with ethnic minorities, particularly immigrant families, other than African Americans. However, since the 1990s, the foreign-born population, especially Asian and Latinx, is rapidly increasing, especially the number of school-age immigrant children who are either first- or second-generation immigrants (Rong, Hilburn, & Sun, 2016). A large number of these children from immigrant households speak a language other than English at home and maintain their heritage language and culture, which has influenced K-12 schools in North Carolina and made them more linguistically and culturally diverse. However, since immigration is a newly emerging phenomenon in the state, many educators in this area have less familiarity with the importance of understanding immigrant children's linguistic and cultural knowledge and the value of incorporating their unique transnational experiences into curriculum and teaching (Jo & Lee, 2016; Rong, 2006).

It is significant that this research investigates how second-generation immigrant children in North Carolina traverse across linguistic, cultural, and geographical boundaries to understand what transnational funds of knowledge they build and how they engage in transnational literacies. This study contributes to a body of literature on the intersections among transnationalism, young immigrant children, language, and literacy.

A majority of previous studies in migration research tend to be adult-centric and have underexplored the roles and participation of young immigrant children in the context of transnationalism (Gardner, 2012; Orellana et al., 2001; Sigad & Eisikovits 2010; White, Caitríona, Tyrrell, & Carpena-Méndez, 2011). However, in this study I view immigrant children not as pre-formed adults who are passive recipients of existing knowledge, but as social agents who play a key role in developing and sustaining connections with their parental homelands. This paper illuminates the dynamicity and fluidity of young immigrant children's literacies, identities, and learning while providing implications to researchers, educators, and teacher educators about the importance of valuing and honoring immigrant children's linguistic, cultural, and physical border-crossing experiences. In addition, this paper calls for further research on immigrant families' lived experiences in transnational contexts using a multi-sited ethnographic approach and child-centered methodologies.

Background of the Study

A significant number of children from immigrant households speak a language other than English in their homes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). As soon as these children enter schools in the U.S., many of them experience language assimilation pressures because monolingualism is considered the norm in mainstream school environments (Ghiso, 2013; Wong Fillmore, 2000; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). These immigrant students observe their peers and absorb messages that one mainstream language and culture are privileged, and they need to be proficient in English to be accepted by their peers and teachers and to succeed in school (Shin, 2005). When immigrant children do not score well on standardized exams of English language learning, they become

stigmatized and require special attention and guidance in the form of linguistic and cultural supports to be fully integrated into the school. They then naturally come to believe that the language spoken in their home is the barrier for participating and engaging in school and society (Wong Fillmore, 2000).

The ideologies of English monolingualism coupled with the deficit view towards immigrants' non-mainstream linguistic and cultural knowledge in many cases push children and their families to ultimately abandon efforts to maintain their heritage language and culture (C. Brown, 2001; Ghiso, 2013; You, 2005). It also hinders immigrant children and their families from seeing their connections with their homelands and their engagements in transnational networks as advantages and resources. Asian immigrant students, for instance, report that they experience the discontinuity between home and school and feel alienated at school due to the feelings that their linguistic and cultural backgrounds are not valued (Kim, 2009).

Many times, educators and researchers undervalue learning that emerges in out-of-school spaces such as home, community, and second classrooms (Campano, 2007; Ghiso, 2016) because those spaces are marked as unofficial educational spaces. However, it is imperative for educators to understand immigrant children's multilingual practices and out-of-school experiences because they often "contrast with their poor school-based performance and suggest a different view of their potential as capable learners and doers in the world" (Hull & Schultz, 2002, p. 1). For instance, a growing number of immigrant children and their families participate in physical and social border-crossing experiences as they travel and navigate two or more languages, cultures, and countries (Basch et al., 1994; Ghiso, 2016; Levitt & Jaworksky, 2007; Sánchez & Kasun, 2012; Suárez-Orozco

& Suárez-Orozco, 2001). During these processes, immigrant children and their families develop fluid literacy practices, cultural flexibility, transnational networks, and cross-cultural knowledge, which may add significant values to monolingual classes and could positively impact their peers and teachers (Sánchez, 2007b; Skerrett, 2015).

In addition, immigrant children engage in rich and dynamic linguistic and cultural practices in various spaces outside of schools where they are less mandated to follow the set curriculum and assessment. These alternative spaces may include various after-school programs (Campano, 2007; Orellana, 2016), home (Li, 2006b; Song, 2016b), community (Ghiso, 2016), and digital spaces (Jiménez, Smith, & Teague, 2009; Kim, 2018; Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009). In these alternative spaces, immigrant students are given more freedom to employ multiple languages, practice out-of-school literacies, and draw upon their prior knowledge and backgrounds. For transnational immigrant students who sustain close ties with their homelands, these alternative spaces include transnational social spaces (Faist, 1998) and transnational communities (Brittain, 2002; Rong, 2006) where people from minoritized communities share ethnic solidarity, useful country-of-origin related information, and build networks.

When immigrant children are encouraged to connect their out-of-school knowledge and experiences with what they read and write in classrooms, they are better positioned to access and continue to develop their literacies. Therefore, many scholars in the language and literacy field (Ghiso, 2016; Jiménez et al., 2009; Orellana, 2016) emphasize that educators and teachers need to consider transnational and community literacies of linguistically and culturally diverse students as resources. Despite the importance of exploring and valuing immigrant children’s funds of knowledge (Dabach

& Fones, 2016; González et al., 2005; Kwon, Ghiso, & Martínez-Álvarez, 2019; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992), it is challenging for teachers to tap into children's multilingual and multiliterate knowledge or into their linguistic and cultural border-crossing experiences. The increased number of standards, assessments, and prescribed fixed curriculum impose many constraints on teachers who value the out-of-school literacies that immigrant children practice. Teachers are mandated to employ standards-based and curriculum-centered instruction that privileges and values school-based literacy practices in Standard English. Therefore, it is not easy for teachers to find time and space where they can integrate immigrant children's knowledge from their transnational and multilingual experiences (Ghiso, 2016). Moreover, few opportunities are available for teachers to learn about the linguistic and cultural resources that immigrant children bring from the various spaces they engage in outside of school (Souto-Manning, 2013a). As Jiménez et al. (2009) emphasized, it is essential for teachers and educators to consider alternative spaces where immigrant children's transnational and multilingual learning take place. These issues together make a large number of immigrant children feel that their experiences and knowledge are marginalized and silenced in schools and society.

Regardless of immigrant children's backgrounds, meaningful literacy and content learning can emerge in schools when their linguistic and cultural backgrounds and experiences are valued as important epistemic resources (Campano, 2007; Gay, 2010; 2016; Jiménez et al., 2009; Souto-Manning, 2013b). Educational research has shown that building on students' knowledge and their strengths is a highly effective teaching strategy (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005). Students from minoritized backgrounds are more

likely to make academic progress in school when their teachers incorporate the language, literacies, and culture that students bring from outside school (Jiménez et al., 2009; Souto-Manning, 2013b). One avenue for being more attentive to students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds is for educators to tap into literacies that immigrant children practice outside of schools. It is important that students' *funds of knowledge* (González, et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992)—historically and culturally developed knowledge and skills from out-of-school settings—are considered as assets rather than deficits (Krashen, 1999; Souto-Manning, 2006). Schools can support children from immigrant households in acquiring school literacies by making the children's diverse knowledge and experiences visible and then integrating these sources of knowledge, which will also positively impact non-immigrant and monolingual students by exposing them to rich and diverse linguistic and cultural resources.

Taking up a pluralistic approach that acknowledges diversity within any group is necessary when researching and working with immigrant children and their families. For instance, literature on Asian immigrants has been critiqued for categorizing the population as a homogenous group and neglecting how characteristics and practices differ by distinct nationalities, geographic locations, and characteristics unique to a particular affiliation (Sohn & Wang, 2006). In schools, Asian immigrants are often categorized as a model minority or described as academic superstars who can achieve academic success without additional guidance or assistance (Kim, 2009; Lee, 1994; 1996). By questioning these taken-for-granted assumptions about Asian immigrant children, their literacies, and possible spaces for learning, this work aims to capture a

more nuanced picture of how Korean immigrant children engage in language and literacy in a transnational and transcultural world.

The next section discusses the importance of moving away from the binaries of home/school and receiving/sending contexts to expand understanding about the space in which immigrant children engage in linguistic, cultural, and geographical border-crossing experiences. The next section specifically discusses how common assumptions about where learning takes place and container-like perspectives hinder researchers and educators from understanding immigrant children's multi-layered and multi-sited language and literacy practices.

Statement of the Problem

Current research and practices regarding immigrant children are tethered to binary and fixed notions of home and school and receiving and sending countries. These binary classifications limit immigrant children's learning experiences to one location, context, and country. This container-like perspective, rather than a nexus-like perspective that emphasizes permeability and connectedness, hinders researchers and educators from understanding the complexity and fluidity of multilingual and multiliterate repertoires that immigrant children engage in across diverse spaces even within one location (e.g., English-dominant school, heritage language school, home, church, or community) (Mills & Comber, 2015). Furthermore, limiting children's experience within the nation-state fails to capture the mobility of contemporary immigrant children because they operate as transnational migrants who traverse across linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries, whether through physical mobility or mobility facilitated by digital technologies (Kim, 2018; Orellana, 2016). In other words, immigrant children occupy

multiple figurative and literal spaces across multiple countries in the current globally connected world. While creating and sustaining connections with their parents' home countries, children of immigrant backgrounds engage in multilingual and transnational literacies and navigate what it means to be a citizen of the world.

Despite such continued mobility and transnational fluidity, a substantial body of existing research viewed migration as a "one-way process of assimilation into a melting pot or a multicultural salad bowl" (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 130) and ignored the fact that a great number of people today "live in social worlds that are stretched between, or dually located in, physical places and communities in two or more nation-states" (Vertovec, 2001, p. 578). In other words, the assumption about immigrants as individuals who leave their homelands permanently and settle in a new country has been pervasive. Therefore, previous empirical works on immigrant children and youth have been carried out within the geographic boundaries of either the country of origin or the country of settlement. However, in reality, immigrant students operate as *transnational*s who (re)connect the ties between their home country and host country, which means that researchers need to understand these students' experiences beyond a local or national scale (Darvin & Norton, 2014). The container-like perspective that limits immigrants' experiences within isolated geographic boundaries may oversimplify and neglect the complex experiences that many immigrant families have in a contemporary globalized context (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Immigrant families maintain their global connections while living locally by engaging in linguistic, cultural, and social practices that are embedded in transnationalism. Educational researchers have only recently started considering a wide

variety of transnational connections between contemporary immigrant families and their homelands. For example, previous studies have shown that some families participate in regular back-and-forth movement between the U.S. and their home countries for various reasons, including education, business, and political activities (Gardner & Mand, 2012; Kwon, 2019b; Rong, 2006; Sánchez, 2007b). Not only do contemporary immigrant children physically travel between countries, they also engage in dynamic and complex literacies that traverse across geographical boundaries (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009). There are children of immigrant families who have never been to their parents' home countries but have nuanced global understandings (Martínez-Álvarez & Ghiso, 2017) because they have been exposed to transnational and community literacies including multilingual texts, advertisements, and images that represent different cultures or connections between the U.S. and other countries (Jiménez et al., 2009). Some immigrant children also engage in popular culture that may invoke their transnational experiences or "feelings of simultaneous existence" (Duff, 2015, p. 76). Moreover, advancements in technology and globalization have accelerated immigrant children's mobility, enhanced youth's literacies, and enabled immigrants to move across time and space (Eisikovits, 2010; Jiménez et al., 2009; Lam & Warriner, 2012; Sánchez, 2007b; Sigad & Skerrett, 2012). Because of these experiences, they are more likely to build and maintain ties with the countries of origin while being in the countries of settlement (Hornbergr & Link, 2012; Lam & Warriner, 2012).

Many scholars agree that transnational practices and ties have been established and will continue among the first generation, which led some researchers to view transnational practices as a "one-generation phenomenon" (Portes, 2001, p. 190) that

cannot be passed down to the subsequent generations (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). This perspective fails to capture a full picture of immigrant lives today, because many children who are not first generation, including the ones who participated in my pilot study, engage in a wide range of transnational practices in their daily lives and regularly experience linguistic, cultural, and geographical border-crossings.

For instance, during my pilot study (Kwon, 2017) with immigrant mothers from Japan and Korea, I found that second-generation children and their families engaged in languages, literacies, and experiences that extended across national borders. For instance, all of the mothers purposefully exposed their children to the transnational television channels of their home countries to teach them historical and cultural knowledge and to motivate their children's heritage language learning. The participants also expressed a preference for using heritage language print and literacy resources imported from Korea and Japan. They also stated that they organize groups with other immigrant families in their local communities and share heritage language materials within the group. In addition, all of the mothers shared that they frequently and regularly visited their home countries so their children could participate in schooling and visit their extended families. The pilot study underscored the necessity of examining the transnational ties that immigrant children and their families build and maintain with their homelands. The pilot study also revealed the importance of documenting the mobility of immigrant children's language and literacy practices and *transnational* funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) across time and space.

Campano and Ghiso (2011) emphasized the necessity of approaching immigrant students through an asset-based perspective and considering them as "cosmopolitan

intellectuals" who hold rich and extensive knowledge and experiences embedded in transnational networks. Immigrant students' knowledge includes understanding multiple languages and cultures as well as various social, educational, economic, and political contexts of the world (Skerrett, 2015). Immigrant students also have the capacity to "draw from, combine, and reshape" (Skerrett, 2015, p. 7) linguistic, cultural, and geographic knowledge.

Gaining deeper insight into children's transnational funds of knowledge is important because incorporating such knowledge can enrich classroom discussions and widen monolingual students' understanding about diverse cultures and the globalized world (Compton-Lily, Kim, Quast, Tran, & Shedrow, 2019; Skerrett, 2015). Hence, it is imperative for practitioners, teachers, and researchers to understand the multi-layered and multi-sited aspects of immigrant children's language and literacies so they can recognize that their transnational and transcultural experiences are assets. Teachers need to offer more opportunities in classrooms for students with transnational experiences to share their unique perspectives and knowledge around linguistic, cultural, and geographical diversity (Dabach & Fones, 2016; Skerrett, 2015). Finally, researchers in the field of education need to further examine how transnationalism impacts the language and literacy practices of immigrant children from different generations and various linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

However, the "transnational turn" to the issue of language and literacy practices is a new and emerging area of research, and there are few empirical studies on the intersections of transnationalism, education, and children. Existing studies tend to focus on adults' experiences while neglecting immigrant children's experiences and their

transnational mobility (Lam & Warriner, 2012; Skerrett, 2015; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; White et al., 2011; Zeithlyn & Mand, 2012), which creates only a partial understanding of how transnationalism impacts immigrant communities. Gardner (2012) noted that focusing on children helps researchers understand how transnational links are constructed and transformed, because children are active agents who can create culture rather than simply learn and consume it. Moreover, existing research that examines immigrant students' transnational experiences tends to focus on a single bounded space, community, country, and/or context. Several scholars have argued that it is essential to investigate literacy practices across multiple locales to gain an in-depth understanding of how immigrant children's literacies remain constant, move, and/or shift (Cho, 2016). Additionally, a number of migration scholars (Marcus, 1995; Punch, 2012) have emphasized a multi-sited ethnographic approach as a feasible tool for capturing a complex picture of immigrants' transnational movements and practices, but few researchers have employed the method due to its prohibitive time and expense aspects.

By carrying out a multi-sited ethnographic case study, I documented how second-generation Korean immigrant children engage in language and literacies across multiple spaces in both the countries of origin and settlement. I also explored the immigrant children's identities and the learning that takes place during their transnational engagements. By challenging the dichotomy of home/school and receiving/sending country, I captured a more comprehensive and nuanced picture of immigrant children's language and literacy practices in and across various spaces in the context of transnationalism. It is important that this research explored the practices of elementary-aged second-generation Korean immigrant children and their families, which is a

population that has been less studied; existing studies on the intersection of literacy and transnationalism predominantly focus on the experiences of adolescents (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009; Shankar, 2011; Skerrett, 2015; Yi, 2009) from Latin America (Noguerón-Liu, S & Hogan, 2017; Skerrett, 2015; Zúñiga & Hamann, 2009).

Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

Informed by a transnationalism framework and a sociocultural perspective on literacy, this multi-sited ethnographic case study investigated the everyday lives of second-generation Korean immigrant children who live as transnationals. I employed a multi-sited ethnographic cases study and followed three participant children for one year in various locales such as home, school, and community in two locations: North Carolina, United States, and Seoul, South Korea. By collecting participant observations, fieldnotes, child-centered interviews, parent interviews and questionnaires, artifacts, and documents in both countries, I closely examined the transnational experiences of immigrant children, particularly their literacies, identities, and learning.

I included three Korean immigrant children who are enrolled in elementary school (2nd and 3rd grade) in North Carolina. These children were second-generation immigrants who were born in the U.S. and have at least one parent of Korean descent who moved to the U.S. (Rumbaut, 2002; Sánchez, 2007b). They were exposed to Korean as a heritage language in their home. Specifically, this study focused on the following overarching question and sub-questions:

> How does transnationalism shape the everyday lives of second-generation Korean American immigrant children, particularly their literacies, learning, and identities?

1. How do second-generation immigrant children engage with language and literacy in and across various spaces?
2. What transnational funds of knowledge do second-generation immigrant children build as they move across contexts?
3. How do second-generation immigrant children position themselves and represent their identities?

Rationale for the Study

The present study addresses the complexity and mobility of immigrant children's language and literacy experiences that traverse across multiple spaces beyond geographic boundaries. It traces and documents the mobile lives of immigrant children who "bring to school transnational knowledges, complex multilingual literacies, and cultural practices which reflect global mobility and the blended nature of their social worlds" (Martínez-Álvarez & Ghiso, 2017, p. 667). Unlike the majority of previous studies that focus on immigrants' experiences in either a receiving or sending country, this study focuses on gaining a more expansive and nuanced picture of immigrant children's transnational experiences by collecting ethnographic data from both 'home' and 'host' countries.

Previous studies on transnational migration have generally focused on the roles of adults in transnational migration while overlooking children's perspectives and experiences (Gardner, 2012; Haikkola, 2011; White et al., 2011). To understand transnational engagements from children's perspectives, this study centralizes children's voices and experiences by approaching the three focal participants as "cosmopolitan intellectuals" (Campano & Ghiso, 2011) possessing rich linguistic, cultural, and experiential knowledge that can enrich classrooms and society. In other words, I viewed

the three immigrant children not as pre-performed adults but as active agents with the potential to build, maintain, and extend transnational connections with their parents' homelands (Orellana et al., 2001).

Through investigating immigrant children's transnational engagements and recognizing that their multilingual knowledge can be assets to both immigrant and mainstream children, I aimed to contest the deficit perspective that undervalues immigrant children's linguistic and cultural knowledge as distinct from those of mainstream students. As Orellana (2016) argued, oftentimes "dominant approaches to teaching and learning in this culture are problem-focused" (p. 135). Many educators and researchers forget the power of seeing *what's possible* and *what can be built upon*. By centralizing immigrant children's voices and experiences and reframing them as active agents who hold extensive transnational funds of knowledge, I sought to understand what is possible for immigrant children and what can be built upon from their knowledge and backgrounds.

In conclusion, this study provides insights into the emerging discussion on the intersections among immigration, transnationalism, language, and literacy. This study contributes to the literature by contesting binaries of home/school and sending/receiving contexts and aims to create a comprehensive and nuanced picture of immigrant children who live in a transnational and transcultural world. Binaries such as home/school and sending/receiving can hinder educators and researchers from seeing how immigrant children's language and literacy practices move across multiple spaces locally and globally. In addition, this work provides practical implications to teachers and practitioners by highlighting the dynamic and rich transnational connections that

immigrant children make globally and how they engage in language and literacies during the processes.

Theoretical Framework

This study is framed by the construct of two theoretical frameworks that include a transnationalism framework and a sociocultural perspective on literacy. The underlying assumption of this work is that second-generation immigrant children engage in an array of linguistic and cultural experiences that traverse spaces beyond geographic boundaries. By applying a transnational perspective on migration, this study contests the binary of the old/new country and argues that immigrant children and their families build and maintain close connections with their parental homelands. This paper draws on a transnationalism framework and calls for the necessity of moving beyond bounded space and context by considering multiple spaces and countries as research sites for documenting immigrant children's fluid literacy practices. I apply a sociocultural perspective on language and literacy that considers literacy as fluid and dynamic and takes social and cultural contexts into account. By situating the work within these theoretical frameworks, I aimed to focus on what immigrant children *do* with literacy as they participate in transnational practices and mobile lives.

A Transnationalism Framework

I employed a transnationalism framework in this study to closely examine the three immigrant children and their families' experiences of moving across linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries. A transnationalism framework theorizes the mobility of migration, which Ong (1999) described as "the condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space." A transnationalism framework explains a

prominent phenomenon where contemporary immigrants forge and maintain multiple social relations that connect their societies of origin and settlement (Basch et al., 1994). While this term has been around more than 30 years, recently the framework has drawn more attention from migration scholars (Falicov, 2005). Drawing upon the transnationalism framework, scholars have explored the sociocultural, economic, and political activities in which contemporary immigrants engage in connection to their homelands (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2008).

In examining the experiences of second-generation immigrant children, transnationalism is a useful lens that makes cultural and geographic boundaries hybrid and dialogic (Guo & Maitra, 2017). I am drawn to this framework because it allows me to think beyond nation-state boundaries and examine the linkage and connection that immigrant children build as they develop *hybrid* and *dialogic* identities. The transnationalism framework also helps me examine immigrant children's everyday lives, which are embedded in multi-layered transnational networks (Levitt & Jaworksky, 2007). In addition, it allows me to re-imagine the definition of local and global when understanding immigrant children's transnational lives. Through this lens, I believe that educational researchers can better understand the complexity of immigrant students' everyday lives, particularly in today's context where globalization impacts their children's experiences (Patricia & Sue, 2012).

While transnationalism is now widely discussed across disciplines—in sociology, anthropology, education, and political science—little is known about how transnationalism affects the lives of young immigrant children (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). In this study, I focus on three second-generation young Korean immigrant

children who are living locally in the U.S. while maintaining global connections (Warriner, 2017). I pay close attention to their language and literacies embedded in transnational networks as well as their identities and funds of knowledge shaped by their mobile experiences. The transnationalism framework enabled me to examine the dynamicity and hybridity of transnational experiences instead of limiting immigrant children's experiences to one bounded space and a singular narrative. I approached their experiences through the notions of *fluidity* and *connectivity* and paid particular attention to the "relationship, linkages, and flows" (Gardner, 2012, p. 894) they build across borders and "multiple locations of 'home' which may exist geographically but also ideologically and emotionally" (Wolf, 1997, p. 459). In this study, I position immigrant children as active transnational agents who "take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationship that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation-states" (Basch et al., 1994, p. 7).

A transnationalism framework offered a theoretical lens for this study while also broadening methodological possibilities, because I could move beyond the binaries of homeland and new land and focus on multiple fields as research sites. Scholars have argued the necessity of taking methodological shifts to document the mobility and trans-border movement of immigrants (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Punch, 2012; Sánchez & Machado-Casas, 2009). Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) and Punch (2012) emphasized that longitudinal research, ethnographic approaches, and multi-sited methods may be ideal for researching transnational phenomenon and transnational migrants. Since I recognized the importance of exploring immigrant children's cross-border engagement, I took a multi-sited ethnographic stance in this study; I observed and interviewed the three

young Korean immigrant children and their families in North Carolina, United States, and Seoul, South Korea. By crossing linguistic, cultural, and geographic borders *with* transnational immigrant children, I sought to capture the rich knowledge and experiences that second-generation immigrant children have embedded in more than one society.

Transnational literacies. A growing body of literature has conceptualized the language and literacy practices of immigrant communities as transnational and transcultural (de la Piedra & Guerra, 2012; Jiménez et al., 2009; Warriner, 2007). Drawing from theories of transnationalism, scholars attended to immigrant students' literacies that stay, move, and/or shift across geographic spaces (Compton-Lily et al., 2019; Lam & Warriner, 2012; Orellana, 2016). Jiménez et al. (2009) specifically defined *transnational literacies* as "the written language practices of people who are involved in activities that span national boundaries" (p. 17). In this study, I used the concept of transnational literacies to understand how immigrant children engage in literacies (both written and spoken language practices) to maintain their languages, cultures, and social ties in both local and global dimensions (de la Piedra & Guerra, 2012). In other words, I view transnational literacies as multiple and dynamic interactive and communicative practices that involve images, interactions, texts, and videos (Compton-Lily, Kim, Quast, Tran, & Shedrow, 2019). The concept of transnational literacies helped me delve into the transnational experiences of immigrant children who "read, write, act, think, know [in ways] that are critically informed by a transnational standpoint" (Skerrett, 2015, p. xii).

Immigrant children engage in transnational literacies by employing more than one language to help them manage and extend multiple ties they build across the United States and other countries (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009, p. 179). These practices are

often mediated by various communication tools such as e-mail, chatrooms, and Internet portals as well as transnational news and cultural media. Previous studies explained that engaging in such transnational literacies helps immigrant children improve and maintain both English and their heritage languages (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009). Furthermore, immigrant children are often exposed to transnational literacies (e.g., multilingual texts, advertisements, and images that represent different cultures or connections between the U.S. and other countries) in their communities (Jiménez et al., 2009; Orellana, 2016).

Transnational funds of knowledge. Drawing on a transnationalism framework and the notion of funds of knowledge, I argue that the extensive knowledge that immigrant children gain from their transnational lives and mobile experiences are significant for educational research and practice. The concept of funds of knowledge originally referred to "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (Moll et al., 1992, p. 133). The concept of funds of knowledge is based on the belief that immigrant children and their families are "competent, they have knowledge, and their life experiences have given them that knowledge" (González et al, 2005, p. x). Scholars (Campano, 2007; Souto-Manning, 2013b) have argued that discovering the knowledge constructed in immigrant households can enrich schools by accelerating students' academic learning processes and widening teachers' and peers' understanding of minority students.

In this study, I draw upon the concept of *transnational* funds of knowledge to investigate the bodies of knowledge and skills that encompass multiple localities across country boundaries (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009). I agree with Kasun's (2012) findings

from her study on transnational ways of knowing that immigrant children whose lives are embedded in transnational networks possess unique ways of knowing and extensive funds of knowledge. Previous studies have shown that these children hold meaningful knowledge grounded in transnational experiences that include "transnational experiences (e.g., border crossings), household management (e.g., childcare, budgets, cooking), material and science knowledge (construction, painting) and religion (e.g., sacred texts and rituals)" (Cuero, 2010, p. 429). Skerrett (2015) further notes that transnational students have "knowledge and skills in two or more languages and cultures, and two or more social, educational, economic, and political national contexts" (p. 7).

Sánchez's (2007b) conducted ethnographic research that focused on second-generation immigrant *Mexicanas* who made frequent trips across the border and maintained contact with their families in rural communities in Mexico. Sánchez's (2007b) study demonstrated that engaging in cross-border experiences and creating a transnational network helped second-generation immigrants develop the notions of global citizenship and enhanced their acquisition of local community knowledge. Using participatory research and ethnography in multiple field sites, Sánchez (2007b) explored the socialization and learning that emerged for students as a result of engaging in transnationalism. Specifically, Sánchez (2007b) noted that transnational experiences allowed the youth to build their transnational funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992), develop cultural flexibility (Sánchez, 2007b), and deepen their understanding of geopolitical contexts (Sánchez & Kasun, 2012), which allowed them to broaden their views of the world and respond to the social demands of different communities.

Despite the significance of immigrant students' transnational knowledge and global experiences, these students are often silenced and overlooked in mainstream schools and society (Kasun, 2012). By interviewing and observing Korean immigrant children's mobile experiences and their transnational engagements, this study attempted to explore the children's transnational funds of knowledge that span across nation-states. Specifically, I focused on discovering "a dual frame of reference" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 114) that immigrant students develop as they "compare life experiences, events, and situations from dual points of view of their native society and their adopted society" (Lam & Rosario, 2009, p. 175). This approach allowed me to understand the ways in which these children construct and employ their knowledge embedded in transnational networks.

Making students' transnational funds of knowledge visible can inform many educators and researchers working with immigrant students who maintain close connections with more than two cultures and countries (Jiménez et al., 2009; Sánchez, 2007a). Incorporating their rich knowledge in curriculum and instruction as "transnational resources" (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009) can benefit the migrant children while also positively impacting their peers, teachers, and schools by expanding their understanding of the world.

Transnationalism and identity. There have been growing attempts to theorize immigrant children's identities in the context of transnationalism (Darvin & Norton, 2014). Scholars argue that transnationalism and migration are changing immigrant children' identities because their identities are becoming hybridized and more embedded in transnational networks and transnational social spaces by "incorporating different

aspects of varying cultures through the process of transculturation" (Zhang & Guo, 2015, p. 216). As Sánchez and Kasun (2012) argued, immigrant children do not necessarily choose between their parents' home countries and their own; they develop flexible and complex senses of belonging to multiple contexts. These transnational and transcultural identities allow immigrant children to comfortably circulate among different worlds.

In examining immigrant children's transnational identities, I consider identity as plural and always evolving, not as singular and fixed. Immigrant children's identities are closely tied to the sociocultural and transnational contexts with which these children interact (Wong & Satzewich, 2006). As Honeyford (2014) pointed out, the ways in which contemporary immigrant students "understand and make sense of their world is shaped, among other things, by people, places, experiences, and beliefs" (p. 199). Their identities are often negotiated within social words that encompass more than one space, and they have a perception that they share some common identity with individuals in transnational networks (Vertovec, 2011).

It is important to note that transnational identities and practices differ from immigrant identities or ethnic affiliations. Two concepts that Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) introduced, transnational *ways of being* and *ways of belonging*, provide a beneficial transnational perspective on immigrants' complex transnational identities. According to Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004), transnational *ways of being* refers to the actual social relations and practices that migrants engage in (e.g., transnational visits and international phone calls) whereas *ways of belonging* refers to concrete and visible actions that demonstrate how individuals identify with a particular group. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) explained that ways of belonging "combine an action and an

awareness of the kind of identity that action signifies" (p. 1010). According to Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004), these ways of being and ways of belonging do not always coexist. For instance, an immigrant child who regularly eats certain ethnic foods or participates in homeland visits may not necessarily express a transnational way of belonging. On the other hand, someone who does not engage in social relations across nation-states may exhibit transnational belonging through memory, nostalgia, and imagination.

In other words, whether or not immigrant children sustain a close tie with their parents' homelands, they may construct multidimensional identities and view themselves as belonging to multiple *imagined communities* (Anderson, 1991). Kanno and Norton (2003) defined imagined communities as "groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination" (p. 241). The two concepts, transnational ways of being and ways of belonging, allow me to examine not only the ways immigrant children engage in transnational practices but also the ways they view their identities and represent themselves in the transnational social field.

Sociocultural Perspective on Literacy

I approached immigrant children's literacies through a sociocultural perspective recognizing that literacy is fluid and dynamic and cannot be detached from social and cultural contexts (Barton & Hamilton, 2000). Immigrant children's literacies cannot be defined as a singular and linear process of obtaining sets of reading and writing skills. I grounded my argument for this study in Street's (1984) ideological perspective that moves away from the autonomous model of literacy. The autonomous perspective characterizes literacy as a neutral set of technical skills for reading and writing. According to this orientation, literacy is considered the combination of skills that can be

measured by large-scale tests that reflect students' cognitive skills of reading and writing. However, as Li (2006a) writes:

> Literacy is no longer thought of as a technical ability to read and write, nor the ability of individuals to function within social contexts associated with daily living. Rather, beyond these capacities, it is an ability to think and reason, a way of living, a means of looking at the world we know and how we behave in the world. (p. 18)

Literacy is plural and dynamic and is attached to social and cultural contexts in which children engage (Street, 1984). Children's literacy experiences are closely tied to social and cultural contexts in which they engage. Therefore, immigrant children's literacies are "fluid, dynamic, and changing the lives and societies of which they are a part" (Barton & Hamilton, 2000, p. 13).

Hence, drawing on Barton and Hamilton (2000), this study focuses on literacy practices—what children *do* with literacy in various spaces where they experience transnational engagements. I focus on "how literacy practices multiply and shift forms, functions, and outcomes across social contexts and circumstances" (Skerrett, 2012, p. 366). The sociocultural view of literacy informed my study by helping me view immigrant children's literacy experiences as dynamic and fluid practices that traverse the boundaries of languages, cultures, and countries as these children mobilize.

Scholars who develop sociocultural frameworks often adopt ethnographic methods to explore the diversity of literacy practices (Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003). Heath's (1982a) work is particularly relevant to this dissertation study because as an anthropologist and a linguist, she carried out an ethnographic stance on documenting literacy in relation to the larger sociocultural patterns where children engage in literacy events. Heath (1982a) examined three different communities to

demonstrate that the ways children learn to engage in literacy and display their knowledge varies depending on the sociocultural contexts in which they interact. Her work suggesting that researchers need to pay careful attention to various literacy events and practices informed this work. Immigrant children negotiate and create meanings when employing their linguistic and cultural knowledge through spoken languages (e.g., interactions with family members, peers, and teachers), written texts (e.g., letter writing and storybook reading), and visual texts (e.g., watching media, drawing and painting).

Differentiated community values impact individuals' decisions about their literacy events. Heath (1982a) suggested that "what it means to be literate differs among cultural groups and communities" (Au, 2006, p. 40), which emphasizes the importance of considering sociocultural contexts that vary by each group. In order to understand the variety of ways children from multilingual homes learn about reading, writing, and speaking, literacy research must take the sociocultural contexts where literacy experiences occur into account.

As mentioned above, Heath's (1982a) work suggested an ethnographic approach to language and literacy studies as an ideal way to document sociocultural aspects of literacy and capture the rich description of what immigrant children experience during their engagement with language and literacy. However, when approaching Heath's (1982a) work through the lens of transnationalism, it can be argued that her ways of situating and bounding literacy within the boundaries of fixed spaces may not capture a comprehensive picture of how literacy moves between spaces. Recognizing the limitation in Heath's (1982a) work, this dissertation study investigates how immigrant children engage in literacies in multiple spaces including homes, schools, and communities

located in both their countries of origin and the countries of settlement, which will allow me to explore multi-layered and multi-sited literacies of immigrant children and better grasp the complexity and fluidity of their literacy experiences.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Children of immigrant families make up a large population of the schools in the United States. In many cases, immigrant children speak a language other than English in their homes and experience a culture that is distinct from what they experience in mainstream school and society (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). In addition to these linguistic and cultural border-crossing experiences, some children physically, socially, and culturally travel across multiple countries while developing their transnational connections and identities (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009; Orellana, 2016; Sánchez, 2007b; Skerrett, 2012; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). The growing number of these bilingual and transnational children in schools raises important questions for families, teachers, and schools to consider how to better support these children and their learning (Ghiso, 2016; Song, 2016a).

Scholars have asserted that it is important to view immigrant and bilingual children through asset-based perspectives to understand their linguistic and cultural knowledge as valuable resources (Campano, 2007; Cureo, 2010; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Li, 2002; Orellana, 2016; Souto-Manning, 2013b) and to integrate their rich linguistic and cultural knowledge in curriculum and instruction (Moll et al., 2001). Given today's context of transnationalism and the growth of mobility, it is imperative for educators and researchers to gain nuanced understanding about the experiences of

immigrant students and their engagement in transnational networks (Gardner & Man, 2012; Orellana, Thorne, Chee, & Lam, 2001; Skerrett, 2012, 2015).

In this section, I discuss the literature that informed the current study. I first discuss previous studies on children of immigrants in transnational and transcultural contexts and present research that discusses literacy practices of transnational immigrants. I then review existing work on immigrant children's language and literacy practices, particularly on language brokering, translanguaging, and transnational literacies. I also discuss Korean immigrants in U.S. contemporary societies and contextualize the need to study Korean American children's language, literacy, and identities across multiple locales and beyond geographical boundaries. By thoroughly reviewing previous studies, I seek to highlight the needs and significance of this dissertation study.

Immigrant Children in Transnational and Transcultural Context

Children of immigrants and their families participate in a wide range of transnational practices (Orellana et al., 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) as they maintain connections with their countries of origin through technology and travel (Vertovec, 2004). In the past, many immigrant families prioritized integrating into American society over maintaining close ties with their homelands and/or parental homelands. In addition, for previous generations, the only possible ways to sustain relationships with the country of origin were through long-distance phone calls, expensive international airfare, or nostalgia and imagination. Therefore, many scholars previously argued that the transnational connection is a "one-generation phenomenon" (Portes, 2001, p. 190) that would eventually fade. Zhou (1997) asserted that children who

are not first-generation “lack meaningful connection to their ‘old’ world” (p. 64). Zhou (1997) further noted that unlike their parents who may actively engage in economic, political, social, and cultural practices that stretch beyond geographical boundaries, it was unlikely for second-generation immigrant children to consider their parents’ homeland “as a place to return to or as a point of reference” (p. 64). Min (2017) also argued that U.S.-born children of immigrants are less likely to make frequent visits to their parents’ homeland regardless of their class status. However, since the technological developments and globalization have made home-host country contact and travel easier and more affordable, immigrant children and their families today have greater access, both physically and virtually, to their homelands (Sigad & Eisikovits, 2010; Skerrett, 2015; Vertovec, 2001).

Often in discussions of transnational engagement and migration processes, children’s roles and participation are neglected and treated as “baggage to be brought along or left behind” (Orellana, 2016, p. 5) in adults’ transnational journeys (Gardner, 2012; Orellana et al., 2001; Orellana, 2016; Sánchez, 2007b). However, it is essential to understand children’s presence and participation in the transnational phenomenon because they play important roles in encouraging and supporting their parents to build and maintain ties with their homelands (Orellana et al., 2001). Moreover, engaging in a wide range of transnational practices positively impacts children by helping them develop their cultural flexibility and knowledge about their parents’ countries of origin and multiple languages and cultures (Rong, 2006; Sánchez, 2007b). The following sections describe previous studies that examined immigrant children’s various transnational

activities and practices and their impacts. I then discuss the significance of undertaking multi-sited ethnographic research on immigrant children's transnational experiences.

Transnational Mobility and Border-Crossing Experiences

Many second-generation immigrant children participate in "transnational shuttling" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 30) as they travel back and forth between the U.S and their parental homelands. There are a number of reasons that immigrant families choose to engage in border-crossing experiences such as visiting relatives and attending educational programs or family events. For instance, in a study with transnational youth, Skerrett (2015) wrote about Vanessa, whose family regularly visits the parents' homeland of Mexico during the summer and for Christmas and other holidays. Skerrett's (2015) study demonstrated how these transnational visits help Vanessa and her family maintain close connections with their relatives in Mexico and help Vanessa develop a strong sense of cultural identity.

In a study with transnational British Bangladeshi families, Gardner and Mand (2012) explained that some parents choose to explicitly discuss their border-crossing experiences with their immigrant children as "a way of reinforcing family bonds for their children and exposing them to 'Bangladeshi' ways of doing thing" (p. 971). Gardner and Mand's (2012) study showed how immigrant families make efforts to develop attachments with two or more countries by participating in transnational shuttling practices.

In many cases, physical border-crossing experiences are determined largely by three key factors: parental financial sources, legal status, and proximity to the country of origin (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). However, even with limited economic

resources, many immigrant families maintain active connections to their homelands “for the sake of their children” (Orellana et al., 2001, p. 588) as they hope their children will learn about their roots and home language while socializing with relatives in the homelands. Furthermore, in a study with British Bangladeshi children, Zeithlyn (2012) pointed out that many families save money for many months to afford their visits to Bangladesh because it is a meaningful opportunity for children to learn more about Bangladesh and their relatives and also experience cultural practices (e.g., weddings, festivals, and religions) in the country. Skerrett (2015) also noted that families of transnational youth often travel to their home countries for varied periods of times to be there at “key moments” (Zeithlyn, 2012, p. 958) such as holidays, weddings, and religious events.

In fact, the border-crossing experience is becoming a common practice among Asian immigrant families (Kwon, 2017; Rong, 2006). Some families intentionally engage their children in such activities as an educational strategy. In my pilot study (Kwon, 2017), I found that Korean and Japanese parents make temporal visits to their countries of origin with their children during the summer to enroll their children in public schools in the countries. They noted that this experience helps second-generation immigrant children broaden their understanding of their cultures, expand heritage language learning, and maintain their connections with extended family members in Korea and Japan. During these visits, immigrant children immerse themselves in a spoken heritage language environment while also developing complex and expansive knowledge about the similarities and differences between the parents’ home countries and the U.S. in terms of historic, cultural, economic, and educational aspects. These findings point to the great

need for further research on the transnational funds of knowledge that immigrant students construct through their participation in transnational sojourning experiences and how they impact their identities.

Researching transnational mobility and immigrant children's border-crossing experiences is essential given the impacts they may have on immigrant children's perspectives and practices (Gardner, 2012; Trieu, Vargas, & Gonzales, 2016). In a study with 29 second-generation children aged 12 to 16 living in Helsinki, Haikkola (2011) found that children transform their existing family ties into more meaningful social relations during visits to their places of origin. Trieu et al. (2016) also explained that children of immigrants who visited their parents' homelands at young ages felt a stronger connection with homelands and felt more responsibilities to send remittances to their families. Haikkola (2011) noted that these meaningful trans-border relationships with family members and friends provide children a sense of belonging and attachment to family history. Similarly, Gardner's (2012) research demonstrated that children who developed a strong sense of belonging during their transnational visits to the homelands were more likely to pursue and continue their connections with people and places in the country. These arguments align with Skerrett's (2015) statement about how transnational sojourning can help immigrant children sustain their family ties and cultural identities. However, immigrant children and their families often hide or do not share their transnational trips, because teachers and schools often disapprove of these experiences because the students' absences may cause students to face difficulties catching up in classes in school after they return. Also, many teachers express concern that the students

will lose their English abilities if they continue frequently travelling to their home countries (Sánchez & Kasun, 2012).

Immigrant Children's Transnational Practices

Contemporary immigrant children, as active agents, participate in an array of transnational practices and engage in cross-border connections as much as their parents by taking roles in linguistic and cultural practices that connect local to global. Duff (2015) explained that these transnational practices include the following:

> engagements with popular culture, new digital and other media, chat rooms, and other virtual social networking and gaming spaces, and interactions with community members (including relatives, near and far) who have their transnational histories and may frequently invoke aspects of cross-border experiences or feelings of simultaneous existence. (p. 76)

For example, in a study with immigrant children from diverse backgrounds, Orellana (2016) administered a survey asking them about the countries they had been or they would like to visit. A majority of her participant children wrote down their families' countries of origin as somewhere they had visited or that they would like to return to in the future. This finding demonstrates that whether the children physically participated in migration or not, they view themselves as connected to different parts of the world, particularly to their parents' homelands.

Previous studies have found transnational experiences during childhood to be closely tied to children's language development, identity, and academic learning. For example, in a study with nine second-generation Korean immigrants, Jo and Lee (2016) found that those experienced transnational engagements such as visiting and contacting relatives overseas, watching media (e.g., Korean popular culture and TV channels) and consuming Korean products (e.g., cosmetics, food) during their childhood years

expressed stronger attachment to their heritage language, culture, and country, which is known as a *transnational affect*.

Despite the benefits of transnational practices, many transnational students agree that their schools, teachers, and peers have little knowledge of their transnational experiences (Sánchez, 2007b). In addition, existing studies on the intersection of immigrant students and transnationalism have primarily focused on the experiences of adolescents or adults (Ceballos, 2012; Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009; Orellana et al., 2001; Sánchez, 2007a, 2007b; Shankar, 2011; Skerrett, 2012, 2015; Yi, 2009), but literature examining young children's perspectives is more limited (Orellana, 2016; Punch, 2009; Sánchez, 2007b; Y. Kang, 2013). Children are often viewed as individuals with no power in transnational processes or migration, so their experiences are not usually shared in discussions about mobility. Moreover, while many studies have focused on students from Latin American backgrounds, students from Asian backgrounds have been understudied in terms of their transnational experiences. Considering how transnationalism impacts both young immigrant children and adolescents from all linguistic and cultural backgrounds, there is great need to pay more attention to transnational experiences of children from various geographical backgrounds.

Language and Literacy Practices of Transnational Immigrants

Transnational immigrant children possess knowledge and skills in two or more languages and cultures. They often employ their linguistic and cultural repertoires when engaging in language and literacy practices in various transnational spaces. For instance, Skerrett's (2012) study with a 15-year-old Mexican girl named Vanessa provides a good example of how a transnational immigrant student engages in multiple languages and

literacy practices as she participates in a transnational and mobile life. In Skerrett's (2012) study, the participant demonstrated "interconnected shifts" (p. 375) in languages and literacies. For instance, the language shift between Spanish and English was evident in Vanessa's writing practices (e.g., journal writing, text messaging, and academic literacy practices). These shifts in language and literacy practices were found to enhance the students' transnational understandings and perspectives.

Technology and digital tools for communication, in particular, have brought transnational immigrant children and youth more opportunities to participate in transnational social spaces and literacy practices through social media, the Internet, multimedia web sites, and e-mail exchanges (Jiménez et al. 2009; Kim, 2018; Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009). Some students use these online tools to communicate with relatives and friends in their home countries, which helps them build close relationships with people while practicing multilingual use. There is growing research on immigrant students' experiences engaging in multilingual and multiliteracies practices using digital tools (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009; Yi, 2009). For instance, in a study with a thirteen-year-old transnational migrant youth named Jenna, Kim (2018) found that Jenna created vides and online messages for her family members in Korea and engaged in interactive conversations with her friends in Korea using social media.

Lam and Rosario-Ramos's (2009) research demonstrates that migrant students employ multiple languages when utilizing transnational media while also highlighting the important roles that digital communication plays for these students in maintaining and developing their connections with people, media, and events across geographical boundaries. In the interviews with 35 young migrant adolescents of diverse national

origins including Eastern Europe, Latin America, South Asia, and East Asia, Lam and Rosario-Ramos (2009) found that a large number of migrant students employed multilingual repertoires when engaging in online communication channels such as instant messaging, multimedia web sites, and blogs. During these multilingual practices in online spaces, they facilitated interactions with others, maintained connections with their countries of origin, and utilized diverse information and resources. It is also important to note that a majority of the students expressed that using their native language in digital spaces helps them improve and maintain their language proficiency. These multilingual students' transnational experiences in online spaces raise important questions about the changing lives of immigrant students and how their literacies emerge and traverse across more than one physical and social space.

Transnational Literacies of Immigrant Children

In this multi-sited ethnographic case study on immigrant children, I sought to understand how Korean immigrant children engage in literacies and what they experience during transnational engagements. Many contemporary immigrant students' language and literacies are impacted by their mobile lives and their transnational connections with their homelands. For example, the participants from my pilot study (Kwon, 2017) explained that their Korean and Japanese second-generation children engaged in a wide range of reading (e.g., children's books and textbooks imported from Japan and Korea) and writing practices (e.g., communicating with parents, friends, and teachers in homelands via mail and e-mail) that are connected to "the creation of maintenance of connections between distant places, often across national borders" (Jiménez et al., 2009, p. 17). In addition, Orellana's (2016) research demonstrated how immigrant children engage in

transnational literacies in their communities that are “filled with signs and symbols of globalization” (p. 64). Orellana (2016) explained that in these communities, students are exposed to signs, images, advertisements, and symbols that present multiple languages and cultures that non-mainstream communities preserve in their daily lives. In this linguistic landscape, children are encouraged to employ their transnational knowledge and multilingual practices. Orellana (2016) asserted that the language-rich print-based community operates as a space where children can employ their transnational knowledge and experiences.

Paying attention to immigrant children’s transnational literacies allows researchers to examine the relationships between literacies and the complex relationships that immigrant children build across geographic borders (Lam & Warriner, 2013). It can also help researchers document how immigrant children and their families sustain language, culture, and emotional connections with their countries of origin through their interactions with literacies (de la Piedra & Guerra, 2012). By focusing on a variety of local and global transnational contexts with which immigrant children interact in their daily lives, I hope to learn about rich transnational funds of knowledge that immigrant children construct through literacies.

Transnational Identities of Immigrant Children

As immigrant children move across linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries, they develop “multiple identities simultaneously grounded in their societies of origin as well as settlement” (Guo & Maitra, 2017, p. 83). For example, Sigad and Eisikovits (2010) found that North American-Israeli children and youth developed a sense of belonging to the two worlds they were tied to. When the participants were asked

to create a map of important places in their lives, 17 out of 20 children and youth expressed "two-fold associations, relationships and connections that span their cross-border childhoods" (p. 1020).

Many children who do not maintain close ties with their parents' homelands engage in multidimensional identity construction processes and view themselves belonging to multiple *imagined communities,* the groups and people that they have not met or hope to meet in the future (Anderson, 1991). For example, Kim's (2016) study presented how an online discussion forum devoted to Korean produced dramas serves as an imaginary community where global youth develop "connections with languages, peoples, and cultures associated with geographically distant places" (p. 269). The online interactions not only provide the youth opportunities to engage in multilingual practices but also help create and maintain a transnational network and multilingual identities. Some researchers in migration scholarship refer to these imagined communities as transnational social spaces (Faist, 1998) where transnational students cultivate and develop their flexible and transnational identities (Yi, 2009). These spaces are significant for immigrant students' socialization and their language and literacy development (Lam, 2009; Lam & Warriner, 2012). As I observe and interact with participant children who sustain close connections with their parents' countries of origin, I pay close attention to how these children position themselves in a transnational world and how they make sense of their identities and transnational experiences.

Immigrant Children's Language and Literacy

It is crucial that teachers and educators consider the complex and rich language and literacy practices in which immigrant children engage in various spaces such as

home, school, and community. When teachers recognize and integrate multilingual children's rich linguistic repertoires, they can better support children's academic learning and linguistic knowledge while understanding the values of linguistic and cultural knowledge that each child holds (Ghiso, 2016; Song, 2016a). The following sections describe hybrid and dynamic language and literacy practices that immigrant children engage in such as language brokering, translanguaging, and multilingual literacies, and then I will review previous work that has been done.

Language Brokering

Many immigrant children and youth serve as language brokers (de Jong, 2011). Language brokering is a practice in which immigrant children "interpret and translate between culturally and linguistically different people and mediate interactions in a variety of situations including home and school" (Tse, 1996, p. 226). Language brokering is a cultural practice that is naturally shaped by the experiences of being children of immigrant families (Orellana, 2009). This cultural practice is not handed down to immigrant children from their parents. Rather, children learn to do so while helping their parents. Children often take the lead in this practice because they recognize that their parents need help navigating in the new society.

Language brokering activities take place not just in home and school but also in many community spaces including hospitals, laundromats, and stores (Dorner, Orellana, & Jiménez, 2008; Ghiso, 2016). Drawing on their multilingual repertoires, immigrant children and youth assist their parents, teachers, peers, and even strangers by reading and interpreting a wide range of texts, including birthday greeting cards, letters, jury summons, and credit card applications (Orellana, 2009, 2016). Dorner, Orellana, and

Jiménez (2008) conducted a longitudinal qualitative study on twelve immigrant adolescents from Latin America for five years to understand their development and their views about translating as they grew from elementary school children to high school adolescents. The study found that adolescents engaged in translating events such as translating official documents, siblings' homework assignments, information from school, and utility bills. During these activities, the language brokers leveraged their linguistic skills and recognized the needs and interests of their families.

Language brokering is a complex process that requires children to develop and employ their transcultural and translingual skills because brokering practices expose children to a wide range of genres, forms, and ways of using language (Orellana, 2009, 2016). The experience of mediating between different cultural practices equips immigrant children with the ability to gain diverse perspectives. It also helps children gain social sensibilities, awareness of others, and learn to manage others' emotions as well as their own (Orellana, 2009). Therefore, students who have these types of linguistic border-crossing experiences tend to gain higher transcultural perspective-taking scores.

Despite the growing interests in language brokering, there is a paucity of empirical research on language brokering experiences of immigrant children and youth, particularly for Asian-American children, and there is scant research about how these language brokering practices impact the children's transcultural competencies and identities (Kwon, 2013; Orellana et al., 2003; Orellana, 2016). In addition, existing studies rely on interviews and small-scale surveys that focus on immigrant youth in limited contexts and time (Dorner et al., 2008). Longitudinal and ethnographic research such as this current study that pays attention to language brokering practices of young

Asian American children can add value to the conversations around language and literacy practices of multilingual children in a transcultural world.

Translanguaging

The concept of translanguaging was first used to explain a pedagogical strategy in bilingual schools in Wales, where students were encouraged to alternate between English and Welsh when reading and writing (García & Wei, 2014; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012). The term translanguaging is now widely used by researchers in bilingual education to refer to a hybrid language practice that explains "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009, p. 45). Translanguaging is based on a holistic view of language, which softens the boundaries between languages. According to Orellana (2016), translanguaging involves "thinking or reading in one language while writing in another. Speakers may use one language with some speakers, another with others, and combine them, in different ways, with still more" (p. 105). Translanguaging is different from other concepts such as code switching, as described below:

> Translanguaging differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speaker's construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speaker's complete language repertoire. (García & Wei, 2014, p. 22)

Translanguaging is a skill shared among many children from bilingual and multilingual communities (Orellana, 2016; Stewart & Hansen-Thomas, 2016), and it is "the discursive norm in bilingual families and communities" (García & Wei, 2014, p. 23). For example, when bilingual children interact with their family members, they must purposefully select certain linguistic features of their multilingual repertoires to communicate. Researching

translanguaging practices of children from diverse linguistic backgrounds is essential because it can provide teachers, researchers, and practitioners a better understanding of the linguistic sources that immigrant children bring to school and how they draw on these resources for their learning (Hornberger & Link, 2012).

Song (2016b) explored Korean immigrant families' language experiences in home literacy events. Song's (2016b) work shows how multiple languages are used as resources for meaning-making and explored how Korean parents encourage their children to engage in translanguaging practices to develop their skills in English and the heritage language. Her study demonstrated how translanguaging practices are interwoven in Korean immigrant children's day-to-day language and literacy experiences at home. Song (2016b) explained that translanguaging practices positively influence children by supporting their skill development in using multiple languages as "referential resources to clarify and refine meanings of unfamiliar words or expressions in one language" (p. 101). Song (2016b) also explained that translanguaging can provide children with opportunities to develop negotiation strategies, metalinguistic knowledge, and metacognitive ability.

In my heritage language class, I observed a number of second-generation immigrant students employing translanguaging practices when discussing their transnational practices, such as visiting Korea, interacting with relatives, and learning the Korean language. For example, one of my students articulated her experience of visiting her grandmother in South Korea and said in a mix of English and Korean, "나 대구에 갔어. [I visited Daegu in Korea]. I visited my 할머니 [grandmother]. 재미있었어. [It was fun]. I practiced 한국어 [Korean] with her." This student drew on her multilingual repertoires and engaged in linguistic border-crossing as she shared her experiences of

visiting and spending time with her grandmother in her parental homeland. It was also found that creating a space that invites and celebrates children's translanguaging practices helps them develop their bilingual learning and provides them opportunities to showcase their multilingual expertise and transnational knowledge.

Scholars have found that translanguaging has many benefits for multilingual children. It helps students use their higher-order thinking as they choose and evaluate the linguistic options available to them (Stewart & Hansen-Thomas, 2016). Given the multiple benefits that translanguaging has on multilingual children, it is important that researchers pay attention to this practice, which is a "gift that has been invisible" (Orellana & García, 2014, p. 387). Existing studies tend to focus on Spanish/English speakers in classroom settings. However, given that immigrant children from various backgrounds employ translanguaging practices for different purposes in unique contexts, in this research, I paid particular attention to the Korean immigrant children's translanguaging practices in multiple contexts (e.g., formal and informal spaces) across geographic boundaries (e.g., Korea and the U.S.).

Multilingual Literacies

Building upon the perspective that literacy practices are tied to social interactions, Hornberger (2003) described biliteracy as "the use of two or more languages in and around writing" (p. xii) or "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two or more languages in or around writing" (Hornberger, 1990, p. 213). Hornberger (2003) adapted the term "literacy event" — "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretative processes" (Heath, 1982b, p. 93) —and introduced the term *biliteracy instances* to explain literacy events in

bilingual contexts. Martin-Jones and Jones (2010), on the other hand, proposed using the term *multilingual* rather than bilingual when exploring what children do when they "read and write in different languages and how they make sense of what they do" (p. 1). Martin-Jones and Jones (2010) explained that the notion of *multilingual literacies* refers to "the complex ways in which people draw on the language and literacy resources available to them as they take on different identities in different domains of their lives" (Martin-Jones & Jones, 2010, p. 1). In this study, I used the notion of multilingual literacies to better document and understand the complexity of transnational immigrant children's language and literacy practices.

Korean Immigrants in U.S. Contemporary Contexts

A large wave of immigration to the United States started in the 1960s and intensified in the 1990s, and scholars refer to this group "new immigration" (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). The post-1960s immigrants are primarily from non-European countries, with a large population migrating from Latin America and Asia. Children from Asian immigrant households make up a large population of U.S. schools today (Lew, 2006). Among them, Korean Americans are one of the fastest-growing and the most recent immigrant groups to the United States. A majority of the immigrants from Korea have moved to the U.S. since 1970 (Shin, 2005). In 1990, there were approximately 800,000 Korean Americans living in the United States, and ten years later in 2000, that population had increased to approximately 1.2 million (Lew, 2006). While the Korean population is dispersed across the United States, a majority of Korean immigrants live in major urban ethnic communities such as Los Angeles and New York City. Therefore, a large portion of previous studies on Korean immigrants has focused on

the mega-metropolitan areas with the highest density of Asians including Los Angeles, New York, New Jersey, Chicago, and Washington D.C (Min, 2018; Orellana et al., 2001; Shin, 2005). Hence, scholars in immigration studies (Jo & Lee, 2016) have emphasized the necessity of gaining an in-depth understanding about the experiences of Korean children and youth residing in areas that have been less studied. For example, states in the Southern U.S., such as Georgia and North Carolina, have been given less attention as sites for immigrant research although approximately 24% of Korean Americans are living in the South (Jo & Lee, 2016).

In North Carolina, the context of this dissertation study, the state has experienced tripled or quadrupled immigration populations in the last two decades. The Korean American population in North Carolina was only about 7,267 people in 1999 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000), but it rapidly increased to 25,420 in 2010 (Korean-American Population Data). Jo and Lee (2016) explained that North Carolina has become “a new gateway state for Korean Americans” (p. 224), and therefore it needs to be further examined as the context of immigrant research. Similar to Chinese-Americans in North Carolina, there is no Korean ethnic enclave or a specific area with a large clustered population of Koreans. Therefore, like many other states across the U.S., Korean churches in this area also serve as sites for organizing ethnic communities (Lew, 2006; Park & Sarkar, 2007).

Korean Immigrant Children’s Language and Literacy

A considerable body of literature (Park, 2013; Tse, 2001; Wong Fillmore, 1991; 2001) has shown that language shifts and language loss are pervasive among children from linguistic minority families, and these issues are important matters for Korean

immigrant communities in the U.S. Research shows that although many Korean parents make great efforts in helping their children maintain "a balance in abilities and interests in two languages" (Li, 2006b, p. 356), many Korean immigrant children, particularly second-generation children, experience the loss of their heritage language and ethnic identity (Ro & Cheatham, 2009).

In a study on the language experiences of second-generation immigrant Korean American school-aged children (4-18 years old), Shin (2002) found that the children spoke more English and less Korean with their families after entering school. The study also demonstrated that later-born children tend to lack proficiency in Korean when compared to firstborn children because firstborn children tend to be developmentally advanced and receive more direct speech input. Shin (2002) also explained that Korean parents tend to rely more on their firstborn children, which means that firstborn children have more opportunities to engage in family conversations in Korean.

Nonetheless, many Korean immigrant parents share the strong desires to raise bilingual and biliterate children who speak both English and Korean (H. Kang, 2013; H. Kim, 2011; Kwon, 2017; Shin, 2005). They have positive attitudes toward their children's heritage language learning due to the firm belief that heritage language maintenance can positively impact their children's second language learning, develop cultural identity, acquire more economic opportunities, and improve family relations and child-parent communication (J. Kim, 2011; Kwon, 2017; Lee, 2013; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Shin, 2005). Lee (2013) explained that Korean immigrant parents view heritage language maintenance as a resource that helps their children develop positive ethnic identities and self-esteem, build strong ties among family members, and find better jobs

in the future. Hence, these families make tremendous efforts to help their children maintain their connections with their parents' home countries and to develop heritage language while supporting children's English learning (H. Kang, 2013; Park & Sarkar, 2007).

Korean Immigrant Children's Bilingual Learning in Home

Korean children's bilingual learning is also supported and practiced in multiple spaces, including heritage language schools, home, and communities (H. Kang, 2013; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Shin, 2002, 2005; Song, 2016b). Of these places, home is one of the key spaces where bilingual learning and heritage language maintenance begins (Lee & Wright, 2014). Hence, many scholars (Kwon, 2017; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Song, 2016b) have examined how Korean immigrant parents support their children's language and literacy learning at home in order to foster their heritage language and English learning.

In a study with a Korean immigrant family, Song (2016a) found that the Korean parents nurtured their child's literacy by organizing and facilitating biliteracy activities, employing two languages (Korean and English) to support the child's learning, and using translation to teach Korean expressions. Other studies found that Korean parents intentionally use Korean at home (H. Kang, 2013) or even declare an "only mother tongue at home" policy to encourage children to speak Korean only at home (Krashen, 1998; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Some parents encourage their children to use translanguaging (Song, 2016b) to help their children maintain bilingual and biliterate practices.

Moreover, some families use a wide range of heritage language literacy sources, such as children's literature, religious texts, songs, and films that can help children

become more familiar with the heritage language (Ro & Cheatham, 2009; Song, 2016b). For example, Korean immigrant parents in Montreal who participated in Park and Sarkar's (2007) study responded that they used educational Korean grammar and vocabulary books, Bibles, and Korean videotapes to encourages their children's heritage language learning at home. In addition, all participants in the study responded that they encourage their children to connect with relatives in Korea using the Internet and the phone. Korean mothers who participated in my pilot study (Kwon, 2017) also explained that they strategically use transnational media channels and literacy resources from their home country to develop their children's historical and cultural knowledge and to motivate their Korean learning.

Experiences of Attending Korean Heritage Language School

In states with a high population of Korean immigrants such as New York and California, there are regular schools that offer Korean languages courses. For instance, between 2010 and 2011, there were 13 elementary and secondary public schools in New York City that provided Korean language courses, and the number of Korean language classes offered at schools in the city is always increasing (Min, 2018). However, in most cases, Korean immigrant children in the United States do not have opportunities to learn Korean or be exposed to the language in their schools and mainstream society. Hence, one of the most common practices among Korean families for supporting their children's bilingual learning is enrolling them in a weekend or afterschool Korean heritage language school (J. Kim, 2011, Lee, 2013; Shin, 2005; You, 2005; Yu, 2017). Currently, there are more than one thousand Korean heritage language programs in the United States, and many of them are located in either California or New York (Lee & Wright, 2014). Many

of these heritage language programs are affiliated with local Korean churches, because churches play significant roles and frequently act as bridges connecting Korean immigrant families.

Many Korean immigrant families believe that heritage language programs play important roles for second-generation immigrant children because the program expose them to Korean language and culture (Park & Sarkar, 2007). Not only do children gain language competency through attending the program, they also develop nuanced understandings of the language and how to use important features in communication, such as honorifics. Some parents believe that these programs also help their children construct a strong sense of ethnic identity and build relationships with other families from similar migration and ethnic backgrounds. For instance, in a study with Korean immigrant parents, Lee (2013) explained that one of the parents' major reasons for enrolling their children in heritage language schools was because the children can socialize with other co-ethnic children in their age group. Some parents believed that attending heritage language classes would positively impact their children in terms of their ethnic identity and integration to wider society (Brown, 2009; Shin, 2005; You, 2005).

In another study, J. Kim (2011) took an ethnographic approach to gain understanding about the roles that a heritage language school played for Korean immigrant children and their families. In J. Kim's (2011) study, she found that the school provided a social and emotional support system while also helping the children reduce detachment from their families. For these reasons, many Korean families enroll their children in heritage language programs, and those with religious beliefs intentionally

choose Korean co-ethnic churches in order to help their children sustain heritage language, culture, and history (Lew, 2006; Park & Sarkar, 2007).

Summary

Despite various spaces where Korean immigrant children engage in meaning making through their bilingual and biliterate skills, a large body of existing research on these children's experiences have focused on the home and heritage language school settings. More studies need to be done examining multiple spaces to understand how Korean immigrant children's language, literacy, and identities are maintained and/or shifted as they move across different spaces. Cho's (2016) multi-sited study contributes to the discussion about Korean children's experiences across spaces. In the study, Cho (2016) examined both formal and informal schooling contexts and explored how a bilingual Korean child's experiences and social interactions shift across spaces. Cho (2016), then, points out that observing bilingual children's experiences in one context can provide only a partial view of their language, literacy, and socialization experiences.

Hence, in this study, I attempt to move away from the binary of home/school and pay close attention to out-of-school contexts to discover the unique and dynamic learning opportunities that emerge in different spaces. Observing immigrant children's transnational experiences and literacies in multiple spaces helped me examine social spaces across geographical borders as possible contexts for immigrant children's language, literacy, and identity development. In doing so, I attempted to understand the mobility across these boundaries and capture the multi-sited and multi-layered literacies in which immigrant children engage in multiple locales.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

Overview of the Research Design

This study documents three second-generation Korean immigrant children's fluid and mobile language and literacy experiences in the context of transnationalism. I employed a multi-sited ethnographic stance, which allowed me to gain an in-depth and nuanced understanding of the focal participant children's experiences by observing, interviewing, and interacting with the children in multiple locales by traveling *with* them across geographic boundaries.

Data collection for this study took place over the course of one year in various sites, including the children's homes, schools, and communities in two locations: North Carolina, United States, and Seoul, South Korea. I collected multiple sources of data, including participant observations, parent interviews and questionnaires, child-centered interviews, informal conversations with the three children and their families, photography, artifact and document collection, and a reflective journal. The questions that guided this study are as follows:

> How does transnationalism shape the everyday lives of second-generation Korean American immigrant children, particularly their literacies, learning, and identities?

1. How do second-generation immigrant children engage with language and literacy in and across various spaces?
2. What transnational funds of knowledge do second-generation immigrant children build as they move across contexts?
3. How do second-generation immigrant children position themselves and represent their identities?

In this chapter, I describe the methodology, methods for data collection, and data analysis process.

Multi-sited Ethnographic Case Study

I took a multi-sited ethnographic approach (Marcus, 1995) and collected ethnographic data for one year in various sites including children's homes, schools, and communities in two locations: North Carolina, United States, and Seoul, South Korea. Anthropologist George Marcus (1995) introduced the concept of multi-sited ethnography as a way to move away from the bounded single site location to examine how people, cultural meanings, and objects move and shift across time and space. Unlike the traditional ethnographic approach, multi-sited ethnography shifts attention from one single-bounded space to multiple locales (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Tracking and documenting the movement of objects, people, and narratives are significant considering the contemporary changes in globalizing worlds and the growing number of transnational individuals.

Migration scholars argue that transnationalism migration scholarship "requires not just asking a different set of questions about different social spaces but developing new methods for doing so" (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p. 142). Given that transnational

migrants consistently move across geographical boundaries, it is almost impossible to take the traditional approach of ethnography—becoming a complete member in the settled community—when studying the context of transnational migration (Jo, 2004).

Scholars (Boccagni, 2016; Punch, 2012) in transnational migration scholarship have asserted that multi-sited ethnography is an ideal methodology for documenting immigrants' transnational experiences across geographic borders. Collecting data in both immigrants' parents' homelands and host countries allows researchers to understand the "continuity and change" of the mobile and transnational experiences (Rong, 2006, p. 186). Boccagni (2016) specifically highlighted the necessity of carrying out ethnographic research for examining how immigrants develop and maintain transnational connections. Similarly, Punch (2012) noted that a longitudinal, multi-sited, ethnographic approach is particularly feasible for capturing a nuanced picture of transnational migrants' lives. She further indicated that studies need to do the following:

> Incorporate at least one of the following elements: multiple perspectives (children's and adults'), research in both the sender and the destination communities, the combining of participant observation with interviews where possible, and contemplation of the possibility of a return follow-up visit after a number of years. (p. 1019)

For instance, Sánchez's (2007b) participatory and multi-sited ethnographic study illuminated the lives of three transnational second-generation Latina whose lives were connected to both California and Mexico. Sánchez (2007b) gathered the rich data she presented from two geographical spaces to illuminate the rich transnational funds of knowledge that these students constructed from moving across the countries.

While the multi-sited ethnographic approach has numerous benefits in creating a more nuanced picture of transnational immigrant children and their language and literacy

practices, there has been a dearth of transnational migration research from a multi-sited ethnographic approach because it is time consuming and expensive (Punch, 2012). However, given that mobility and multiplicity are at the core of this dissertation study, it is essential to trace the mobility of immigrant children who move across formal and informal learning spaces across geographical boundaries and to document how they construct their language and literacy experiences. I took a multi-sited ethnographic stance to push against the binaries of home/school and receiving/sending contexts by examining multiple locales where immigrant children's language and literacy get taken up, shift, and mobilize.

To closely document the three focal children's experiences and voices, I employed a case study approach (Yin, 2018) and considered each child as a unit of analysis. I relied on multiple sources of evidence by collecting ethnographic data that included participant observation in multiple sites (e.g., home, heritage language schools, English-dominant schools, and communities) in the United States and South Korea, parent interviews and questionnaires, child-centered interviews, informal conversations with children, and photography. Additionally, I collected artifacts (e.g., drawings and maps) and documents (e.g., ethnic newspapers and brochures of heritage language programs) containing information about the children's experiences and research contexts. By gathering data from multiple sources and physically "following the people" (Marcus, 1995) across national borders, I attempted to create a more comprehensive picture of contemporary immigrant children's transnational experiences in both sending and receiving contexts and the in-between spaces. As Orellana (2016) noted, discovering how others understand the world, particularly young children who live in a multilingual and

transnational world, is a challenge for many educational researchers. With a multi-sited ethnographic case study approach, I was able to closely investigate "students' knowledge, background experiences and ways of viewing the world" (González et al., 2005, p. 8) through traveling across boundaries *with* them.

Implications from Pilot Study

This dissertation study is informed by the pilot study I carried out in the fall of 2016 that examines the beliefs and strategies that Asian immigrant mothers employ in teaching and supporting their children's language and literacy learning in the context of transnationalism. During the pilot study (Kwon, 2017), I had opportunities to interview, build relationships, and interact with six mothers who emigrated from Japan and Korea whose children were born in the United States and are currently enrolled in elementary schools in the U.S. The pilot study solidified my passion and commitment to immigrant communities and literacy research. It also informed this current dissertation study in many ways that are explained in the following section.

Centralizing Immigrant Children's Experiences and Perspectives

The current dissertation research is different from the pilot study in that it places children's perspectives and experiences at the center of the study to "learn *from young people,* about what's possible, and how *we* might learn to see differently" (Orellana, 2016, p. 4). A number of scholars have noted how children and youth's experiences of migration and transnationalism, particularly their perspectives and experiences, have not been extensively documented (Haikkola, 2011; White et al., 2011). At the time of the

pilot study, I was interested in how immigrant mothers foster their multilingual children's language and literacy learning by engaging their children in transnational practices.

During the interviews with six immigrant mothers from Japan and Korea, all participants shared that they purposefully exposed their children to the transnational media channels of their home countries to foster their children's historical and cultural knowledge of their home countries. The mothers also expressed that transnational media (e.g., Korean and Japanese television channels) motivated their children to continue heritage language learning. Further, the participants noted their use of reading and writing resources (e.g., comic books, children's literature, and textbooks) from their home countries and explained how these materials get circulated among immigrant families in their communities. The part that I found particularly intriguing was that the families regularly visited their home country during summer vacations for their children to participate in schooling. One of the mothers showed me a photograph of her son standing at the center of his Japanese classmates and smiling in a way that showed his excitement about being in the class. The mother added that her first son is "sociable and open-minded" so that "he has many friends and Skypes with his Japanese friends" unlike his sister who "doesn't want to go to schools in Japan." Hearing this mother's perspective on her child's transnational experiences invoked my curiosity about what children feel, experience, and learn during their engagements in linguistic, cultural, and geographical border crossings.

Gardner (2012) asserted that focusing on children could help researchers discover how transnational connections are constructed and transformed. Children are often the "central axis of family migration" (Orellana et al., 2001, p. 588) because they are one of

the most important reasons that immigrant families choose to move beyond nation-states and sustain their transnational ties. Therefore, children's roles, perspectives, and experiences in transnational contexts should not be overlooked. However, children's voices pertinent to migration and transnationalism have been underexplored (Y Kang, 2013). By centralizing children's voices as the focus of this study, this dissertation study aims to explore how children engage in transnationalism employing their language, literacy, and cultural knowledge.

Taking a Multi-sited Ethnographic Stance

As mentioned in the previous section, I employed a multi-sited ethnographic stance (Marcus, 1995) in this dissertation study to understand immigrant children's experiences in both sending and receiving communities. During the pilot study, I used a qualitative case study method (Creswell, 2013) to examine how immigrant mothers employed their transnational knowledge and affiliations in teaching and supporting their children's language and literacy learning. The pilot study allowed me to explore the various transnational (e.g., enrolling children in public schools in the countries of origin) and translocal engagements (e.g., forming a local group to exchange language teaching resources from Korea) that immigrant mothers practice. The pilot study further piqued my curiosity towards immigrant families' transnational engagements, but I felt that I was only seeing half of the full picture. Situating participants in one context, the so-called "receiving country," seemed to be a very limited way to document the transnational experiences that emerge in/across multiple spaces across geographical boundaries.

Hence, I felt that multi-sited ethnography would be the ideal way to capture immigrant children's fluid and mobile experiences by considering multiple spaces,

communities, and the mobility across these locales as contexts of research. For this dissertation project, I chose to take a multi-sited ethnographic approach to document immigrant children's transnational experiences by tracing and documenting their movement and engagement beyond geographical boundaries. By taking an ethnographic stance, I "seek a deeper *immersion* in" immigrant children's transnational worlds in order to "grasp what they experience as meaningful and important" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 3). Closely interacting with participants and actively participating in their day-to-day transnational engagements and literacy experiences helped me explore their linguistic, cultural, and experiential resources more extensively.

Focusing on Korean American Immigrants in the U.S. South

My pilot study focused on Korean immigrant mothers from both metropolitan (e.g., New York and New Jersey) and nonmetropolitan areas (e.g., North Carolina). Despite different migration histories, participant mothers shared similar beliefs, concerns, and practices in terms of supporting their children's bilingualism in the context of transnationalism. While I found each participant's story extraordinarily meaningful and insightful, I was drawn to the stories that mothers in North Carolina shared. As Jo and Lee (2016) noted, I also felt that North Carolina provided a unique context for studying Korean immigrants considering the low rate of heritage language maintenance and the absence of ethnic community despite the rapid growth of immigrant population. For instance, while the mothers in New York and New Jersey explained that they had access to a wide range of language and literacy resources (e.g., regular read-aloud sessions in Korean at community library) for supporting their children's bilingualism, the mothers residing in North Carolina shared that their children had few opportunities to develop

their heritage language and bilingual competencies. One of my participants said, “I heard there are many Korean libraries in New Jersey and New York because of the large population. But we don’t have that privilege here. I can only purchase some books when I visit Korea” (Kwon, 2017, p. 505). Moreover, two mothers shared their experiences of organizing a book community where they circulate materials so that their children can have access to literacy resources for bilingual learning and biliteracy development. When I visited North Carolina for interviews, I also observed that the community lacked available language and literacy resources for Asian immigrant children despite the significant growth of Asian immigrants in recent years.

Participants

This paper focuses on three second-generation Korean immigrant children who currently reside in North Carolina. The three focal children—Minsu, Yena, and Taehoon—were second-generation Koreans born in the U.S., with one or both parents of Korean heritage that had emigrated to the U.S. These children were enrolled in local public elementary schools in North Carolina at the time of the study; Minsu and Taehoon were in the second grade, and Yena was in the third grade in her Chinese-English dual language school. While each child was considered as a unit of this study, I observed and interacted with the participant children’s families and teachers to get a better understanding of how transnationalism shapes and impacts the participants’ languages, literacies, and identities. As Punch (2012) emphasized, carrying out ethnographic research on transnational child migrants is only possible when the researcher focuses on a small number of participants. Large-scale studies on migrant children limit researchers from exploring participants’ rich and dynamic transnational experiences in depth.

Focusing on three children and their families allowed me to gain a holistic view of the children's transnational practices and literacies and to build trust and rapport with the participants. In the following section, I explain how I recruited and selected the three children and provide a detailed description about the focal children.

Participant Recruitment and Selection

For participant recruitment, I used the following selection criteria to recruit focal participant children who could share their experiences and perspectives pertinent to the research questions of this dissertation study.

Selection criteria. For this study, I looked for participants who met the following criteria:

1. Second-generation children who were born in the U.S. in households with at least one parent who is of Korean descent.
2. Children enrolled in elementary schools in North Carolina who are exposed to Korean as a heritage language in their households.
3. Children of Korean families who are planning to visit Korea during the data collection time frame.

Gaining access and finding participants. Gaining entrance to the site and participants is one of the key challenging issues for ethnographic researchers. It was quite challenging to find participant children who met the selection criteria in North Carolina, since Korean families are dispersed across the state (Jo, 2004; Rong & Preissle, 2009). Hence, I used the snowball sampling technique (Boeije, 2010; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) by first contacting some individuals, families, and community members through the pre-existing relationships I established with the families I met during my pilot study.

As ethnic Korean churches and heritage language schools play important roles as organizing sites for Korean communities (Lew, 2006; Park & Sarkar, 2007), I contacted several parents and teachers at the local heritage language school where I have been teaching elementary-aged children since August, 2017. While teaching at the school, I have observed several Korean immigrant children sharing their experiences of visiting their parental homelands and communicating with their relatives abroad. I reached out to the families of these children for referrals and asked other teachers in the school to refer me to children and families who met the participant selection criteria listed above.

In order to find more participants, I distributed a questionnaire written in Korean and English (Appendix B) to parents at the school that asked specific biographical questions about child's age, language(s) spoken at home, and plans for visiting Korea. In this questionnaire, I included a number of additional questions related to parents' beliefs about their child's bilingual learning, language and literacy practices at home, and families' transnational engagements. The questionnaires were distributed to all parents with one or more children enrolled in elementary schools, and 28 parents returned the questionnaires. The data from these questionnaires served as a useful tool for recruiting participant children and families and for learning about heritage language learners' multilingual practices and transnational engagements.

I began this study in October 2017 with five participant children and their families. In December 2017, one of the participant children, Hannah, left this study because her family moved to a different city in North Carolina. In June 2018, another focal child, Jenny, had to leave the study because her family decided to move to California and cancel her family's trip to Korea. The withdrawal of two children from my

study supports previous studies' findings that immigrant children today move across spaces locally and globally (Kwon, 2019b; Orellana, 2016; Skerrett, 2015). Although I collected observations, interviews, and artifacts from Jenny and her family for 8 months, I excluded the child from this study because documenting a child's transnational experiences in both the 'home' and 'host' countries is a critical part of this multi-sited ethnographic work. Therefore, this study included three focal children and their families who participated in this study from October 2017 to October 2018. In the following section, I describe more about the focal three children and their backgrounds.

The focal children: Minsu, Yena, and Taehoon. This study focuses on three second-generation Korean immigrant children (Table 1), Minsu, Yena, and Taehoon, who were enrolled in local public elementary schools located in North Carolina. While each child was considered a unit of analysis, their parents were also interviewed and observed to gain an in-depth understanding of the focal child's experiences.

Table 1

Child's Background Information

	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
Pseudonym	Minsu	Yena	Taehoon
Gender	Male	Female	Male
Age (in 2017)	8	9	8
Grade (in 2017)	Second grade	Third grade	Second grade
Parents	Mother (American) Father (Korean)	Mother (Korean Chinese) Father (Korean Chinese)	Mother (Korean) Father (Korean)
Sibling	-	One younger sister	One older brother
Languages spoken at home	Korean and English	Korean, Chinese, and English	Korean and English

At the time of the study, Yena was in the third grade and the two other students, Taehoon and Minsu, were in the second grade. These children were second-generation

Koreans born in the U.S. with one or both parents of Korean heritage. These children and their families made journeys to Korea between June and August 2018. All three participants were multilinguals who speak a language other than English at home. Taehoon and Minsu primarily spoke Korean and English at home. Yena, whose parents are Korean ethnic minorities from China who emigrated to the U.S., was trilingual in Korean, English, and Mandarin Chinese. Yena was in a Chinese-English dual language school program, and the two other children were enrolled in regular school programs. All three children attended the same local Korean heritage language school for their heritage language learning. Yena attended a Chinese heritage language school as well to cultivate her Chinese fluency and to engage with a Chinese community.

In this study, I considered the three children and their families as knowing subjects who could teach me about language and literacy and transnational experiences. I consistently reminded the participants that I wanted to learn *from* them and that I respected their experiences and perspectives (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The yearlong interaction and my learning stance enabled me to build a close connection with the three focal children and their families. I built rapport with the children through sharing stories and playing together. The three children often wrote me cards and gave me their drawings (Figure 1).

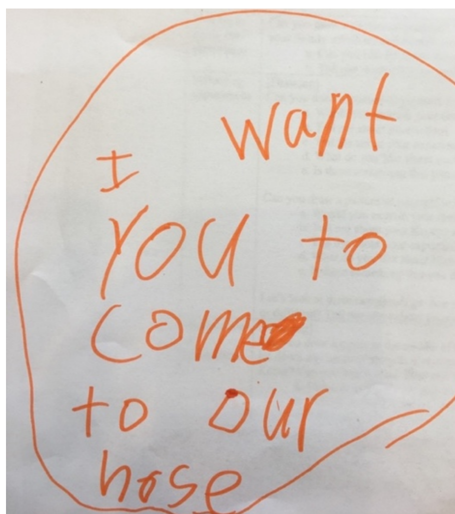

Figure 1. Yerang's invitation

The three children invited me to their birthday parties, school events, and performances. I especially became close to Yena and her younger sibling, Yerang, who often said, "I want to sleep over with you" (Informal Conversation, 04/29/2018) and "I wish you can stay at my house the whole day. When do you have to leave?" (Informal Conversation, 04/08/2018). I became a mother in February 2018, which also changed my relationship with the focal children's mothers as we started sharing our emotions and experiences raising second-generation Korean immigrant children. I describe more about my positionality and identity in the section about researcher's positionality.

Research Context

My data collection took place across time and space as I followed the children. I observed, interviewed, and interacted with the three children and their families in both Korea and the U.S. The following section provides a brief description of the two locations (North Carolina, United States, and Seoul, South Korea) where I collected data for this study.

North Carolina, United States

The Korean population growth in North Carolina is striking in both its absolute numbers and overall percentage (Jo & Lee, 2016). Currently, Korean Americans make up 18.6 percent of the Asian population in North Carolina. Despite the rapidly growing number of Korean immigrants in the state, Korean immigrant children are often scattered across the area due to residential patterns and are placed in different schools. Therefore, it is unlikely for them to meet many peers from the shared ethnic group. Korean ethnic churches and heritage language schools are sites that serve as mechanisms for Korean communities to sustain connections with the ethnic community and maintain their heritage language and culture.

While Korean ranks the seventh most spoken language in the state, North Carolina's curriculum does not reflect Korean language or culture, and few opportunities to learn Korean exist in K-12 or higher institutions (Jo & Lee, 2016). Therefore, many second-generation Korean students, whose first language is English, must rely on heritage language learning in their home environment or community-based heritage language schools to develop their bilingual and biliterate skills. Currently, there are three Korean heritage language schools in the studied area. All three participants in this study were enrolled in one of the local Korean heritage language schools that took place every Friday afternoon at a university campus.

Through carrying out a pilot study in the studied area, I was able to build rapport with people in the community by visiting ethnic stores, attending social gatherings held by the Korean American Student Association, teaching Korean at a local heritage language school, and attending local events for the Korean American community. In May

2017, I moved to the studied area in North Carolina, which helped me become more aware of the sociocultural and educational issues that Korean families confronted in the state. To gain a nuanced understanding of the Korean community in the area, I actively engaged in the local Korean immigrant community. For instance, during the time of the data collection, 제 1 회 한인 한마당 축제 [the first Korean American event] (Figure 2) was held in the local area where the Korean immigrant families got together and celebrated their ethnic culture. This event created a space where families were given opportunities to connect with each other and enjoy ethnic music and food while also providing a space for Korean immigrant children from the local area to display their drawings about Korea. In fact, one of my focal children, Minsu, received an award from this event for his drawing that expressed his affection toward the country.

Figure 2. Children's drawing displayed at the local Korean American event

I also found that Korean immigrant parents voluntarily organized Korean-English reading time at a public library to help expose immigrant children to their heritage language and English. In addition to these events, I frequently visited local stores in the community, where I took photographs of places (e.g., beauty salons, ethnic stores, restaurants) and objects (e.g., bulletin boards, letters, and souvenirs distributed at ethnic

events) that helped me understand the issues and events pertinent to Korean immigrant children and Korean families in the community. I also collected documents such as ethnic newspapers, brochures of Korean churches, and flyers for heritage language programs.

Seoul, South Korea

Data collection for this study also took place in Seoul, South Korea, where the three participant children and their families visited during the summer of 2018. South Korea has long been considered as one of the most linguistically and culturally homogenous countries. However, its population is rapidly becoming diversified due to the influx of foreign migrants and international students. Simultaneously, there is an increasing number of Korean citizens migrating to other countries, particularly the U.S., to seek educational opportunities and chances for entrepreneurship. Previous studies have examined the newly emerging groups of migrants such as “Parachute Kids” (Orellana et al., 2011)—children who migrate from Korea to the U.S. to attend schools and *Kirogi* (wild geese) families—families with a mother and a child migrating to an English-speaking country for the children’s education (Finch & Kim, 2012). It is also important to note the growing emphasis on English education in Korea. Similar to Japan and China, English is considered a symbolic power Korea, which serves as a “powerful means to achieve upward social mobility and economic prosperity” (Park, 2009, p. 50) and is considered “a class marker” (Park & Abelmann, 2004, p. 646). As a researcher from Seoul, South Korea, I was able to follow my participant children and their families’ journeys with a nuanced understanding of Korean culture and geographic knowledge about the city. I describe more about my positionality and identity in the section about the researcher’s positionality.

Data Collection

Data collection for this study took place from October 2017 to October 2018 in two different locations: (a) North Carolina, United States, and (b) Seoul, South Korea. I collected five different sources (see Table 2 for data collection summary) for this multi-sited ethnographic study: 1) participant observations and fieldnotes; 2) Participant interviews and informal conversations (e.g., parent interviews and questionnaires, child-centered interview activities, informal conversations with the children and families); 3) artifact and document collections; 4) photography; and 5) a reflective journal. The following section describes the purposes and process for each data collection and analysis.

Table 2

Summary of data collection

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">October 2017 – October 2018</td></tr>
<tr><td>Activity</td><td>Data collection in North Carolina, United States</td><td>Data collection in Seoul, South Korea</td></tr>
<tr><td>Participant observations and fieldnotes</td><td>Observations at different spaces (e.g., public library, home, school, community, store, playgrounds)
Fieldnotes written down during the observations</td><td>Observations at different spaces (e.g., home, school, community, museums, store)
Fieldnotes written down during the observations</td></tr>
<tr><td>Participant interviews and informal conversations</td><td colspan="2">Child-centered interview activities that involved photo-elicitation interviews, drawing, mind mapping activities
Informal conversations with children and families
Parent interviews and questionnaires</td></tr>
<tr><td>Artifact and document collections</td><td colspan="2">Personal documents: children’s writing, drawing, photographs, and letters produced in formal and informal learning spaces
Public records: ethnic newspapers, brochures of ethnic churches, stores, and heritage language school, and posters</td></tr>
<tr><td>Photography</td><td colspan="2">Children were asked to take photographs of people, places, and events in North Carolina and Korea that represent their connections with their parents’ homelands and transnational experiences</td></tr>
<tr><td>Reflective journal</td><td colspan="2">My journals of reflection and methodological memos</td></tr>
</table>

Participant Observation

Participant observation is one of the most important and common ways of collecting data for qualitative researchers in cultural anthropology and education (Boeije, 2010; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). It requires educational researchers "to be present at, involved in, and actually recording the routine daily activities with people in the field setting" (Schensul & LeCompte, 2013, p. 83). In this study, I conducted participant observations to be immersed in the natural settings in which immigrant children engage in transnational practices and language and literacy practices (Table 3).

Table 3

Information of participant observation

	Minsu	Yena	Taehoon
Participant observation in North Carolina, United States			
Number of observations	18	13	20
Total hours of observation	24 hours	22 hours	25 hours and 30 minutes
Observation sites	Library, heritage language school, home, cafe, store	Library, heritage language school, regular school, home, cafe	Library, heritage language school, home, cafe
Participant observation in Seoul, South Korea			
Number of observations	3	1	3
Total hours of observation	12 hours	7 hours	13 hours
Observation sites	Cafe, stores, after-school program, private educational places, museum	Tourist attractions, museum, book store, restaurant	Museum, cafe, store

Sánchez (2004, 2007b), in her multi-sited ethnographic study with transnational immigrant students, immersed herself in the lives of transnational youth and families by spending regular time with them in their homes and communities (e.g., local churches,

eateries, and small businesses) and attending family celebrations such as weddings, birthdays, and graduations. Sánchez (2007b) noted that she learned a great deal about her participants' lives outside of school and explained that such data helps researchers gain a deeper understanding of their focal families and communities. Following Sánchez's (2004, 2007b) recommendations, I spent meaningful time with my participant children and their families throughout the year by closely observing the focal children in different formal and informal learning spaces and exploring their daily lives. As Dyson and Genishi (2005) emphasized, "any educational setting—a classroom, a school, a family, a community program—is overflowing with human experiences and with human stories" (p. 12).

Between October 2017 and October 2018, I engaged in the field as a participant observer by observing and documenting immigrant children's language and literacies as well as their transnational experiences in multiple spaces across geographical boundaries. Three participant children and their family members were observed in various spaces, including home, heritage language school, regular school, after-school programs, the local library, museums, and stores in two locations: Seoul, South Korea and North Carolina, United States. More specifically, data collection took place in North Carolina from November 2017 to May 2018. I visited each participant once a week and spent at least 90 minutes with the child and his or her family members. The sites where I observed and interacted with the children include their homes, the heritage language school, mainstream schools, the public library, stores, cafés, and other places in the communities (e.g., public library, store, church, playgrounds). Two of the focal children were in the same class at a local heritage language school where I voluntarily taught, and I was able

to attend their class for observations twice. I paid close attention to their language use, literacy practices, and transnational knowledge during observations.

From June 2018 to August 2018, I interacted with the participants in Seoul, South Korea. Since I was born and grew up in Korea, I joined my participants' journeys of visiting their parental homelands with excitement. I entered this site with a nuanced understanding of Korean language, culture, and history. I met with each participant child at various places they visited. These sites included after-school programs, private education classes, museums, restaurants, stores, and cafes. The observation sites and the number of interactions varied with each participant as I attempted to document their daily lives. Minsu actively engaged in a wide range of educational opportunities from attending a local elementary school to participating in after-school programs, so I was able to observe him as he participated in multiple educational settings. With Taehoon, I visited different sites such as cafés, restaurants, and museums. More detailed information (Table 3) regarding my participant observation is described below.

Fieldnotes

In this work, I tried to make my practice of "doing fieldwork" and "writing fieldwork" to be "dialectically related, interdependent, and mutually constitutive activities" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 19). As Bogdan and Biklen (2007) emphasized, writing "detailed, accurate, and extensive fieldnotes" (p. 119) determines the outcome of a participant observation. During the participant observation process, I actively documented important elements such as the physical setting, the participants, activities and interactions, conversation, subtle factors (e.g., informal and unplanned activities, symbolic and connotative meanings of words), and my own behavior (Merriam &

Tisdell, 2016) in my fieldnote. After completing each observation and writing the notes, I constructed more detailed and *descriptive fieldnotes*—"text that correspond[s] accurately to what has been observed" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 5). I digitally recorded these detailed fieldnotes on a computer in a standard word processing program, which I later reviewed for data analysis.

Participant Interviews

During the data collection process, I carried out interviews with the participant children and their family members (Appendix C & D) to "gain an insider understanding through talking with participants about their pasts, present, and future worlds" (Paris, 2011, p. 142). I considered this qualitative interview as a process of knowledge construction that emerges during the "inter-action between the interviewer and interviewee" and the "inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 2). By interviewing and interacting with participants, I was able to create dialogic interactions and gain an insider understanding of the children's transnational experiences and perspectives pertinent to their language, literacy, and identities.

Each parent participant engaged in semi-structured interviews with me, and each child participated in child-centered interview activities. Protocols for interviews and child-centered interviews were informed by the literature on transnationalism, a sociocultural perspective on literacy, and child-centered interview methods. All formal and informal interviews were carried out in the participants' preferred language of either Korean or English. The focal children and their parents, as multilinguals, mixed and flexibly switched between Korean and English.

In the children's interviews and informal conversations, their choices of languages varied every time depending on their moods, the people around them at the moment, and the meeting location. Whenever I asked the children questions, either in English and/or Korean, the three focal children almost always asked follow-up questions such as "Should I answer in Korean or English?" "Do I write in English or Korean?" (Interview, 04/29/2018) and "In what language?" (Interview, 01/15/2018). In these cases, I encouraged them to use whichever language they preferred to use. In general, when I met the children at a heritage language school or with their parents, they tended to respond in Korean. I also noticed that Minsu and Taehoon became much more proficient in Korean and preferred to use Korean in conversations after they returned from their trips to Korea.

The languages used for parent interviewed varied by the parents' language proficiency. For example, Taehoon's mother, who mostly uses Korean in her daily life, usually responded interview questions in Korean. Two other mothers, on the other hand, engaged in translanguaging practices during interview processes where they flexibly alternated between Korean and English. For instance, when I asked Yena's mother about her perspectives on her child's Chinese-English dual language immersion program, she responded using both English and Korean:

> 얘네는 지금은 dual language 있으니까 절반은 English 로 하는데 어떤 부모들은 concern 하더라구요. 영어에 쏟는 시간이 적으니까. 영어가 다른 traditional 한 애들보다 안 될까봐. (interview, 01/06/2018)
>
> They (Yena and Yerang) are in a *dual language* program. Half of their school instruction is in *English* and some parents are *concern*ed because the time spent for English is very little. They are worried that their child's English might not be as good as other *traditional* children.

All interview activities and informal conversations were audio-recorded, and I later transcribed the conversations verbatim and closely reviewed them. The following section provides more a detailed description of interview activities I created and engaged in *with* the three focal children.

Child-centered interview activities. Adult-conceived questions have constraints and limitations for fully understanding children's experiences of mobility (Y. Kang, 2013). Hence, I designed and facilitated various types of child-centered interview activities, as demonstrated in Table 4.

Table 4

Summary of child-centered interview activity

Activity	Objectives
Self-portrait	Getting to know the participant child Building rapport and trust
Drawing	Exploring the participant child's schooling experiences in the U.S. and one's parental homelands
Mind mapping	Understanding how the participant child views, represents, and feels about one's connection to the parental homeland(s) Exploring the child's border-crossing experiences
Mind mapping and drawing (1)	Exploring the participant child's experiences with families and friends in the U.S. and one's parental homeland(s)
Mind-mapping and drawing (2)	Examining the participant child's language learning experiences and language use in the U.S. and the parental homeland(s)
Photo-elicitation interviews	Understanding the participant child's experiences in North Carolina and South Korea

These interview activities involved drawing, mind mapping, filling out questionnaires, and photo-elicitation interviews. These activities were created with the purpose of exploring the children's daily lives such as their schooling experiences, friends, and interests, their multilingual experiences, experiences of participating in transnational practices, and their perspectives about their parents' home countries and

learning heritage languages (Appendix C). I used these activities with the aspiration to conduct research *with* immigrant children rather than *on* immigrant children (White et al., 2011).

The first interview activity included a small discussion and a drawing activity that invited the focal child to draw themselves and things they like. Then I asked “grand out” and “experience” questions (Spradley, 1979, p. 88) related to their favorite sports and fun activities they do at school and home to help participant children feel at ease and confident about answering questions. Other interview activities that the focal children later participated in focused on the five areas of language and literacy experience across multiple spaces, geographic border-crossing experiences (e.g., visiting and attending schools in parents’ homelands), transnational practices and ties, identity, and learning that takes place during the transnational engagement. For example, one of the activities invited the focal children to draw their friends and schools. As they crafted a drawing consisting of colors, signs, drawings, and words, they answered my open-ended questions about their schools (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Yena's map about her friends

The interview activities were spaced several weeks apart in order to understand how the children's experiences and perspectives maintained and/or shifted over time. The length of each interview activity varied from 30 to 45 minutes and were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The artifacts that students generated during the interview activities including maps, drawings, and photographs were collected and photocopied for the purpose of data analysis.

Throughout the interview activities, I sought to engage the participants in a culturally relevant interview process (Ojeda, Flores, Mexa, & Morales, 2011). I ensured that interview activities were child-centered and culturally appropriate and that my questions were understandable. I consistently reminded participant children that they could use any languages they preferred or mix their languages. To help children tell their stories, I used age-appropriate questions, avoided long and complex questions, and posed one simple question at a time (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). I assured the children that there were no right or wrong answers to my questions (Punch, 2002). Also, I used encouragement and phrases such as "What do you mean?" "Could you explain more?" and "I want to learn from you" to probe the child to be more specific and descriptive (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

The participants and I often engaged in informal conversations during the interview activities and talked about different topics such as language use at home and their out-of-school experiences with friends and families. I made sure that I did not "push their responses in a given direction" (Knupfer, 1996, p. 142). When the focal children led our conversations to unexpected directions, I let them do so. For example, when I asked Minsu to describe his experiences of visiting Korea during the mind mapping activity, he

introduced me to the traditional game he played with his cousins and asked me if we could play it together. Instead of pushing him to focus on describing his map, I played the game with him. During the play, he shared the game rules that he'd learned from cousins in Korea, and he described how it differs from the games he plays with his friends in the U.S. Such interview activities helped me explore the focal children's transnational lives and enabled me to build rapport with the children while helping them feel comfortable sharing their experiences (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Parent interviews. Interviews with the focal participant children's parents were conducted twice throughout the data collection process. Interviews took place in various settings that the participant parents felt comfortable with such as participants' homes, café, and public library. Each interview lasted about 90 to 120 minutes. The first parent interviews took place between November and December 2017. At the beginning of the interviews, I first explained the purpose of the study and assured them that anything said in the interviews will be treated confidentially. I also engaged in small talk about topics that the parents and I have in common, such as the communities we live in and child-rearing practices, in order to build a relationship and trust (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Then I began the interview by asking them about biographical information such as occupations, years of migration, and languages spoken at home in a structured manner. Other interview questions were "grand tour" and "experience" questions (Spradley, 1979, p. 88) that were broad and descriptive. These questions focused on five areas: (1) Background information, (2) Experiences in the United States, (3) Language use at Home, (4) Experiences and perspectives on bilingualism and biliteracy, (5) Transnational practices and connection. The second parent interviews focused on the child's

experiences of visiting Korea and the parent's perspectives about the impact the transnational visit had on their child. The second parent interview took place in September 2018, one month after the families returned from their trips to Korea. The second interview was conducted in a more conversational and friendly manner as my participant families and I had built a close relationship over the time of data collection while visiting Korea together.

In addition to these semi-structured interviews, I used technology and media such as email and KakaoTalk messenger[1] with participant parents periodically to share the video recordings and pictures of their child's schoolwork, trips, and literacy practices. For example, Yena's parents sent me a video recording of her children video chatting with her grandparents in China. Because these cross-border communication practices usually took place at night due to time differences, I was not able to observe their online communication, but while watching the recordings, I could get a sense of Yena's interactions with her grandparents. Exchanging this type of information using technologies enabled me to collect data that were relevant to the focal children's current life situations (Skerrett, 2018).

Artifacts and Documents

In this study, I collected two large categories of artifacts and documents: personal documents and public records (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). First, I collected personal documents that were pertinent to my research questions. Personal documents refer to any artifacts and documents that describe participants' practices,

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[1] A free mobile messaging application with free text and free call features that is widely used among Koreans in Korea and the U.S.

beliefs, and experiences (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In this study, I collected documents, including each focal child's written artifacts, drawings, photographs, and letters produced in formal and informal learning spaces such as home, school, and heritage language school. Y. Kang (2013), who took a multimedia ethnographic approach in her research on Korean migrant children's experiences in Singapore, explained that it is important to gather data through various modes of communication such as drawings, diaries, and peer talk to gain a nuanced understanding of migrant children's experiences. Y. Kang (2013) explained that such a method is an "an innovative child-centered approach to migration studies" (p. 326) that helps researchers grasp children's own interpretations of their social worlds and to build rapport and intimacy with them.

Following Y. Kang's study (2013), children's non-verbal materials were gathered to supplement other sources of data. For instance, during my visit to participant children's home, I collected and documented the print found in the home (e.g., letters, Korean magazines, newspapers, and picture books) and multimodal literacies (e.g., the program playing on TV, the games children play, and their toys) and collected work that the focal children produce (e.g., drawings, photographs, and diaries). These documents helped me explore the participant children's literacy practices, language use, and their transnational experiences. All documents were photocopied.

To better contextualize the study, I also gathered a wide range of public records (e.g., ethnic newspapers, brochures, and posters) that helped me understand the immigrant children's local and global affiliations and engagement. Jiménez et al. (2009) documented how publicly displayed texts (e.g., church signs and immigration office signs) written in multiple languages in communities demonstrate meaningful connections

that many ELLs make with their home countries. I concur with the researchers that these prints and texts are valuable resources that can support academic learning and literacy development for students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds.

Since the beginning of the pilot study, I have collected Korean ethnic newspapers (e.g., articles and advertisements that describe immigrant families' transnational engagements) and posters (e.g., Korean ethnic community events) that are being circulated and presented in the community. These multilingual literacy resources explained a great deal about how globalization and transnationalism have shaped the print environment and literacy resources that immigrant families are exposed to (Orellana, 2016). Additionally, collecting these public records enabled me to contextualize my participants' experiences and understand the transnational connections that a growing number of immigrant families are building and maintaining. Finally, I gathered and closely reviewed the official documents released by mainstream schools and the heritage language school that the participants attend to better understand their learning environments.

Photography

Previous studies have shown that photography helps researchers establish rapport with their participants, contextualize the study, and humanize participant's portrayals (Ghiso, 2016; Gold, 2004). Two types of photography, child-generated photographs and research-generated photographs, were used as a tool in this research for two purposes: 1) to document the participant children's everyday lives through their points of view, and 2) to expand my understanding of the research context. These photographs helped me gain in-depth understanding of the focal children's experiences at home, school, and

community, document the participant children's daily contexts, and build rapport with the focal children. In the following section, I provide a detailed description of two types of photographs, child-generated photographs and researcher-generated photographs, I collected and analyzed in this study.

Child-generated photographs. In this study, the camera served as a great tool that allowed me to gain insights into "children's view of their social worlds, lives, and futures" (Orellana, 1999, p. 74). Einarsdottir (2005) asserted that children's photographs could be a great data-gathering method when a researcher seeks to focus on children's perspectives rather than asking direct questions that stem from adults' perspectives. In Orellana's (2016) ethnographic study, she utilized children's photographs to investigate the children's transnational experiences. Orellana (2016) explained that this method allowed the children to "identify their specific connections to places around the world" (p. 56). She also explained that this opportunity led the children to light up because they were eager to share things they saw, heard, and knew about the places that they and their parents felt attachments to. In addition, children's photographs served as a research method that helped me "challenge power relationships between 'researchers' and the people 'being researched'" (Hodge & Jones, 2010, p. 301) by positioning my participant children as ethnographic. In order to *work with* the children rather than *work on* (Luttrell, 2010), I positioned them in this research as knowing subjects who can use their photographs to teach me and other educational researchers what it is like to live as a multilingual and transnational.

I provided a digital camera to my participant children in January 2018 and invited them to engage in my image-based research by taking photographs of people, places, and

events that are meaningful and important for them in their everyday. When the children visited Korea during the summer, they were asked to take photographs that reflected their transnational experiences in the multiple spaces they visited. I used this collection of photographs for the photo elicitation interview (Harper, 2002), as a way of combining semi-structured interviews with participant-generated photographs (Luttrell, 2010). The photo elicitation interview "mines deeper shafts into a different part of human consciousness than do words-alone interviews" (Harper, 2002, p. 23). Especially when it comes to research with young children, listening to what they share about their photographs can help researchers understand young children's experiences (Einarsdottir, 2005; Orellana, 2016).

After students returned their cameras, I had the digital photographs developed within several days. Children were asked to make decisions and pick out the pictures that were most important to them. I then asked the participant children to talk about the photographs and explain what was happening in each photograph, why she/he had taken it, and why the particular photograph was important and meaningful to the student. Child-generated photographs supplemented the interviews because images depicting meaningful events enhanced the participant children's memories (Harper, 2002). Using cameras and children's photographs served as a way to give the focal children some power over interviews, which reduced the imbalance between the participant children and me as a researcher. Additionally, the photographs they shared expanded my understanding of what they experienced during their transnational engagements and what is important and meaningful to them. In other words, the child-generated photographs

allowed me to gain insights into how the focal children see the world (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Researcher-generated photographs. During the data collection process, I took photographs of my participant children and their family members' literacy practices as well as the literacy environments (e.g., street signs, book shelves at home) where literacy occurred (Hodge & Jones, 2010). I also took photographs of observation sites (e.g., home, heritage language school, museum, café, and after-school program) and the participant children's communities and surrounding areas to understand their linguistic landscapes (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Gorter, 2013). Following Gold's (2004) advice, I also attended local ethnic festivals, bilingual reading group meetings, and focal children's school performances to take photographs of the participant children's social worlds. During the informal conversations, I shared my photographs with participant children, which helped us generate rapport (Gold, 2004). The comments they made about the photographs provided me with insights into their views of their own communities and literacy activities. In addition, these photographs supplemented other ethnographic data such as fieldnotes and interviews that portrayed the participants' literacy practices.

Reflective Journal

Social positions and experiences, whether intended or not, impact the way qualitative researchers approach, view, and interact with participants. It is important that I, as a qualitative researcher, engage in "a deeper kind of reflectivity about our social positions, as well as about our values, beliefs, assumptions, inclination, and political learnings" (Orellana, 2016, p. 34). Particularly since this research involves children, it is essential to be attentive to my own position and power as an adult and a researcher. As

Thorne (1993) and Knupfer (1996) suggested, I believe adult researchers should challenge their adult-centric assumptions around what young children can and can't do and the views that children are less complete than adults through self-reflexivity.

Given the importance of reflexivity, I tried to maintain reflexivity by documenting my own biases, experiences, and perspectives in my reflective journal during the data collection process for this dissertation research. Documenting a researcher's journey is an important part of conducting qualitative research because "the unfamiliar aspects of a new site can become familiar and taken for granted. Initial and curiosities can be forgotten" (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 39). The reflective journal included methodological memos (Boeije, 2010) that discuss my learning experiences as a qualitative researcher during the research in relation to methodological issues. I particularly focused on documenting how my researcher identity and relationships to participants changed over time as the participants and I built more trust and shared more about ourselves. The reflective journal played a role as a space where I recorded my own assumptions, feelings, experiences, and reactions and documented how they shifted across time and space in order to reflect upon my experiences as a qualitative researcher and "unlearn" my assumptions and beliefs.

Organizing Data and Data Analysis

Organizing data

Throughout the data collection process, I organized the qualitative data into three large categories: observations and fieldnotes, interviews, and documents and artifacts (e.g., student-generated photographs, public documents, and writings). I employed several strategies to make my extensive data manageable for interpretation. First, I

created a data accounting log (Miles et al., 2014) where I kept records of the types and quantity of my ethnographic data. I also created an observation log where I listed my observations and contacts with the participant children and their families (e.g., entry, date, participant name, location, and note). I labeled each fieldnote, transcript data, and document (e.g., children's writing, drawing, and letters) with the participant's name and the dates the data was collected. In terms of student-produced photographs, I organized them by individual child in the order the photographs were taken. I labeled each photograph with a code and uploaded them to a password-protected website. Public records (e.g., articles from ethnic newspapers and brochures) were also important data that helped me contextualize the study. I sorted these documents by function such as academic opportunities, community organizing, and spiritual purposes.

Data Analysis

The following section describes how I analyzed the qualitative data I collected from the three children and their family members.

Phase 1: Initial interpretation. Data analysis was ongoing during the process of qualitative data collection (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). At the beginning of the data collection, I analyzed the questionnaires (Appendix B) that the parents of three participant children completed; these gave me a sense of the focal children's biographical information, their language use, and their families' transnational practices and experiences. The questionnaires also helped me revise interview questions to make them clear and appropriate. In November 2017, I started observing and interviewing my participant children and their family members. I transcribed the observation and interview

data verbatim after each meeting. I reviewed the raw data and paid close attention to the patterns and categories that emerged, which allowed me to create initial interpretations of my data. I wrote these interpretations in a document that I later revisited during my coding process. This ongoing data analysis process helped me better understand what I saw, heard, and read so I could learn and make sense of what my participants experienced (Glesne, 2011).

Phase 2.1: Coding. After completing the data collection, I revisited my data to analyze the data in a more systematic way, and I engaged in a coding process using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, Dedoose. I began with open coding by reviewing data from multiple sources including field notes, interview data, artifacts, documents, and my reflective journal. I considered this process as the practice of "reviewing, reexperiencing, and reexamining everything" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 174). While carefully reading through all fieldnotes and interview transcripts line-by-line, I wrote analytic memos and assigned codes. During the open coding process, I asked questions such as "What is going on here? What is this about? What is the problem? What is observed here? What is the person trying to tell? What else does the term mean? Which experience is represented here?" (Boeiji, 2010, p. 99). This process resulted in creating a coding scheme with the list of codes and definitions. I then engaged the pattern coding (Miles et al., 2014), where I tried to make connections among codes and identify patterns and categories across data. After completing analysis for each case, I engaged in cross-case analysis, where I developed overarching themes and sub-themes across the three different cases. The purpose of cross-case analysis in this study was to deepen

understanding and strengthen explanation across three cases rather than enhancing generalizability (Miles et al., 2014).

Phase 2.2: Analysis of photographs and documents. Photographs were an essential part of this ethnographic documentation of children's experiences (Miles et al., 2014). In terms of the child-produced photographs, I closely examined the visual images and looked for patterns while writing down my interpretations of the images. Following Orellana's (1999) advice, I examined what was foregrounded in each picture and what was shown in the background. I then coded for setting (e.g., home, school, restaurant, Korea/US); people (e.g., relatives, friends, male/female, age); and things (e.g., books, toys, clothes). After coding, I tried to identify specific patterns and frequencies (Luttrell, 2010). Reviewing the data multiple times allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the data and create a more comprehensive picture of the immigrant children's mobility and their language and literacy practices. Public documents (e.g., newspapers, brochures for community programs, journal entries) helped me understand the sociocultural environments of the participant children. I first sorted them by their functions (e.g., academic opportunities, community organizing, spiritual) and examined the major themes that emerged in each category.

Phase 3: Triangulation and member checking. I carried out triangulation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2013) after completing the data analysis by comparing the themes and sub-themes from different sources of data (e.g., participant observation, interview, and artifact and document collection). I also carried out member checking (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) by presenting my findings to the

participant families. These last two steps allowed me to ensure the study's trustworthiness and validity.

Researcher's Positionality

I acknowledge that "how we see is shaped by our experiences" (Orellana, 2016, p. 33) because our prior experiences always impact the ways that we see, hear, interact with, and write about participants. In this section, I explore and unpack my own identities and how my linguistic, cultural, and mobile experiences impacted the ways I interacted with, observed, and studied the participant children and their families. This multi-sited ethnographic case study on second-generation Korean immigrant children's transnational and multilingual experiences was inspired by my own experiences of crossing linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries.

I am a native of South Korea who has attended secondary schools and universities in both Seoul, Korea and multiple states in the United States, including South Dakota, California, Rhode Island, and New York. During my years in the U.S., I kept a close connection with my family and friends in Korea through regular exchanges of letters and goods and by sharing stories and pictures through physical and digital transnational contacts. It is natural to me to pay close attention to social, cultural, and political issues in both countries and beyond by reading texts and watching media in Korean and English. While my transnational network and multilingual knowledge were considered assets and resources at the higher education level, there were many occasions in high school where I felt peers and teachers focused more on my limited understanding of American culture and language instead of recognizing my flexible thinking across languages and cultures. These experiences sparked my interest in wanting to further understand how children,

whose lives encompass multiple languages, cultures, and countries, experience their language, literacy, and learning in this transnational era.

Working with linguistically and culturally diverse students through research and teaching opened my eyes to the fact that many children engage in hybrid language practices and transnational practices that are too often invisible in English-dominant schools. For example, while teaching children at Korean heritage language schools in Rhode Island and North Carolina, I observed many young immigrant children sharing stories about their families in Korea, which they had never visited, and engaging in writing where they presented their sense of belonging to multiple countries. While closely interacting with these children's parents and teachers, I learned that transnational engagements, whether actual or imaginary, are shared among many second-generation Korean immigrant children. These experiences solidified my ambition to further explore young immigrant children's transnational and multilingual lives by listening to and honoring their voices.

Possessing bilingual and bicultural knowledge and nuanced understandings of linguistic, cultural, and social contexts in both Korea and the U.S. has been a privilege as I have carried out this cross-language qualitative research involving more than one language. Using my bilingual competencies, I was able to ask questions more accurately, better understand participants' responses and interactions, and build closer connections with participants by sharing the joys and struggles of being bilinguals (Ojeda et al., 2011). For example, I once observed the following parent-child interaction at the library where my participant children engaged in translanguaging practices:

> Yena's mother: 책 다 읽었어? [Did you finish your book?]
> Yena's sister: Yes.

> Yena's mother: 한국말로 대답 해야지? '네' 해야지?" [Why don't you answer in Korean? You have to say '네'] (A way to express agreement in a polite way). (Observation, 01/06/2017)

Some may observe this interaction and consider it a simple translanguaging strategy that the immigrant mother uses to foster her child's fluency in heritage language. However, as someone who grew up in Korean culture, I was able to understand that this practice encourages the child's use of Korean while also teaching Korean culture, in which a child has to use honorifics, in this case "네" when responding to elders to show politeness. As this example reveals, my nuanced understanding of the similarities and differences between the two languages and the differing cultural contexts helped me recognize hidden meanings behind what I observed.

During the interview activities with children, I encouraged my participant children to freely and flexibly use, mix, and switch between Korean and English. As Ojeda et al. (2011) pointed out, encouraging language flexibility helped me obtain authentic and valid responses from the participants. It also enabled me to send participants a caring and firm message that all the languages they speak are valued and important.

I acknowledge, however, that "being born into a group, 'going native,' or just being a member does not necessarily afford the perspective necessary for studying the phenomenon" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 146). Being a bilingual and a bicultural researcher does not necessarily mean that I automatically understand or associate with all language and literacy experiences that the participant children shared. For example, while the participants' families considered home as the only and the most important space for their children to speak Korean, Korean was my first language, which I spoke in home,

school, and society. Nonetheless, as a person who has gone through the experiences of acquiring English as a second language after moving to the U.S., I could partially understand the complexities and challenges that the participant children and families were going through in developing and balancing two or more languages. Therefore, it was important for me to reflect upon what I saw and heard from participants in order to gain an in-depth understanding of their language and literacies. In addition, I tried to be attentive to how my "own reactions and sensitivities differ from those of some or more members" (Emerson et al., 2001, p. 25) in my study, and I documented my own biases, experiences, and perspectives in my reflective journal. Keeping a journal, which I explained in the methodology section, was a great way for me to think about and unpack my own assumptions and look beyond what I observed.

Presentation of Findings

In the following chapters, I present two data analysis chapters and one implications chapter. The first data analysis chapter is devoted to illustrating a detailed description of each focal child's case by discussing how the child's everyday life is impacted by transnationalism, particularly literacies, identities, and learning. The second analysis chapter presents the themes that I identified across the three cases based on my in-depth cross-case analysis. In the final chapter, I discuss possible implications of the study for future research, practice, and teacher education.

Chapter IV

IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S LIVED EXPERIENCES IN A TRANSNATIONAL WORLD

This dissertation study examines how transnationalism shapes the everyday lives of second-generation immigrant children, particularly their literacies, funds of knowledge, and identities. I focused particularly on young Korean immigrant children who maintain close connections with their parents' home countries and move across different spaces beyond geographic boundaries. This chapter discusses the three focal children and their transnational lives, which I documented through closely observing and interacting with them in North Carolina and South Korea.

The three focal children, Minsu, Yena, and Taehoon, were born in the United States and had one or both parents of Korean heritage who migrated to the U.S. These children were enrolled in local public elementary schools in North Carolina at the time of the study; Minsu and Taehoon were in the second grade, and Yena was in the third grade in her Chinese-English dual language school. These children are multilinguals and use multiple languages in their daily lives. Minsu and Taehoon spoke Korean and English as their primary languages at home, although they felt more comfortable speaking in English. Yena, whose parents are Korean ethnic minorities in China who emigrated to the U.S., flexibly used Korean, English, and Mandarin Chinese at her home, at her Chinese-English dual immersion school, and their community. All three children were enrolled in

the same Korean heritage language school in a local community, and Yena attended a Chinese heritage language school every weekend in addition to the Korean program.

All three children maintained close connections with their parents' homelands: South Korea for Minsu and Taehoon, and South Korea and Mainland China for Yena. They engaged in regular and frequent contact with extended family members in these countries. During the summer of 2018, all three children and their family members travelled to Seoul, South Korea, and I Accompanied as a participant observer.

This multi-sited ethnographic case study began in October 2017 in the Research Triangle area of North Carolina where the participant children resided and attended school. I followed the children and their families to Seoul, South Korea, between July and August and documented their transnational experiences. This study ended in October 2018 in North Carolina. Based on my yearlong data collection, in the following chapters I illustrate how each participant child engaged in a transnational life, particularly in terms of literacy, identity, and learning. I begin each case with a portrait of the child and the child's family, and then I discuss the major key findings.

Constructing Minsu's Story

At the time of this study, Minsu was an 8-year-old only son in a bilingual and immigrant family. His father is from Seoul, South Korea, and his mother is American and grew up New York. Minsu was in the second grade at a local public elementary school, where only 2% of the school population was Asian. Minsu has two names: David (English) and Minsu (Korean). Most of his peers and teachers at his regular school knew him as Thomas, and his friends at the heritage language school and extended family members in South Korea called him Minsu.

Minsu has visited Seoul, South Korea, almost every two years since he was three years old. Through these frequent visits, Minsu learned the physical distance between him and where his grandparents live:

> It takes about one night. Twelve hours by plane. Plane is really fast. It looks really slow because you are travelling really far away if you are on plane, but you are actually going super fast. It's really long way out of North Carolina. You travel a long way and you have an ocean to cross. That's what makes a plane seem so slow. But anything crossing the ocean in about 24 hours is fast. (Informal Conversation, 05/11/2018)

Although Minsu recognized that Korea was "a long way out of North Carolina," he felt a strong emotional attachment to the country, because that is where his beloved cousins and grandparents live. During the year I documented his experiences, Minsu visited Korea twice, including a six-week-long trip in winter and a two-month-long trip in summer. I followed his two-month-long journey from May to July, which I would characterize as a *complete immersion*. Minsu's family started planning his visit to Korea long before his departure. With the help of the relatives in Korea, Minsu's parents planned out different educational (e.g., attending a regular school and private institutes) and cultural activities (e.g., visiting museums and historic places) for Minsu to take part in during his stay.

Minsu’s weekly schedule was quite similar to most children his age living in Korea; he attended a regular school, an after-school soccer program, private institutes (e.g., piano, arts, and Taekwondo), and a summer camp (Figure 4). Minsu attended a local elementary school that was about an hour away from where he was staying at his grandparent’s house. Minsu’s parents chose the particular school because two of Minsu’s cousins were enrolled in the school. Minsu also attended the after-school soccer program with his two cousins, which provided him opportunities to get closer to his cousins and to meet new friends. On weekends, Minsu spent time hanging out with his cousins, whom he described as “real brothers” (Interview, 09/21/2018), together they visited different places in the city, such as museums, swimming pool, public library, and stores.

Figure 4. Minsu's after-school soccer program

In the following section, I discuss Minsu’s life as a transnational child in more detail, particularly his participation in multilingual literacies across boundaries, his extensive historical knowledge, and his multi-layered, complex bicultural identities.

Minsu’s Language and Literacy Across Boundaries

Minsu described himself as “a really good reader” who is “already reading a Harry Potter series” (Informal Conversation, 11/17/2017). Minsu “is supposed to read

like 20 minutes every day," but he reads "an hour and a half" because he loves reading (Informal Conversation, 05/11/2018). When I first met Minsu, he proudly showed me his school website, which featured a photograph of him holding a book was posted with the sign "Reader of the Month." He told me with great excitement that he won the class spelling bee against the 5th graders, which he stated was possibly due to the excellent vocabulary he'd gained through reading books at upper level. At the local Korean heritage language school, Minsu was known among teachers and parents for his excellent fluency and cultural understanding, as evidenced by several awards he received from writing and drawing competitions. When I asked Minsu about his regular school and heritage language school, Minsu shared that home, rather than school, is the space that had helped him become bilingual and biliterate. He stated, "I don't learn in school. I start it [learning languages] from home, and I come to school to get better" (Informal Conversation, 11/17/2017). On another occasion, he said, "No one ever teaches you the things you need to know. Everything I know is almost all from home" (Informal Conversation, 06/15/2018). To Minsu, school was a place to "get better" at things he read, write, and learn at home on his own or with his parents.

Like many Korean immigrant parents in the U.S., Minsu's parents were devoted to raising him as a bilingual and bicultural (H. Kang, 2013; Kwon, 2017; Ro & Cheatham, 2009). They were well aware of the multiple benefits that Minsu could acquire by being multilingual, which stemmed from their own experiences of studying abroad and learning languages, moving to different countries, and interacting with people from diverse cultures in their professional lives. Minsu's mother, who grew up in a German American family in New York, felt that her early exposure to German at home

impacted her decision to pursue her current job in an Asia-related research center at a higher institution. Minsu's father, who emigrated from Korea 10 years ago, felt strongly about teaching Minsu Korean heritage language and culture so he could build a strong sense of ethnic identity. Minsu's parents, therefore, enforced a family language policy (FLP). Specifically, they employed One-Parent One-Language policy (OPOL) (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; King & Fogle, 2006), and Minsu's father exclusively used Korean while his mother primarily used English when interacting with Minsu. When I first met Minsu's parents, Minsu's father proudly stated, "I am in charge of Korean. She (Minsu's mother) is responsible for Minsu's English" (Interview, 11/16/2017). Minsu's father always ensured that he communicated with Minsu in Korean. Even when Minsu responded in English or did not clearly understand his father's questions in Korean, Minsu's father responded in Korean and then reiterated in English. For example, the exchange below shows Minsu's father's efforts to encourage Minsu to use Korean. The conversation took place when Minsu asked his father, using Korean and English, whether he could invite me to his cousin's house.

> Minsu: 아빠, 성주 집에서 만나요. We have to get a time and date.
> Minsu's father: 뭐라고요? [What did you say?]
> Minsu: 시간 이랑 date. [Time and *date*.]
> Minsu's father: 날짜? [Date?]
> Minsu: 시간 이랑 날짜 필요해요. [We need time and date.]

When Minsu said, "We have to get a time and date," Minsu's father, although he understood what Minsu meant, asked Minsu for clarification in Korean, "뭐라고요?" [What did you say?] to encourage him to say the sentence in Korean. When Minsu used Korean and English words ("시간 이랑 date" [Time and *date*]), Minsu's father translated date to 날짜 to help Minsu practice a new vocabulary: 날짜. Minsu then restated the

sentence he'd originally said in English in Korean. This strategy was one of many linguistic practices that Minsu's parents purposefully engaged in to help Minsu maintain his Korean proficiency and to grow bilingual.

Minsu shared that it is confusing to follow the One-Parent One-Language (OPOL) policy that his parents enforce at home. When I asked Minsu about the languages he uses at home, Minsu explained that the ways his parents managed the family language policy at home is very confusing to him. He explained that he resists it by choosing languages depending on the context:

> Researcher: 민수 집에서 무슨 말로 해?
> Minsu: 영어랑 한국말 둘 다 써요.
> Researcher: 언제 영어 쓰고 언제 한국말 써?
> Minsu: 그거는 못 말해요. 맨날 하고 싶을 때.
> Researcher: 아빠가 '한국 말로 해' 할 때 있어?
> Minsu: 아빠는 맨날 한국말로 하라고 하고, 엄마는 한국말 이랑 영어로 동시에 하라고 하고. 헷갈려요. (Interview, 09/07/2018)
>
> Researcher: Minsu, which language do you speak at home?
> Minsu: I use both English and Korean.
> Researcher: When do you use English and when do you use Korean?
> Minsu: I can't tell. Whenever I want to.
> Researcher: Does your dad say "speak in Korean" sometimes?
> Minsu: Dad tells me to talk in Korean every day, and mom says I should use Korean and English simultaneously. It's confusing.

At home, Minsu engaged in multilingual literacies (Matin-Jones & Jones, 2010) by reading and writing using multiple languages with literacy resources (e.g., picture books and textbooks) bought in Korea or sent from family members in Korea.

As shown in Figure 5, Minsu's weekly schedule is written in Korean and English and clearly shows his mobility across languages and cultures in his everyday life. On the schedule, activities related to Korean language and culture were written in Korean; "일기" [Journal entry], "한글 책" [Korean book], "한글학교" [Korean school], and

"태권도" [Taekwondo]. Other daily practices, such as "reading," "math," and "dinner," were written in English. His everyday schedule began with "reading" and ended with "한글 책" [Korean book].

Figure 5. Minsu's daily schedule

Minsu read about four books in Korean every week. These books included, but were not limited to, textbooks from South Korea, picture books his cousins suggested reading, and cartoon books Minsu bought during his recent trip to Korea (Observation, 05/02/2018). Minsu especially liked reading the translated versions of books that originated in America, such as the *Mr. Men* [2]series and *Minions*. Minsu shared that these stories and the characters are attractive to young readers globally, regardless of their long length, because they are written with easy vocabulary and have engaging story lines.

> Researcher: 이 책은 뭐야? 미니언즈?
> Minsu: 한국에서 엄마가 사줬어요.
> Researcher: 어려워 보이는데? 어렵지 않아?
> Minsu: 뭔지 몰라요? Movie 안 봤어요? 이거 어려운 책 아니에요. 길다고 어려운 게 아니잖아요. 쉬운 단어가 많이 있으니까.
> Researcher: 이거 한국 캐릭터야?

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[1] The Mr. Men series has been translated into 15 different languages, including Korean, for young readers in foreign countries.

> Minsu: 미국거인데요.미국이랑 한국이랑 share 하니까. 그 다음에 한국 사람한테도 재미 있는 거니까. 그 다음 한국이 translated 했어요. (Informal Conversation, 01/26/2018)
>
> Researcher: What is this book? Minions?
> Minsu: My mom bought for me in Korea.
> Researcher: It looks difficult. Isn't it hard to read?
> Minsu: You don't know what it is? Did you not see the *movie*? This is not a difficult book. Long book does not mean it's hard to read. It has lot of easy vocabularies.
> Researcher: Is this a Korean character?
> Minsu: It's American. Korean and America *share* it because it's also fun to Korean people. Koreans *translated* the story.

For fun, Minsu liked to copy the contents of these favorite book series in his notebook. This self-directed literacy practice helped him improve his writing in Korean, as shown in Figure 6.

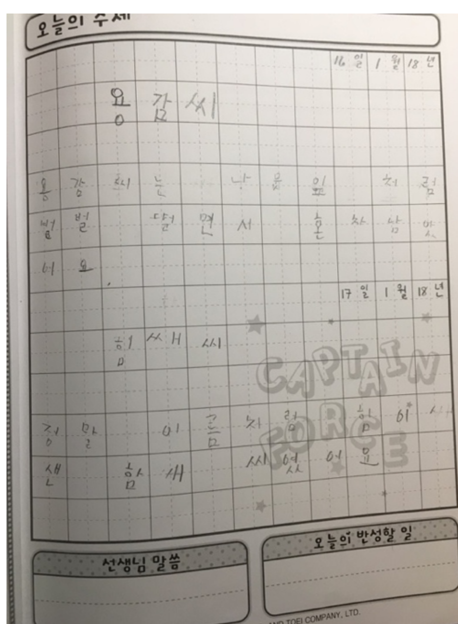

Figure 6. Minsu's writing

Starting in March 2018, Minsu spent additional hours with his father reviewing school textbooks (Social Studies and Language Arts) that students in Korea use to prepare for attending school during the summer in Korea. He showed me a stack of the textbooks and said, “These are my textbooks from schools in Korea. 공부하고 있어요.

아빠랑 그냥 하고 있어요. 지금은 review 하려고. (Informal Conversation, 05/02/2018). [I am just doing it with my dad. I am studying it. I am just doing it with my dad. I am trying to *review* it]

Minsu dedicated one hour every Wednesday, Thursday, and Sunday for writing two "일기" [journal entries] in Korean, which is a task his Korean school assigned. Since Minsu loves drawing and crafting, he always began his writing process by drawing images that helped him brainstorm what he wanted to write about. He usually wrote about his favorite toys, such as Legos®, fidget spinners, and a tabletop robot, except on rare occasions when he felt like writing about something more important. On January 7th, after his 10-week-long trip to Korea, he composed a journal entry about his dad, who was staying behind in Korea after Minsu and his mother came back to North Carolina: 내 아빠는 한국에서 있다. 아빠는 한국에서 2 월 더 있었다. 아빠는 일때문에 더 있었다. 아빠는 내 사촌 집에서 있고 있다. 나는 아빠를 보고싶다 (Artifact, 01/07/2017). [My dad is in Korea. He is staying there two more months. My dad is staying in Korea for his work. He is staying at my cousin's house. I miss him]

Heritage language school was the only space that allowed Minsu to proudly and excitedly share his experiences of attending schools, visiting extended families, and going to fun places in Korea. In fact, Minsu had few opportunities to share his language, culture, and his connection to Korea at school because, as he mentioned multiple times, "학교는 다 영어" (Informal Conversation, 11/17/2017). [School is all English] The only time Minsu used Korean for any type of writing for elementary school was when his mom encouraged him to write a Thanksgiving card to his classroom teacher. Sometimes, Minsu mumbled in Korean at school because he liked the fact that nobody understood

what he was saying. Minsu excitedly told me, as if he was sharing a fun secret, "Then I suddenly laugh after I say it. Others don't know what I am saying. I sometimes joke in Korean, too, and they are like 'What?'" (Informal Conversation, 11/17/2017).

On May 19, 2018, Minsu and his dad traveled to Seoul, South Korea, where Minsu's paternal grandparents and all of his cousins live. A few days after their arrival, Minsu started attending Sangeun Elementary School[2], where two of his cousins were enrolled in the second grade and fifth grade[3]. Minsu's father and his grandmother had worked very hard to find a school that Minsu could attend during his stay in Korea; they contacted local schools and principals and sent recommendation letters to the schools. As the school year and semesters in Korea[4] are different from the U.S., Minsu was able to attend the school for about four weeks between May and July, when the spring semester ended. This transnational schooling practice is a growing phenomenon shared among many Korean and Japanese immigrant children during the summer when they visit their parents' home countries (Kwon, 2017). In fact, at Minsu's school in South Korea, there were two other students from the U.S who arrived a week before Minsu joined the class. Several teachers in the local area told Minsu's father that there are many students like Minsu who temporarily attend school in Korea to improve their Korean proficiency and to experience their heritage culture.

Despite the growing number of Korean immigrant children attending school in Korea during the summer, Minsu's parents were very concerned about what Minsu would feel and experience in the new school as a child from America, an English speaker, and a

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[2] A pseudonym was assigned to the school.
[3] Elementary schools in Korea consist of grade one to six (ages 7 to 12).
[4] The school year in South Korea typically runs from March to February. The year is divided into two semesters: March to July and September to February.

temporary student at the school. They were particularly concerned because of what Minsu experienced three years ago when he attended a kindergarten in Korea. Because Minsu's was not fluent in Korean, Minsu's father said Minsu felt "답답하고. 말을 잘 못하니까 자기는 괴물이 된 것 같다고. 서있는 역할만 했다고" (Informal Conversation, 06/15/2018). [Frustrated. He said he felt like a monster because he could not speak Korean. He said his role was just standing there doing nothing] Hence, Minsu's parents were hoping that the schooling experiences would be positive and transformative so Minsu would become more motivated to learn the Korean language and develop a strong sense of ethnic identity.

Despite his parents' deep concerns, Minsu integrated quickly into the new school in Korea. According to Minsu's father, "He (Minsu) got a pretty good score from the written test," and "he liked being in Korea" (Interview, 06/15/2018). He even shared that "미국에 있을 때는 best friends 가 없다고 했는데 한국에 와서는 친구도 많고 적응을 잘하는 것 같아요" (Informal Conversation, 06/15/2018). [He used to say that he does not have *best friends* in the U.S. But here, he made many friends, and he is well adjusted] At school, Minsu struggled a bit with Language Arts class because of his limited Korean proficiency, but it did not much matter to him because he enjoyed every class and loved his peers and teachers.

In fact, because of his fluency in his native language, English, Minsu's relatives, teachers at school, and parents of his peers positioned Minsu as a "teacher." When I asked Minsu what he liked the most about being in the school in Korea, he described how he taught English to his peers and teachers. He explained how English served as an entry point for him to enter a Korean society:

> 학교에서 제가 다른 친구들한테 영어 가르쳐줘요. 다른 친구들이 말해요. 자기가 영어학원 간다고. 선생님도 가르쳐달라고 해요. 그럼 조금 웃겨요. 친구들 발음이 좀 웃겨요. 친구들, 선생님, 다. Twenty-two 를 투웬티투 처럼 해요. 로보트처럼. (Informal Conversation, 06/30/2018)
>
> At school, I teach English to my friends. They said they go to an English academy. My teacher also asked me to teach her English. It's a little bit funny. Their pronunciation is a bit funny. Friends, teachers, and everybody. They say *Twenty-two* like too-wen-ti-too. It's like a robot.

When I observed Minsu at his afterschool soccer program in Korea, I also heard some parents describing Minsu as "영어" [English] and "미국에서 온 애" [A kid from America] as they talked about ways to teach their children English (Observation, 06/16/2018). Minsu's uncles and aunts also asked him to speak English only in their home, especially when Minsu interacted with their children. They explicitly asked Minsu to be "an English teacher" to their children (Informal Conversation, 06/15/2018) and said, "Speak English only!" (Informal Conversation, 06/30/2018). Using his assets as an English speaker, Minsu created a rule between him and his cousins for his cousin's English learning, which he described to me:

> Haesol′s parents tell me I have to be the English teacher. I am the English teacher. And the rule we made up is if you speak in Korean and if you are caught speaking in Korean by me, you have to give me infinity dollars. But Sungjoo doesn't speak English. Sungjoo only speaks A, B, C. He only knows up to C. (Informal Conversation, 06/15/2018)

During his stay in Korea, I observed Minsu utilizing his multilingual knowledge and consciously making language choices depending on the contexts and interlocuters' needs. For example, Minsu consciously spoke in Korean to his father, who always uses Korean with Minsu. When interacting with his cousins, Minsu conversed in English with the two children who were learning English. Minsu spoke in Korean with Sungjoo, who "only knows up to C" in English (Informal Conversation, 06/15/2018). When speaking with

me, Minsu continuously alternated between Korean and English, because he knew that I understand both languages and have asked him to use all languages in our interactions. Minsu's case confirms what Davin and Norton (2014) explained about how migrant language learners are positioned in multiple ways as they move across transnational, transideological spaces and how their linguistic and literacy practices are given different values depending on the context.

Minsu as a Historian: Minsu's Funds of Knowledge

In this section, I describe Minsu as a historian with knowledge that spans borders and is continuously shaped and reshaped by his transnational experiences. In this section, I illustrate Minsu's rich knowledge of Korean and U.S. history and society, his desires to learn more about the history, and his abilities to present his knowledge using multimodal and multilingual expertise.

Unlike the two other focal children, Minsu was very much interested in the history of Korea and the U.S., the two countries with which he felt a close connection. Minsu often guided our conversations and interview activities to discuss Korean historic events, such as the Korean war and the development of *Hangeul* (Korean language system), as well as contemporary historic events, such as the impeachment of the recent president of South Korea. Minsu's previous visits to Korea, where he visited museums with his family and engaged in conversations with his parents and grandparents about their lived experiences, seem to have significantly impacted his rich and extensive knowledge in Korean history and society. For example, when I asked Minsu about the places he wanted to visit in Korea two weeks before he left to go visit Korea, he said that he wanted to visit a museum of Korean history to see 거북선 [Turtle ship], the Korean

warship that the Royal Korean Navy used during the Joseon Dynasty against Japanese naval ships. The following excerpt, in which Minsu described the Korean War against Japan while drawing a picture of Turtle ship (Figure 7) demonstrates his knowledge of Korean history:

> Researcher: What is this?
> Minsu: It's a Korean ship. Umm. The canon is here and here. It's designed so because 일본 [Japan] are really good with hand to hand combat you know. It's designed so if 일본 [Japan] trying to get in, they have to face it bunch of spikes. It's designed when they try to do that, their feet will get spikes. Even when they pass the spikes, it's really hard because it is a metal underneath. It's black and metal there. So then they have to pass bunch of metal and iron plates. There's a bunch of canon on the side. They should go pretty quickly. (Interview, 03/16/2018)

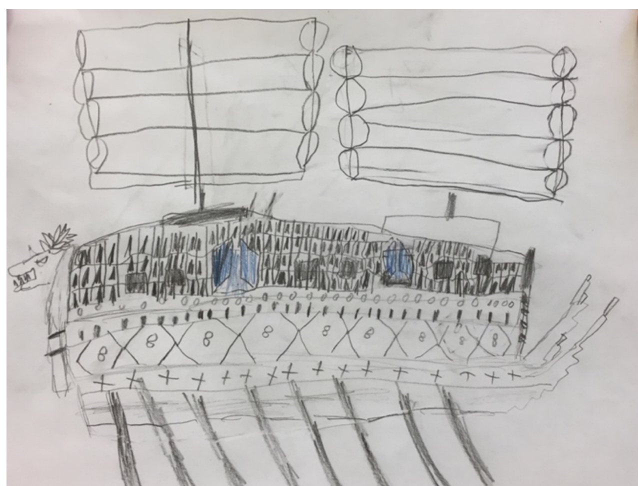


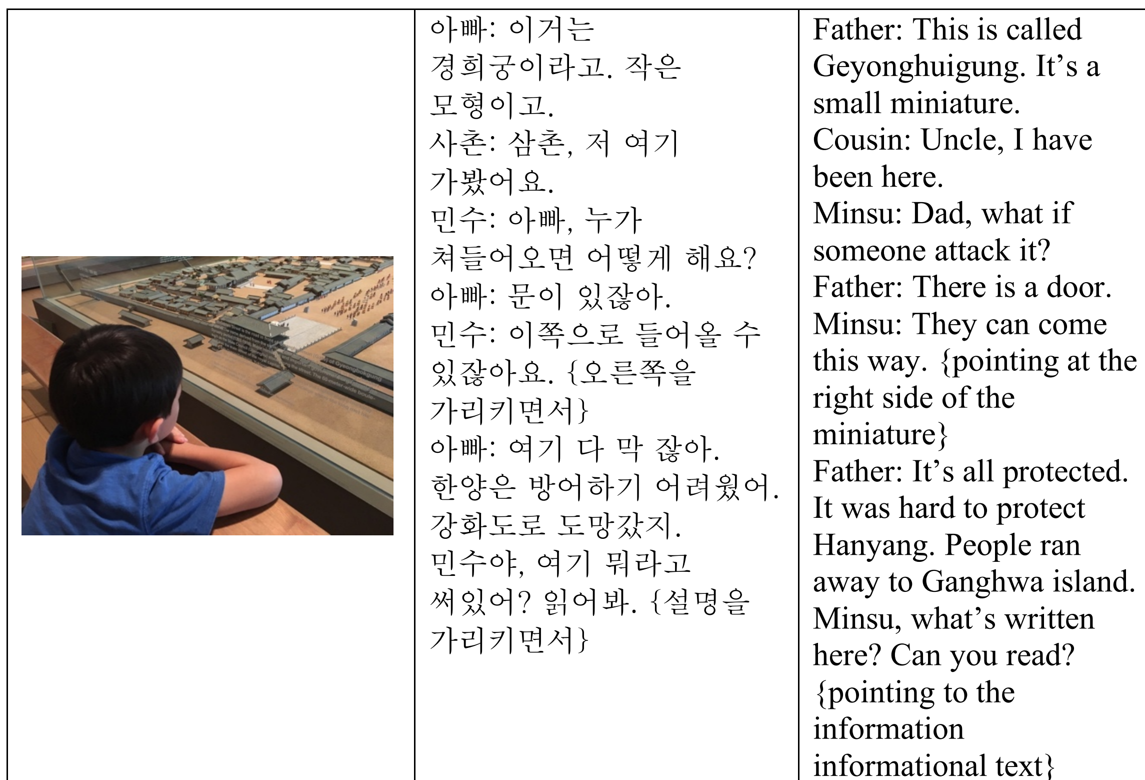
Figure 7. Minsu's drawing of the Turtle ship

When I told Minsu that I was very impressed by his deep knowledge of Korean history and artistic skills, he emphasized, "I do know a lot, but I also do not know a lot" (Interview, 01/09/2018). As much as he knew about Korean history, he aspired to learn more about Korean history and discuss it with his peers. However, Minsu rarely had opportunities to engage in such conversations. For example, Minsu often shared his disappointment toward his regular school because there was no space for him to learn and discuss Korean history, which he was eager to learn more about. When I asked him if he

ever had an opportunity to discuss Korean history at school, he said, “Of course not. Because it’s (school’s) not for that. That’s why I think school is so boring. The only thing we do is vocabulary, reading, and math.” He added, “We only learn about American history” (Interview, 01/09/2018).

At a heritage language school, which Minsu considered as “a place supposed to be a learning place” (Interview, 01/09/2018), Minsu had to ask his teachers to show a video about Korean history because “they [other children] just want to watch funny things” (Informal Conversation, 03/16/2018). On one occasion, when I met Minsu at the heritage language school, he ran into me and said that he was finally going to get to watch the video that he’d been asking the heritage language teacher to show for a long time: “I am happy that I came here today because my teacher said she is going to show me a video on the Korean War, which I was asking for her to do for a long time. A LO-NG LO-NG time” (Informal Conversation, 03/16/2018). However, I later found out from his teacher at the heritage language school that the class watched a Korean cartoon instead, because Minsu’s peers did not want to watch a video about the Korean War. While she acknowledged that teaching Korean history is essential to immigrant children, she felt that her role was to focus more on making the heritage language class “more fun” and “easy” so the children would continue coming to the school. Minsu excitedly waited for his journey to Korea because he could visit museums, talked to his grandfather (whom Minsu described as “a Korean hero who served in the War” and “sacrifice” to the country), and see his cousins, who were as interested in world history and culture as Minsu.

On June 30th, I had the opportunity to join Minsu's visit to the Seoul Museum of History with two of his cousins and one of his friends. Minsu spent about four hours at the museum, as he was enthusiastic to see stories and artifacts he had read about in books. While at the museum, Minsu demonstrated active roles in expanding his understanding of Korean history. For example, he read the titles, labels, and information texts, which were written in English and Korean, to help himself understand the displays. Minsu actively asked his father to translate or explain the meaning of certain words that he could not understand, which led to further discussions about Korean history. On these occasions, Minsu's father encouraged Minsu to guess the meanings of the words through context clues, or he asked Minsu to read the description written in English. Below is an exchange (Figure 8) between Minsu and his father about the miniature displayed in the museum.



	아빠: 이거는 경희궁이라고. 작은 모형이고. 사촌: 삼촌, 저 여기 가봤어요. 민수: 아빠, 누가 쳐들어오면 어떻게 해요? 아빠: 문이 있잖아. 민수: 이쪽으로 들어올 수 있잖아요. {오른쪽을 가리키면서} 아빠: 여기 다 막 잖아. 한양은 방어하기 어려웠어. 강화도로 도망갔지. 민수야, 여기 뭐라고 써있어? 읽어봐. {설명을 가리키면서}	Father: This is called Geyonghuigung. It's a small miniature. Cousin: Uncle, I have been here. Minsu: Dad, what if someone attack it? Father: There is a door. Minsu: They can come this way. {pointing at the right side of the miniature} Father: It's all protected. It was hard to protect Hanyang. People ran away to Ganghwa island. Minsu, what's written here? Can you read? {pointing to the information informational text}

Figure 8. Minsu's interaction with his father at the museum

As Minsu kept asking questions about the miniature, Minsu's father advised him to read the explanation in English and said "민수야, 여기 뭐라고 써있어? 읽어봐" [Minsu, what's written here? Can you read?]. Minsu even challenged the story and information presented in the museum when the visual image or information was different from the story he'd read in the books. He made statements like, "There were more soldiers than the two people!" and "I don't think the palace was this small." Minsu's observations highlight his extensive knowledge of social and cultural contexts of Korea and his critical and historical thinking. Minsu's case demonstrates the necessity of creating a space in school that honors immigrant children's social, cultural, and historical knowledge that are shaped by transnational experiences.

Minsu's Identities and Positioning

Minsu's parents mentioned a number of times that they want Minsu to grow with a strong sense of Korean identity. When Minsu's parents were contacting the local school in Korea about the possibility of Minsu auditing the class, Minsu's father asked me if I could write a recommendation letter for him as someone who has closely observed and worked with Minsu for many months. A few days after I gave him the letter, Minsu's father wrote me an email asking me to revise the part where I wrote:

> 한국 학교에서의 새로운 경험이 앞으로 민수가 재미교포로 살아가는데 있어 매우 중요한 역할을 할 것이라고 생각합니다. (Recommendation Letter, 03/23/2018)
>
> I believe Minsu's new experience in a school in Korea will play an important role in Minsu's life as a Korean American.

Minsu's father kindly asked me to revise the part where I describe Minsu as a Korean American:

> 민수가 미국과 한국 둘 중 어느 곳에 살게 될 지 정해지지가 않아서 마지막 단락 부분에 '민수가 재미교포로 살아가는데 있어'의 재미교포 부분을 예를 들어 '한국인으로서의 정체성을 가지고 살아가는데'처럼 표현하는게 어떨까 합니다. (E-mail Exchange, 03/25/2018)
>
> We are unsure whether Minsu will live in the U.S. or Korea, so I hope you change the part in ending paragraph where you mention 'Minsu's life as a Korean American' to 'as Minsu lives with the identity as a Korean.'

While Minsu's father felt that he wanted to cultivate and promote Minsu's "identity as a Korean," Minsu was observed accepting, appreciating, and presenting his complex hybrid bicultural identities at home, school, and in the community, both in Korea and the U.S. Minsu presented his bicultural identity during one of interview activities. When I asked Minsu to introduce himself, the first fact he mentioned after his name and birthday was the fact that he is a Korean American. He elaborated why he considered himself a Korean American:

> I am a Korean American. My Korean half is from my dad. My English half is from my mom. I was baptized by my grandfather who is the head pastor. My mom's dad. My dad's father is a Korean national hero. He stood up so they could have rights. (Interview, 03/23/2018)

Minsu described himself as someone who belongs to two languages ("Korean" and "English"), and he explained that he has families in two different countries. When I asked Minsu to explain more to define what Korean American mean to him, he explained his thoughts for me:

> Researcher: You said you are Korean American. What's Korean American?
> Minsu: It means I am a half Korean and a half American. But I live in America, so I am American but I am half Korean. So Korean slash American. American comes the last because that's stating I am a bit American.
> Researcher: How is Korean American different from being a Korean?
> Minsu: You also speak English and live in America. You could be American Korean. I mean, you speak Korean but you speak English. But you live in Korea. I don't know if that's possible. But when someone has some other things, we say it that way. (Interview, 03/23/2018)

As shown above, Minsu considered the terms for ethnic identities as something positive that a person earns through speaking and knowing about another culture. He also viewed that those who have connections to two languages and cultures can always emphasize one over another while appreciating both. Minsu described all the children who attend the heritage language school are Korean American, not Korean, because they come to the school to learn Korean while being an American. He also articulated that identities are contextualized and shifting depending on geographical location, while pointing out how geographic location plays a part in how you identify yourself.

During a break one day in his heritage language classroom, Minsu created the drawing below where he overlaid a Korean flag with an American flag (Figure 9). Minsu's drawing demonstrates how Minsu grapples with his identities and continuously navigates between two languages and cultures. His drawing and the complex ways that he sees himself as "Korean American" challenge his father's views that Minsu's "identity as a Korean" needs to be fostered.

Figure 9. Minsu's drawing of a Korean flag overlaid with an American flag

During this study, I gave birth to a daughter, who will grow up in the U.S. as an immigrant child of Korean parents, like Minsu. All of my focal children, including

Minsu, were very interested in knowing about my daughter. They asked me questions like, "What is her name going to be?" "Are you going to give her an English name or Korean name?" "Can I pick a middle name for her?" and "Are you going to talk to her in Korean or English?" When Minsu asked me if I will teach her Korean, I asked his advice:

> Researcher: What should I do to raise her like you?
> Minsu: First, you need to convince your daughter Korea is a good country. When she grows up, she will want to learn Korean. And you should make her read about Korea. Make her visit Korea once or twice a year. My cousins come here.
> (Informal Conversation, 01/09/2018)

The above excerpt shows Minsu's positive views on his connection to Korea and how he feels that learning and reading about Korea and connecting with relatives in the country are essential for immigrant children.

I observed Minsu building a stronger bicultural identity through his visit to Korea, where he built a close connection with his grandparent and cousins. As Minsu learned about his grandfather's lived experiences in the Korean War and other historic times in Korea, Minsu became prouder of his heritage and eager to learn more about his grandfather's experiences. His close ties with his cousins also contributed to helping him build a strong attachment to Korea. Minsu often mentioned that his cousin, Haesol, is "a real brother" to him and showed excitement whenever he shared the stories about Haesol. In fact, Minsu and Hesol's families planned an unofficial exchange program where Haesol and his little sister will visit North Carolina for 10 weeks during the winter and attend Minsu's school.

In addition, Minsu's experience in school in Korea, where his bilingual and bicultural identities were considered assets, increased Minsu's pride about his Korean American identity. As he reflected upon his trip to Korea, he said, "좀 좋아요. 한국말

이랑 영어랑 둘 다 할 수 있으니까 (Interview, 09/21/2018). [It's good that I can speak both Korean and English] When I know something better than the teacher, it's fun" On Minsu's last day of school in Korea, he performed Korean Martial Arts in front of the teachers, students, and parents in his school in Korea. He walked on the stage wearing a Taekwondo uniform with an American flag on the right and a Korean flag on the left.

After Minsu returned from his visit to Korea, he showed me the photographs he took at various locations, such as grandparents' home, tourist attractions, and playgrounds during his visit. After looking at the photographs together, Minsu and I had the following conversation about Minsu's future trajectories:

> Researcher: Minsu, do you think you can live in Korea?
> Minsu: I think I might live. I think I might. Maybe I will live. I think I actually will live in Korea.
> Researcher: Why?
> Minsu: I can live close by my cousins. I want to have a Korean citizenship. But then I have to go to 군대 [serve in army] or get first, second, third place from Olympic or Asian game. (Interview, 09/07/2018)

Minsu's statement demonstrates how Minsu built a stronger sense of attachment to his families and the country during his visit to Korea, which inspired him to imagine Korea as a potential place to live someday. He began to question realistic ways of maintaining dual citizenship. These findings challenge previous literature (Zhou, 1997) that it is unlikely for second-generation immigrant children to consider their parents' home country "as a place to return to or as a point of reference" (p. 64) even though their parents actively engage in economic, political, social, and cultural practices that stretch beyond geographic boundaries.

Summary

In this section, I have described the multilingual literacies, historical knowledge, and bilingual identities that Minsu presented as he moved across spaces and countries. The physical environment of Minsu's home and also his literacy practices at home showed that Minsu and his family are deeply engaged in transnational and multilingual literacies where they flexibly switch between languages in reading and writing and utilize literacy resources from the parents' home countries. Minsu's connection with Korea and his transnational visit played central roles in motivating and sustaining his multilingual literacies practices at home. Unlike the regular school in America, where Minsu rarely had opportunities to showcase his multilingual literacies, in Korea, Minsu's peers, teachers, and cousins positioned Minsu as "an English teacher," and admired his bilingual knowledge.

In addition to his bilingual knowledge, Minsu demonstrated his interest, knowledge, and expertise in Korean history during his trip to Korea. Minsu already knew a lot about Korea, but he was eager to learn more about Korean historic events and figures. Even though Minsu rarely accessed at his regular school or at the heritage language school. Minsu used the transnational visit as an opportunity to further expand his historical knowledge by visiting museums and historic places and learning more from his grandparents and parents. During the museum visits, he demonstrated his skills of connecting Korean historic events and figures with his extended family members' lived histories and with similar historic events in the U.S.

From the beginning of the study, Minsu showed a strong sense of hybrid bicultural identities, where he viewed his dual citizenship, skills in two languages, and

understanding of two cultures as assets and appreciated that he has families in two countries. The strong connection he built with extended families through his transnational visit and his positive experience in school in Korea seemed to have an impact on helping him strengthen a sense of bicultural identity. The fact that Minsu considers Korea as a possible place to return and live someday challenges current literature that immigrant children lose their connections with their parents' homeland.

Constructing Yena's Story

At the time of this study, Yena was the 9-year-old eldest daughter of *Joseonjok* parents—Korean ethnic minorities in China—who emigrated to the U.S. 10 years ago. Yena's parents were born in Yanbian, China, where there is a large and growing population of ethnic Koreans, and the Korean language is primarily spoken (Tsung, 2009). While describing Yanbian, Yena said, "It's a Chinese place, but every single person there speaks Korean and everything is in Korea" (Interview, 10/07/2018). Just like many other Korean ethnic minorities in Yanbian, Yena's parents also maintained their Korean language, education, and culture while keeping their identities as an ethnic minority in China (Hua & Wei, 2016; Shin, 2017). Yena's parents, like the parents of two other participants, strongly feel that it is important for their children to be multilingual and to develop a strong sense of cultural identity. In fact, Yena and her five-year-old younger sister are trilingual and flexibly use Korean, Mandarin Chinese, and English at home because of their parents' strong encouragement.

On the first day we met, Yena, her younger sister, and I spent some time creating self-portraits (Figure 10) which we showed to each other and used as a visual aid in

talking about ourselves. Yena introduced her three names–예나 (Korean), 睿娜 (Chinese), and Erin (English). She struggled with writing her Korean name and said, "I think I can write 예나. 예나. No. I actually don't know how to write 예" (Informal conversation, 01/19/2018). She then decided to include two of her names, Erin (English) and 睿娜 (Chinese), in her drawing.

Figure 10. Yena's self-portrait

Using three languages, colors, and symbols, Yena described the objects, places, and people she loves. She wrote what she liked—바나나 (banana), 우유 (milk), 축구 (soccer), and 고기(meat)—and drew a colorful rainbow, her favorite food, and her dual language school. One of the drawings showed three little people in different colors, which she described as "my colorful friends." She said, "This is Jessica. My purple friend. I have red friends. One of my friends is a black" (Informal Conversation, 01/19/2018). In fact, *friend* was the only word that she described with all three languages, colors, and a symbol. Yena became very excited as she talked more about her colorful friends she met at her dual language school.

At the time of the study, Yena was in the third grade in a Mandarin-English dual language program. She often described her school with expressions like, “I love my school,” “Everyone in my class is so nice,” and “My school is the best.” She excitedly and proudly described her program: “We have two different classes. We have Chinese homerooms, and we have English homerooms. And we switch during the day” (Interview, 01/20/2018). Her five-year-old younger sister attended the kindergarten class in the same program. At school, Yena and her younger sisters were encouraged to speak in Chinese. Yena noted, “We have to try to speak Chinese so we are not allowed to speak English” (Interview, 01/20/2018).

Yena and her sister were the only children at the school who had *Joseonjok* (the Korean ethnic minorities in China) parents. Unlike Yena’s Chinese classmates, who had relatives only in China, Yena had extended families living in both China and Korea. While she has been visiting her extended Korean families in Yanbian, China, almost every two years, she had never been to Korea until July in 2018, and I accompanied her and closely observed her on this trip. In the past, when Yena’s family visited Yanbian, China, her family members in Korea came to China to see them. She said, “I’ve never been to Korea but when I go to China, they (family members in Korea) come to China” (Informal Conversation, 04/29, 2018). When I visited Yena’s family before their departure to Korea, Yena and her little sister were very excited to visit Korea and to finally meet one of her cousins, whom she regularly communicated with through Skype and letter exchange.

Unlike Minsu and Taehoon, who had significant periods of time in Korea, Yena’s visited Korea for the first time during this study. She spent only one week in Korea,

because they planned to spend more time in Yanbian, China. They spent most of their time in Korea meeting extended family members, some of whom they had never met, and travelling to different cities with grandparents, who flew from China to spend time with Yena's family. Yena also visited a number of historic and educational places (such as a palace and a children's museum) with her cousins, and I accompanied them on the trip.

In the sections below, I illuminate Yena's language and literacy experiences across boundaries, her expansive multilingual knowledge that she uses to inform and educate others, and how her language and identities are closely connected and constantly reshaped.

Yena's Language and Literacy Across Boundaries

Yena loves reading and writing. Whenever I visited her home, there was always a book left open on her desk. A big, red sticker attached to her desk with the sign "I ♥ books," which she received from the local library she visits every week, clearly showed her love of reading (Observation, 10/07/2018). On her desk, Yena hung a photograph of herself holding a sign that says, "Reader of the month," which Yena considered evidence of her extensive reading. Yena enjoyed reading the books assigned from school, but she also read books she selected for herself, which she borrowed from the local public library. Yena has her own ways of organizing and keeping track of the books she has read. For example, to keep track of the books that she and her younger sister borrowed from the library, Yena regularly filled out a chart she created titled, "Erin's Library Books." This chart had two sections: "borrowed" and "returned" (Observation, 05/21/2018). Yena had another chart where she documents what she reads and how much she likes it. When I asked her to suggest some fun books I should read at her level, she

pondered for a moment and created a check list (Figure 11) with three of her favorite books and the check boxes. After she helped me find the books in the library, she gave me the following form and told me to fill it out after reading the books (Informal Conversation, 04/22/2018):

Figure 11. Yena's reading checklist

Yena also loves writing; she enjoys writing all genres, including poems, fiction, and non-fiction stories regularly. Her writing ranged from a story about two sisters based on her own experience to a horror story about a haunted house. Yena also engages in collaborative writing with her friends for fun whenever they have free time while waiting for the bus or having lunch. Yena showed me the writing they were working on, which was a poem for their favorite teacher, Ms. Haily (Observation, 10/07/2018):

> English, Science, Literacy, too.
> There is nothing Ms. Haily can't do.
>
> A Mountain, a river, a stream, or a lake
> There is nothing Ms. Haily can't take.
>
> Ms. Haily, our teacher teaches the fourth grade,
> She makes learning as fun as a parade.
>
> Winter, summer, spring, or fall
> Ms. Haily does it all.

When I asked Yena what the writing process was like, she explained each writer's different tasks and expertise:

> I am good at finding words that rhyme. That's basically my job of writing a poem. Lucy doesn't like rhyme and poems that much so she does the parts where she thinks of the words. I make them rhyme with other words. Emma is the one that helps. She does both of the jobs. (Interview, 10/07/2018)

Like the above poem, Yena created every story in English because "I only know how to write some of it in Korean (Informal Conversation, 01/20/2018). Although Yena loves learning Korean and always completed her writing assignments for Korean heritage language school, she had never thought of writing a story in Korean. She said, "my mom would translate it (her stories) because she wants me to work on Korean," (Informal Conversation, 01/20/2018) but she never did.

A month after Yena returned from her trip to Korea and China, Yena excitedly shared her plan to write a book about animals in Korean and said, "I am going to write my own book. It's going to be on Google Docs. It's going to be in Korean. Do you want to read it? Do you want me to share it with you?" When I asked her more about her book project, she said, "Just wait. I am going to share it with you" (Observation, 09/28/2018).

A few weeks later, Yena's mother texted me and said, "예나가 오더 한 한글 키보드를 받았네요. 어제부터 프로젝트를 만들더니 선생님이랑 Google slide share 한대요. 보실 수 있으신지 알려주세요" (Text Message, 10/28/2018). [Yena received the Korean keyboard she ordered. She started creating her project yesterday and said she wants to *Google slide share* with you. Let me know if you can see them] Yena shared her book project (Figure 12), entitled "동물 행성" [Animal Planet], which was written in Korean and discussed different types of animals in Africa (Google Slides, 10/28/2018).

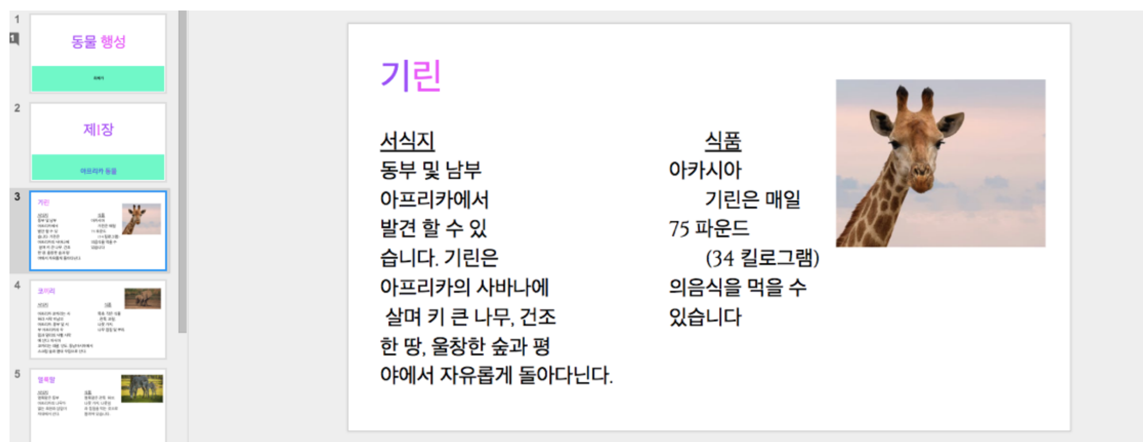


Figure 12. Screenshot of Yena's book project

Yena's decision to start a book project and her desire to buy a Korean keyboard were signs of change because according to Yena's mother, "Yena uses 60% English, 20% Chinese, and 20% Korean" (Interview, 01/06/2017). Yena's parents speak in Korean to help Yena and her sister speak and develop Korean, but Yena and her younger sister almost always speak in English to each other and to their parents. While Yena loves learning Korean, she often expressed that she does not feel confident about speaking or writing in Korean. Yena's mother felt that it was because of the unique accents and vocabulary that the family uses, because ethnic Korean-Chinese speaks Korean slightly different from the way someone born in Korea might speak. Yena's mother said, "저희는 accent 있잖아요. 북의 accent. 그래서 남쪽 accent 쓰면 더 이상하게 생각하고. 자신감이 없는 것 같아요"(Interview, 01/06/2017). [We have accents. North Korean accents. So when my children hear South Korean accents, they think it is different and lose confident in speaking Korean]

Yena has grandparents and relatives in both South Korea and Yanbian, China. She felt a strong connection with the family members living in the two countries and described them as follows:

> My aunt, uncle, and two of my cousins live in Korea. No, three of my cousins. My mom's sister lives there and her husband and children. My dad's brother and his wife plus two kids are in Korea. My dad's side, grandma and grandpa, live in China. And 삼촌 [uncle] and my mom's grandma and grandpa. No, my mom's mom and dad live in Yanbian. Almost everybody. Almost all my relatives live in China. (Interview, 04/29/2018)

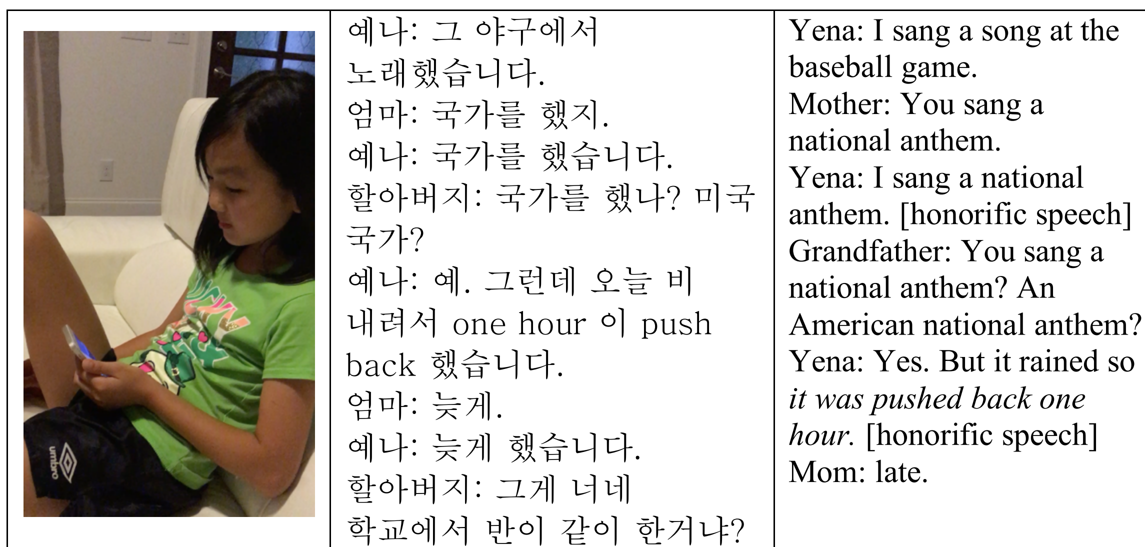
Although she has only visited her family members in China prior to the study, Yena and her sister regularly engaged in cross-border communication with their relatives in China and Korea. Observing the collection of exchanged letters between the family members (Figure 13) under the sign "Home is where the heart is," I noticed that Yena's family truly cherished the connection that they had with their family members in China and Korea and consider them as a part of their "home" where "the heart is."

Figure 13. The letters Yena and her sisters exchanged with families in Korea and China

In addition, it was a weekly routine for Yena and her younger sister to video chat with their grandparents and relatives in Korea and China (Figure 14). Yena explained, "Our dad's side grandparents, we do on Saturdays. Our maternal grandparents, we do on Sundays. We do our uncles and aunts on Wednesdays" (Informal Conversation, 04/22/2018). These cross-border communication practices usually took place at night due to the time differences.

Yena especially loves video chatting with her grandparents every weekend. They are always eager to hear every little thing that Yena and her sister do in their daily lives. She commented, “I talk about what happened this whole week. If I went to soccer, did we win? If I went to choir, did I learn a new song?” (Interview, 04/29, 2018). Yena and her sister sometimes performed piano, sing, or dancing for their grandparents during the video chats. She said, “Usually, my dad makes me play the piano pieces. My sister and I dance and sing to them in Korean” (Interview, 04/29/2018). As her grandparents feel most comfortable when speaking in Korean, Yena and her sister pushed themselves to talk in Korean and also to “dance and sing to them in Korean.”

The conversations during the video chats involved translanguaging and language brokering. Although Yena tried to speak in Korean, she used English and Chinese words and expressions to give clarification, express emphasis, or to ask her mother for translation. Yena’s mother often sat next to the two children during the conversations; her roles included translating and suggesting some new Korean words for Yena to use. For example, the following excerpt is from the conversation that took place on the day Yena’s choir performed the Star-Spangled Banner at a local university baseball game.



	예나: 그 야구에서 노래했습니다. 엄마: 국가를 했지. 예나: 국가를 했습니다. 할아버지: 국가를 했나? 미국 국가? 예나: 예. 그런데 오늘 비 내려서 one hour 이 push back 했습니다. 엄마: 늦게. 예나: 늦게 했습니다. 할아버지: 그게 너네 학교에서 반이 같이 한거냐?	Yena: I sang a song at the baseball game. Mother: You sang a national anthem. Yena: I sang a national anthem. [honorific speech] Grandfather: You sang a national anthem? An American national anthem? Yena: Yes. But it rained so *it was pushed back one hour.* [honorific speech] Mom: late.

	예나: 合唱 (엄마를 보며) 엄마: 합창 예나: 합창 노래하는 데에서 합니다. 할아버지: 다른데서 하는 걸 참가했나. 니 무슨 여러가지를 다 잘한다. 예나: 네. 예랑이 말할래?	Yena: It started late. [honorific speech] Grandfather: Was it with your class at school? Yena: *A choir.* [In Chinese] (looking at the mother) Mother: *A choir.* [In Korean] Yena: It was with my *choir* group. [honorific speech] Grandfather: Oh. You participated in some other events. You are good at a lot of different things. Yena: Yes. Yerang, do you want to talk to him?

Figure 14. Yena's cross-border communication

In the above excerpt, Yena shared her experience of performing at the baseball game by saying "그 야구에서 노래했습니다" [I sang a song at the baseball game] The mother then clarified that she sang the national anthem by saying "국가를 했지" [You sang a national anthem]. Yena reiterated the word "국가" [national anthem] and used it with an honorific verb ending, "했습니다" to her grandparents. She also engaged in translanguaging and said, "그런데 오늘 비 내려서 one hour 이 push back 했습니다." [But it rained so it was *pushed back one hour.*] Yena used two English expressions, "one hour" and "push back," to describe how her performance was delayed. Yena's mother then said "늦게" [late] to explain to the grandparents who may not understand what "push back" means. Yena, again, took the word "늦게" [late] and used it with honorific verb ending "했습니다." To explain to her grandfather what kinds of group she performed with, Yena spoke in Chinese, "合唱" [choir], to her mom so she, as a language broker, could translate the word to Korean. After hearing about Yena's

performance, the grandfather said, "니 무슨 여러가지를 다 잘한다" [You are good at a lot of different things], which shows that despite their geographic distance, he is aware of Yena's active participation in different activities because they engage in weekly online conversations.

When I asked Yena if she ever gets confused or feels frustrated during the conversations because of language differences, Yena giggled and said, "We usually say stuff wrong in the wrong order. Bad grammar in Korean. My grandmother tells us" (Informal Conversation, 03/30/2018). Her giggles gave me the impression that her "bad grammar in Korean" and "saying stuff wrong in the wrong order" does not really bother and does not stops her from communicating with her extended families. In fact, her excitement about cross-border communication grew after she returned to the U.S. from her trip to Korea and China.

I observed Yena sharing her communication from her cousins with her peers at heritage language school several times. On one occasion, Yena excitedly told her friends in the school that she had received a video from her cousins for her birthday. She said her two cousins, Soojung and Soowon, created the video by making the songs and dancing together. Yena said, "I repeated it a hundred times because it's so funny" (Observation, 09/28/2018). Yena even brought her mother's phone and showed me the video in which her cousins were dancing together and sending a message in Korean, "에린 생일 축하해! 보고싶어!" (Observation, 09/28/2018). [Erin, Happy birthday. We miss you!] Since I had observed Yena and her two cousins in Korea, I knew that they had built a close relationship and made memorable experiences together, despite their different languages and different countries. These children engaged in digital literacies to sustain

their relationship and express care, which showed the important roles the children play in extending the relationship between the parents' home country and host country.

Yena as a multilingual Expert: Yena's Funds of Knowledge

In this section, I illustrate the ways Yena, as a cross-cultural expert, constructs meanings through her multilingual and cross-cultural knowledge and utilizes that knowledge for teaching and to help her sibling and peers expand their understanding of the world.

Throughout the year, Yena amazed me with her wealth of cultural knowledge and her unique skills in flexibly alternating between Korean, Chinese, and English. Yena strategically made language choices depending on the listeners, the contexts of the conversations, and the relationship to the audience. For example, whenever she met her Chinese classmates at a local public library or a store, she quickly switched to Mandarin Chinese, and said "你好" [Hello]. She then introduced them to me and said in English, "That's my Chinese classmates." When she conversed in Korean, she used honorifics, the Korean language system for expressing respect to listeners who are older and superior, to her parents, Korean teachers, and me. As illustrated in the previous section, Yena was equipped with the skills to use these linguistic skills for transnational literacies such as writing letters to relatives and video chatting with grandparents. In addition, she actively engaged in a wide range of writing practices, both on her own and with her peers. Not only did she create stories about the way she understands the world, but co-created poems to express her care and love for teachers.

Yena utilized her multilingual knowledge and experiences of learning three languages to support others, such as her peers and sister, to expand their linguistic and

cultural knowledge. Yena played an important role as a teacher and a language broker for her sister, who is an emergent multilingual learner developing three languages. As previous research shows (de Jong, 2011; Shin, 2002), Yena, as the oldest child, felt much more comfortable with the three languages and was more fluent in Korean and Chinese than her younger sister, who preferred to use the dominant language. Yena often read picture books aloud for her younger sister, and she also led her sister to engage in various practices such as making corrections, repronouncing words, translating, and giving explanation. For example, whenever Yena's younger sister responded to my question in Chinese, Yena served as a language broker and translated her sister's responses in to Korean or English. There were many occasions when Yena played a role as an interpreter, even when her sister spoke in Korean, to help me understand the worlds that Yena's sister misused or mispronounced. In those cases, Yena explained what her sister actually meant and why she used such expressions. The conversation below took place while Yena and Yena's sister were drawing self-portraits.

> Yena: I love broccoli and trees.
> Yerang: I am going to draw a pink cabbage. No, actually 바비 [bobby].
> Researcher: 바비? 무슨 바비? [Bobby? What's bobby?]
> Yena: Rice.
> Researcher: 아, 밥! [Oh, rice!]
> Yena: She calls it '바비' [bobby]. She calls '이' [yi] everything ends with a. She calls her dad '바비' [bobby]. In Chinese, it's '바바' [babba]. She calls her dad '바비' [bobby].

When Yena's little sister said she wanted to draw '바비' [bobby], I could not understand the word, nor I was clear whether '바비' was an English, Korean, or Chinese word. Yena first explained that her sister meant 'rice,' and she added that it is her sister's habit to pronounce words that end with 'a' with a '-yi' sound. To help me understand,

Yena gave me an example of another word that her sister mispronounces with the '-yi' sound (Informal Conversation, 01/06/2018). As Yena and her little sister brainstormed their ideas and drew their self-portraits, Yena continued playing her role as a bridge and helped her little sister communicate with me.

> Yerang: I like bananas. I like bunny that looks like a cat. And I like rainbow. I love myself so I even draw myself. First, I have to write my name here. Which name do you understand?
> Researcher: Which name do I understand?
> Yena: She means which language you understand so she can write her name in it. (Informal Conversation, 01/06/2018)

Yena may have understood her sister's intention behind the sentence, "which name do you understand," because of her experiences as a multilingual learner who constantly makes language choices. Her previous observations of her little sister asking similar questions in different contexts also informed her understanding. On other occasions, I observed Yena helping her sister pronouncing English and Korean words:

> Yerang: Okay. How do you write "a doctor"? I don't know how to spell anything.
> Researcher: You can spell your name.
> Yerang: Yes, but I can't spell a doctor.
> Researcher: Let's try. D-O-C.
> Yerang: E-O-C
> Yena: Yerang sound it out. It can't be E-O-C.
> Yerang: Okay. D-O- Doc. D-O-C. Tor. T-O-R.
> Researcher: Doctor is 의사 [*uisa*] in Korean.
> Yerang: 이사? [*isa?*]
> Yena: 의사. 으-이-사 [*u-i-sa*]. (Observation, 04/22/2018)

As shown above, Yena encouraged her sister to sound out the word "doctor" and spell the word instead of writing down what I said. When Yerang misunderstood the word "의사" [*uisa*] as "이사" [*isa*], Yena, once again, taught her sister ways to decode and pronounce the word. This exchange between Yena and her sister shows Yena's rich knowledge in pronunciation and decoding skills in Korean and English as well as her skills in applying

the knowledge to instruct her sister. The way Yena scaffolds language for her sister and others also demonstrates her understanding of communication practices (e.g. context, audience, and level of languages) and her efforts to support other multilingual children.

Yena enjoyed teaching and supporting her little sister, and she also embraced every opportunity at school where she could showcase her linguistic and cultural knowledge. Unlike Minsu, who felt “school is boring” (Interview, 01/09/2018) because it only focuses on American history and context, Yena loved her school because it offered numerous opportunities for her and her sister to share their out-of-school experiences. She often told me about different cultural events, such as “a family share” where “each family talks about their culture” (Informal Conversation, 04/29/2018). Yena was exposed to different cultures that her peers brought to family share, and she also had chances to learn English, Chinese, and French at school. More importantly, her teachers welcomed a dialogue about multilingualism:

> Researcher: When do you feel proud of speaking three languages?
> Yena: I mean, we usually, a lot of times, we talk about how many languages you know and what kinds of language you know at school. Our teachers bring up that topic a lot. (Informal Conversation, 04/29/2018)

After the above conversation, Yena mentioned a new student in her class who recently emigrated from Russia. She said, “She doesn’t know a lot of English at all. But that’s okay” (Informal Conversation, 04/29/2018). Yena’s open-minded and accepting belief that not knowing “a lot of English” is “okay” may have been shaped by her experiences at home and school where all of her languages are encouraged, valued, and respected regardless of her level and confidence.

An enthusiastic learner, Yena loved presenting her trilingual identities and heritage cultures to her classmates through writing and creating multimodal digital texts.

For example, when Yena was given an assignment to talk about other countries, Yena and her friend Emma co-created a presentation entitled "China and Korea culture comparison" (Informal Conversation, 05/28/2018). A few days after the presentation, Yena's mother emailed me the PowerPoint slides (Figure 15) and wrote "예나가 선생님한테 보내 달래요" (Email Exchange, 5/27/2018). [Yena asked me to send this to you]

不同

第四个不同是韩国人写韩文，中国人写汉字。

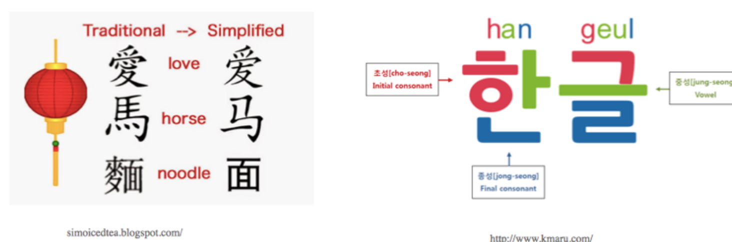


Figure 15. Yena's "China and Korea Culture Comparison"

The multimodal digital texts in Yena's presentation involved multiple languages combined with symbols, images, texts, and colors. Drawing on comparative perspectives and multilingual knowledge, Yena and Emma described the similarities and differences between Chinese and Korean culture in Chinese and presented it in Chinese. They also included their own experiences of speaking the language, eating the food, and visiting their families. When I saw Yena after a few days later, she was very eager to tell me about her multimodal project and said, "Oh, I need to tell you something. Can I show you something? Did my mom tell you?" (Informal Conversation, 05/28/2018). She presented the slides to me, and she expanded my understanding of Chinese culture through the interactive informational texts that she created with her peer.

Yena's active agency in developing and sharing multilingual knowledge demonstrates the importance of creating a space for young immigrant children to highlight their unique funds of knowledge and how creating such space can help both immigrant children and their peers expand their transnational and global understanding.

Yena's Identities and Positioning

On May 2, 2018, I had the opportunity to visit Yena's Chinese-English dual language school to watch Yena's mother present her culture in Yena's younger sister's kindergarten class. Yena and her younger sister had frequently mentioned *family share* to me, and when the time arose, they expressed excitement about their mother giving a presentation. Yena and her little sister invited me to the event and said, "My mom is going to do Korean. She is going to borrow her friend's Hanbok, and she is going to wear it. You should come!" (Informal Conversation, 04/29/2018).

Just like Yena and her younger sister, I was overwhelmingly excited to visit her class, not just to be a part of the family's culture share, but also to observe the physical setting and environment of the school since two of my participant children were enrolled in the school: Yena in the dual language program and Taehoon in the regular program. As I walked in the school, I saw large flags of different countries hanging in the hallway, and the large Asian population captured my attention. Yena's mother introduced me to the class as "a Korean teacher" and introduced her presentation (Figure 16) as "a story of Korean family."

Figure 16. Yena's mother's presentation about "Chinese American"

Yena’s mother began her presentation by showing the first slide with the title “Chinese American (中國朝鮮族) (중국조선족)” (Figure 17). The title written in Korean and Chinese means “Korean ethnic groups in China,” but the one in English described Yena’s family as “Chinese American.” The use of three languages and the different meanings between the three words showed the complex linguistic and cultural identities of Yena’s family. Yena’s mother proudly introduced the history of Korean ethnic minority group in China while helping the children understand the Korean diasporic community:

> There is a country called Korea. Now it’s South and North, but before it was the one country. Obviously, people live in Korea. We call it Korean, right? Many Korean people live all around the world. Some Korean families live in China. In China, there are 56 ethnic groups, and Koreans are one of the 56. There are about 2 million Chinese Korean in the country. We keep very traditional language and culture. (Observation, 05/02/2018)

Figure 17. Yena's mother's presentation slides

Yena's mother talked about various aspects of Korean culture from language to traditional culture such as the *Hanbok* (Korean traditional dress), *Hangeul* (Korean language system), food, and holidays. Not only did she share factual information, she also included the family's lived histories by showing the photographs of Yena and her sister wearing *Hanbok* on special occasions and attending a local heritage language school. Yena's mother made the presentation interactive by playing videos and asking the children engaging questions such as, "Let's try to say it together," "Do you know Korean culture?" and "If you want, I can translate your Chinese name to Korean name for you."

Yena's mother, despite her busy work schedule, volunteered to give a presentation at the *family share* because she knew firsthand how important it is for children of immigrants to build a strong sense of identity, due to her own and her husband's experiences growing up in China as ethnic minorities. She commented that the reason why she grew up with pride as a Korean ethnic minority was because of her parents, who actively taught her Korean language and culture. Just many immigrant parents (Park & Sarkar, 2007), she had a firm belief that the maintenance of heritage

language and "being exposed to culture" can support her children's positive identity formation. She noted:

> 자라면서 proud 하고 이런 거 문화 하고 접촉하고 이런 게 중요하니까. 여기서 애들은 더 혼란스럽잖아요. 애들이 '우리는 뭐야' 하고 물어보면 너희는 중국에서 태어난 조선인, Chinese Korean 부모를 가진 미국에서 태어난 아이야 하는데 너무 혼란스럽잖아요. 그래서 언어나 문화적으로 계속 접촉하게 하려고 해요. (Interview, 01/06/2018)
>
> Being exposed to culture (one's heritage culture) is important to feel *proud* while growing up. Children here feel more complicated. When my children ask me "who am I?" I tell them that they are children of Korean minorities born in China. I explain to them that they are the children born in the U.S. whose parents are Chinese Korean. It's still too complicated, so I continue to help them with more linguistic and cultural contacts.

So her children would be "exposed to culture," Yena's mother enrolled Yena and her sister in additional learning programs that teach Korean and Chinese. Yena attended various educational programs that she described as "school," which included her English-Chinese dual language program, Korean heritage language school, Chinese heritage language school, and Chinese afterschool program. In fact, Yena's family moved to the community where they lived because of the Chinese-English dual language program in which the children were enrolled. Yena's mother told me she has observed Yena becoming more positive about her connection to Chinese culture as she learns Chinese in her school. She also liked the fact that the school offers more opportunities for her family to meet other Chinese children and families that are from Korea and China. In addition to the regular school, Yena attended Chinese and Korean heritage language schools to improve her heritage languages and cultures.

These combined experiences seem to have positively impacted the way Yena views herself with great pride and positive attitude. She often talked about the Chinese and Korean communities she is connected to locally and globally. Despite her pride in

being multilingual, Yena always expressed her lack of confidence in writing and speaking in Korean. As she considered language as the most important factor in determining one's identity, she defined herself "half (Chinese), half (American)." She noted that it is because "I am most fluent in English. I am pretty good at Chinese." Using the same approach, Yena explained her friend, who self-identifies as a Korean, is not "really a Korean" because of her limited fluency in Korean language:

> One of my friends, her grandmother is Korean. Her mother is half Korean and half American, I don't know. She is American. She is not really a Korean. She doesn't speak Korean, but she says she is Korean. Well, she might be Korean. I don't know. (Informal Conversation, 04/29/2018)

After Yena returned from her trips to Seoul, Korea and Yanbian, China, however, she became more vocal about her sense of belonging to Korea and initiated a book project where she narrated her transcultural identities. The figure below is a poem that she wrote about Korean flag (Figure 18) at her heritage language school.

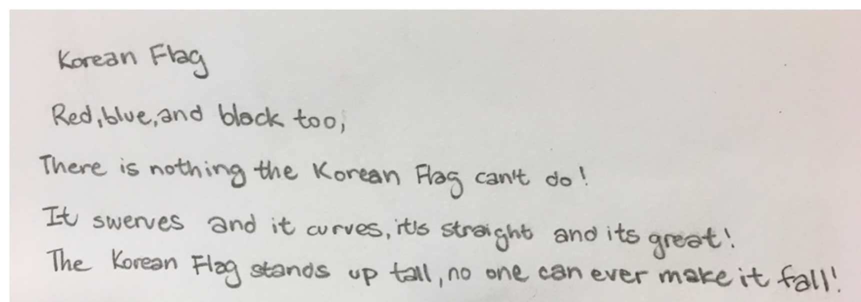


Figure 18. Yena's poem entitled "Korean Flag"

Yena wrote the poem during a break and expressed that she wanted the poem to be shared with her peers and parents at the heritage language school. Her decision to write a poem about Korean cultures and be more expressive about her connection to Korea shows how her identities continuously shift and evolve as she engages in transnational practices and forge multiple social-relations that are embedded in transnational networks.

Summary

In this section, I have described Yena's multilingual and digital literacies, linguistic knowledge, and evolving identities. Similar to Minsu, Yena also demonstrated a wealth of multilingual knowledge as a trilingual child who can speak Mandarin Chinese, English, and Korean. She flexibly switched between the three languages in her conversations with her Chinese and Korean peers, parents, and relatives, and showed great interest in developing all three languages. However, almost all of her self-guided reading and writing practices involved English. The writing practices that involved Chinese or Korean were usually assignments either from her dual language school or her Korean heritage language school. Just like two other focal children's parents, Yena's parents placed great emphasis on raising their children as multilinguals by exposing their children to literacy resources from their home countries, taking them to China and Korea, and enrolling them in language learning programs. Yena's cross-border communication, in particular, highlighted the important role she plays as an active agent in extending the connection between the families in the U.S. and extended families in the parents' home countries.

Not only did Yena show a wealth of linguistic and cultural knowledge, she also utilized her linguistic skills for supporting other multilingual children, including her younger sister and her peers. Yena drew on her previous experiences navigating three languages and helped her younger sister by taking important roles such as translating, providing explanation, reiterating words, and teaching how to decode and pronounce. As an active participant in school, she shared her multilingual and cross-cultural knowledge with her peers by preparing a presentation comparing Chinese and Korean languages and

cultures. Unlike Minsu, who felt school was only for learning about America, Yena had an array of opportunities in her Chinese-English dual language program to learn about linguistic diversity and multilingualism through what was presented in the classroom and society as well as het peers' transnational experiences. Particularly, her engagement in multimodal compositions highlight the way she utilizes her multilingual repertoires and literacies across multimodal platforms. It also demonstrates her active participation in transnational literacies in virtual spaces.

Constructing Taehoon's Story

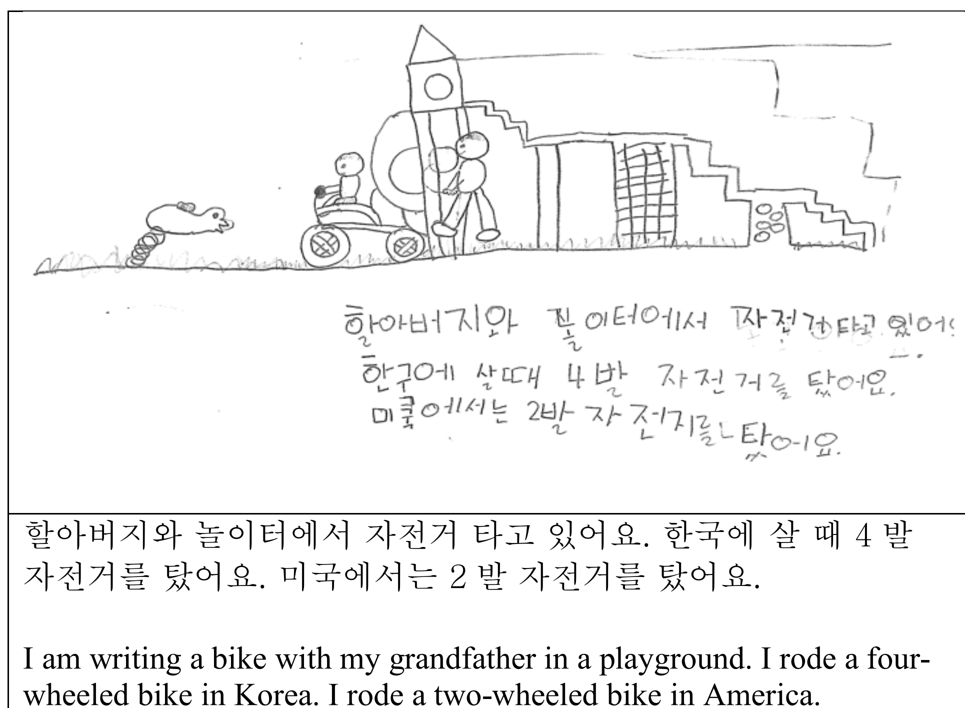
Taehoon is a child of Korean parents from South Korea who were staying in the U.S. on non-resident visas. Taehoon was born in Illinois, United States, while his father was pursuing a master's degree, and Taehoon's older brother was born in Seoul, Korea. Taehoon and his brother were enrolled in the same local public school. Taehoon was in the second grade and his older brother was in the fourth grade at the time of this study. Yena and her sister were also enrolled in the same school, but they were in dual language programs, and Taehoon and his brother were in the regular program. There were many students from Asian countries in his school, particularly from China. In Taehoon's class, there was one female student, named Hannah, living in the same apartment building as Taehoon and whose parents emigrated from Korea. Taehoon and Hannah became close friends since they had commonalities such as attending a heritage language school, communicating with parents in Korean, and living in an on-campus apartment.

Taehoon's family was actively engaged in Korean ethnic community in the local area. The Korean ethnic church was one of the few sites that offered Taehoon's family opportunities to socialize with other Korean immigrant families (Park & Sarkar, 2007).

At the church, Taehoon and Taehoon's brother were enrolled in a student group with other first-generation and second-generation Korean immigrant students. As a volunteer for church activities, Taehoon's mother also took an active role in the community. On Fridays, Taehoon and his brother attended a two-hour Korean class at a local Korean heritage language school. Taehoon's mother, who was a former secondary school teacher in Korea, also took part in the program as one of the volunteer teachers for an adult class. Taehoon's family lived in a university apartment where they had many chances to meet researchers and graduate students from Korea and other East Asian countries.

Taehoon's family has frequently moved back and forth between Korea and the U.S. When Taehoon was a kindergartener in Illinois, Taehoon's family went back to Korea and stayed there for several years. Taehoon had blurry memories of living in Korea but clearly remembered that he did not enjoy the preschool, mainly because of the language and cultural differences. He reflected upon his experience and said, "내가 한국에 있을 때 나빴 어요. 선생님이. 그냥 lunch 에서 food 을 남길 수 없다고 했어요" (Informal Conversation, 12/06/2017). [Teachers in Korean were very mean. They said I can't leave food during lunch time] On other occasions, he said, "It was a bad school. Teachers are mean. They just time out 하고, lunch 에서 배불러도 다 먹게 해요. 선생님이 안보고 있을 때 버렸어요" (Interview, 12/27/2017). [It was a bad school. Teachers are mean. They just give you time out and make you eat everything you get for lunch even if you are full. I threw it away when teachers were not looking] The way he shared the same experiences on several other occasions showed that his experiences in Korea at an early age were not pleasant.

After Taehoon's family moved to North Carolina in 2012, Taehoon made another visit to Korea in 2016 for two months to visit his extended families in Korea. Taehoon had a much more positive experience on this trip than the earlier time because he did not attend the preschool, and on this visit, he had memorable times with his grandparents. He even drew a picture and wrote about his memory and showed it to his grandfather (Figure 19).



할아버지와 놀이터에서 자전거 타고 있어요. 한국에 살 때 4 발 자전거를 탔어요. 미국에서는 2 발 자전거를 탔어요.

I am writing a bike with my grandfather in a playground. I rode a four-wheeled bike in Korea. I rode a two-wheeled bike in America.

Figure 19. Taehoon's memory with his grandfather

Just like Yena, Taehoon also has a weekly routine in which he and his brother video chat with their grandparents in Korea. He also sometimes video chatted with his relatives in India (Interview, 01/16/2018).

In summer 2018, Taehoon's family visited Seoul, Korea, for five weeks, and I accompanied the family on this trip. During the visit, the family stayed in Taehoon's grandparents' houses, which allowed the family to save economic costs and spend quality time with both sides of the families. They also visited various places including relatives'

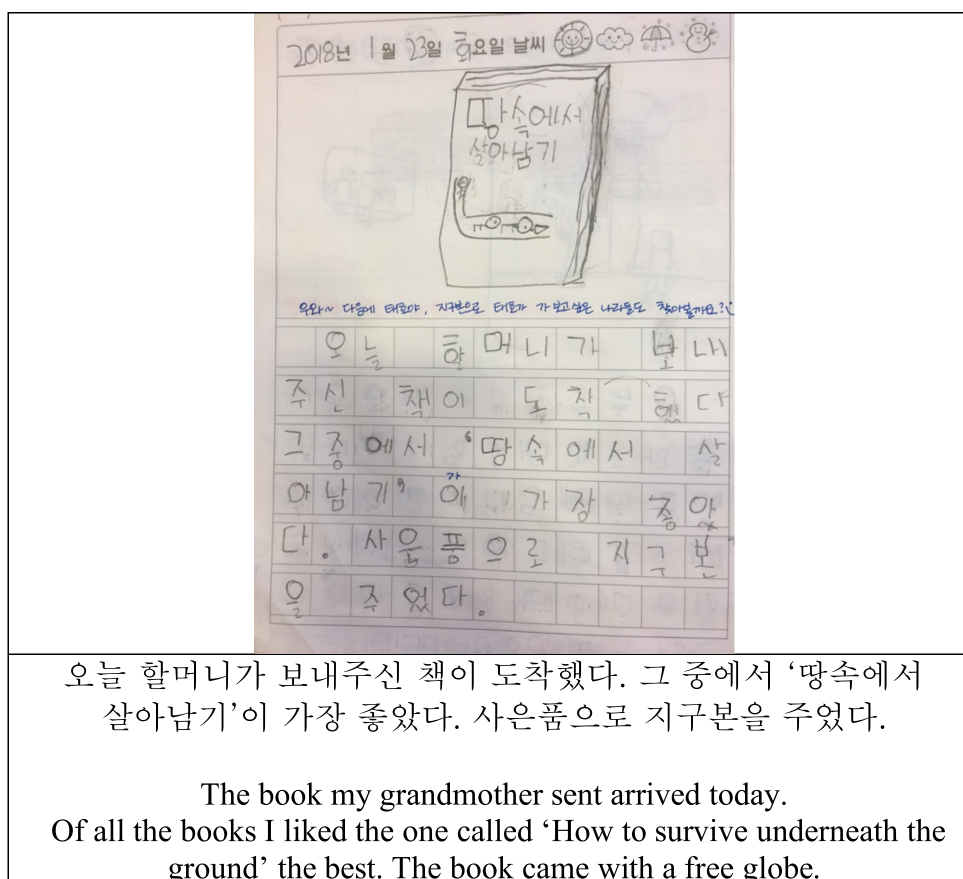
houses, museums, tourist attractions, and libraries. When I met Taehoon a few weeks before his trip, Taehoon was very excited for his trip because he would be able to see his grandparents and also his cousins and uncles who were coming to Korea from India. During the stay, Taehoon's family visited a number of educational and cultural places such as the Korean Folk Village, the War Memorial of Korea, and public libraries.

Similar to the British Bangladeshi families in Zeithlyn's study (2012), Taehoon's family saved up money for many months to afford their trips to Seoul, Korea. Taehoon's mother and Taehoon both felt that visiting Korea helps Taehoon and his brother improve their Korean proficiency. However, due to the high costs of the trip causes and the family's financial situation, Taehoon's family is only able to visit the country once in every two or three years when they have to renew their visas or attend a relative's wedding.

Taehoon's Language and Literacy Across Boundaries

Taehoon had different views toward reading and writing, as evidenced by his statement, "I hate writing. When I have nothing to do, I read. I usually read. I just put on headphones and read" (Informal Conversation, 12/27/2017). Taehoon liked reading books in both Korean and English. While he enjoyed reading chapter books such as *Dog Man* in English, the books in Korean he usually selected and read were cartoons and picture books. Taehoon explained the reasons behind his reading choices: "chapter book 하면 hard words 가 있잖아요. 그런데 Korean words 는 살짝 understand 를 못해요" (Interview, 01/16/2018). [Chapter books have hard words, but I can't quite understand Korean words] Taehoon had about 200 books at home. His grandmother in Korea sent

him many of the books he enjoyed reading, and he even wrote about these books in his journal entries (Figure 20).



오늘 할머니가 보내주신 책이 도착했다. 그 중에서 '땅속에서 살아남기'이 가장 좋았다. 사은품으로 지구본을 주었다.

The book my grandmother sent arrived today.
Of all the books I liked the one called 'How to survive underneath the ground' the best. The book came with a free globe.

Figure 20. Taehoon's journal entry about books his grandmother sent from Korea

During our first photo-elicitation interviews, Taehoon shared fifteen photos that represented his daily life, and three of them related to his love of reading: pictures of books, the book shelf in his room, and the public library he visited on a regular basis. Once a week, Taehoon visited a local public library with his mother and older brother, where they borrowed books (e.g., picture books and chapter books) and spent some time reading and playing on computers. On many occasions, I visited the library with my three participant children and their families, and I was very surprised by the large numbers of Asian families visiting the library. I was also pleased to see a tiny section labeled "multicultural" which had about 30 picture books for children (Figure 21).

Figure 21. "Multicultural" books section at the local library

Taehoon shared that he liked his school library better because it is “much bigger and has many books” (Interview, 01/16/2018). Because Taehoon’s school offers a Mandarin-English dual language track, a majority of books at his school library were either in English or Chinese, and there was a limited number of books in foreign languages, including Korean. Taehoon shared that he wished the school library had a wider range of books from different countries in various languages for all children. When I asked, “If you were a designer for your school library, what would it be like?” Taehoon drew the following picture (Figure 22) (Interview, 01/16/2018). Taehoon’s drawing illustrates his desires to access more books in both languages he speaks, and it also shows his awareness and appreciation of linguistic diversity. His drawing shows thoughtful consideration for hos the school could accommodate the needs of multilingual children like himself. His drawing supports Davin and Norton’s (2014) argument that migrant children who engage in transnational literacies possess understanding of local, national, and global issues and display sensitivity toward people from diverse and underprivileged backgrounds.

Figure 22. Taehoon's dream library

Like Minsu and Yena, Taehoon is a multilingual child who can flexibly switch between Korean and English, although he said, "I don't know a lot of Korean. I am forgetting stuff" (Informal Conversation, 12/27/2017). Taehoon often stressed his preference for using English and his discomfort about not speaking Korean fluently. He said, "I like speaking in English better," (Interview, 12/27/2017) "I use English most of time," (Interview, 12/27/2017) and "I feel uncomfortable speaking in Korean" (Interview, 01/24/2018). However, Taehoon's parents, like Minsu's parents, strictly enforced an "only mother tongue at home" policy where they encouraged their children to speak the heritage language at home, because they strongly believed in additive bilingualism (King & Fogle, 2006; Krashen, 1998). In our first interview, Taehoon's mother explained the family language policy in her home:

> 저희는 규칙이 하나 있어요. 집에서는 무조건 한국말로 해야 돼요. '너희들 끼리도 한국말로 해야 돼' 하긴 하는데 전 그건 너무 스트레스인 것 같아요. 그래서 형제 끼리는 영어로 많이 해요. 형제 끼리는 한글로 했었는데 둘다 학교에 있는 시간이 많아 지다 보니까 영어만 하려고 하죠. 영어만 쓰려고 하는데 어쨌든 저희 한테는 한국어로 하라고 하죠. (Interview, 08/14/2017)

> We have one rule. You have to speak Korean only at home. I also say "you have to speak Korean to each other," but I also think that can be a lot of stress. So Taehoon speaks English with his brother. They used to speak in Korean, but the more time they spend, the more they speak in English. They try to use English only, but I tell them to speak in Korean to us.

Taehoon's mother was concerned because Taehoon did not talk much at home. She felt that maybe it was because of the heritage language "rule" the family was enforced at home. She said, "저한테는 한국말로 하는데 한국말로 '밥 줘,' '배고파,' '티비 볼래' 이런 말만 해요. 긴 얘기는 안해요" (Informal Conversation, 12/06/2017). [He speaks Korean to me. Things he says in Korean are 'I want to eat,' 'I am hungry,' and 'I want to watch television.' He does not talk much]

In fact, Taehoon was unhappy about how his father regulated Taehoon's language use at home and how he always says, "Use Korean only. English at school!" (Interview, 12/27/2017). Taehoon stated he does not talk during the mealtime with his family because his dad tells him to speak Korean, but Taehoon feels very uncomfortable using the language (Informal Conversation, 03/28/2018). Taehoon noted that he likes when his father has a job interview because he asks Taehoon to speak English so that he can practice his English for the interview. Taehoon shared with me that it was unfair that his friend Hannah, a Korean American child living next door, gets to speak Korean and English with her family while Taehoon and his brother have to follow "the rule." Taehoon said that English was much easier for him than Korean, and he also mentioned that he felt "uncomfortable" that he uses incorrect expressions and mispronounces words when speaking in Korean:

> 한국어로 쓸 때 더 longer 하잖아요. 그런데 English 는 Sound 가 easier 해요. 한국어는 pronounce 하는게 어려워요. 내가 어떤 거는 mixed up 해요. 그래서 pronounce right 안하고 다른 word 를 말해요. (Interview, 04/02/2018)

> It's longer if you write in Korean. But for English, sound is easier. Korean is difficult to pronounce. I mix up some words. I do not pronounce it right and say different words.

When Taehoon described what he did on the snow day, he said, "Snow boarding 으로 sled 했어요. 아니 sled 으로 Snow boarding 했어요" (Informal Conversation, 01/24/2018). [I *sled* with *snowboarding*. No, I did *snowboarding* with a *sled*] Taehoon's quote shows how he struggles to put Korean words in the correct order, but it also demonstrates Taehoon's skill at self-correction. In addition, I often observed him using filler words, particularly discourse markers such as "이렇게" [like] and "그래서" [so], when speaking in Korean. The following excerpt shows Taehoon's frequent use of "like" as he tries to describe his experience in Korean despite the difficulty:

> 이렇게 처음에는 이렇게 무서웠는데, 그 다음에는 무섭지 않았어요. 이렇게 그냥 이렇게 가고 이렇게 갔어요. bump 할 때는 이렇게 sled 를 hold 했어요. (Informal Conversation, 01/24/2018)
>
> Like, at first, it was, like, very scary. After that, it was not that scary. I, like, went, like, there. When you bump, I, like, *hold* the *sled.*

Despite feeling "uncomfortable" when speaking in Korean, Taehoon tried to use Korean as much as possible, even when he interacted with me. He often shared that he needs to speak Korean when he is around Korean people. During our interactions, I constantly reminded him that he could use whichever language preferred or felt comfortable speaking.

When I asked Taehoon if it is important to learn Korean, he said, "Half 중요해요" (Interview, 01/24/2018). [It's half important] However, for Taehoon's parents, it was very important that their children learn both Korean and English. Taehoon's parents enforced the rule about speaking only Korean at home because they

wanted to raise their children bilingual with strong identities as Koreans growing up in America. During our first interview, Taehoon's mother explained why she wanted to speak Korean and English:

> 영어랑 한국어 둘다 잘하는게 중요한 것 같아요. 왜냐하면 미국에서 자라난 한국인들로서의 문화적 background 랑 자기 정체성이 설립이 안되고 한국말은 모르고 영어만 하다 보면 겉모습은 한국인인데 완전 미국인으로 자라나는 것 같아요. 그러면 가족과의 의사소통 단절도 있을 뿐더러 결국 나중에 자기가 자라났을 때 정체성의 혼란도 올 수 있을 것 같아요. 그래서 두가지 언어를 동시에 할 수 있는 건 굉장히 큰 숙제 이자 merit 가 될 수 있는 것 같아요. (Interview, 11/15/2017)
>
> Being able to speak both Korean and English well is important because many Koreans growing up in the U.S. do not build a strong sense of identity and cultural *background*. They do not learn Korean and speak English only. They just grow up as American when they look Korean. It makes it difficult to communicate with their families. They might feel very complicated about their identities. Being able to speak two languages is a big homework that can be a *merit.*

Taehoon's mother actively taught Taehoon and his brother using literacy resources from her home country. Like Minsu's home, Taehoon's home included a large bookshelf filled with books the family brought from Korea (e.g., textbooks, children's picture books, activity books) in the center of their living room. "There are about 200 books from Korea," Taehoon noted. Taehoon's mother read at least one or two books to the children every night. She read picture books, textbooks, and informational books that she and Taehoon's grandparents brought from Korea. She also made her children read the bible written in Korean and search for keywords from the texts. She used to print out Korean newspapers online and made Taehoon and his brother read them and learn new vocabulary. However, she reduced these parent-led activities because her children felt stressed and could not keep up with the reading level in their regular school. Taehoon's

mother expressed that she actively engaged her children in these activities because she wants them to be "ready" just in case they move back to Korea.

Taehoon and his brother have been attending the same local heritage language school since September 2014. Taehoon's mother described the heritage language school as "a place that will help him remember that he is a Korean" (Interview, 08/14/2017). This study's two other focal children were also enrolled in the same heritage language school, which offered a two-hour long class every Friday afternoon for 12 weeks each semester. Taehoon shared one of the reasons he used English more:"한글학교 그 winter break 가 살짝 long 한 것 같아요. Winter break 하고 snow 할 때 못하고, Martin Luther King Jr. Day 가 있고. 그래서 까먹었어요" (Interview, 01/16/2018). [I think Korean school's *winter break* is a bit *long*. *Winter break, snow* days, *Martin Luther King, Jr. Day.* So I forgot Korean]

Taehoon also shared that he spends more time in his "English" school and is rarely in Korean-speaking settings. He said, "한글 학교에 많이 있으면 한글을 많이 할거예요. 근데 저는 거의 다 학교에 많이 있잖아요. 그런데 그래서 학교는 영어 school 이잖아요. 그런데 Sunday 는 school 이 없잖아요. 그때는 한국말 많이 해요" (Interview, 01/16/2018). [If I stayed longer in Korean school, I would have spoken more in Korean. But I spend almost all of my time in school (regular school). But my *school* is English school. But on *Sunday*, we don't have *school* so I speak more in Korean]

In July 2018, Taehoon's family visited Seoul, Korea for two months. They stayed at grandparents' houses, spent lots of time with relatives, and visited various places (museums, tourist attractions, and libraries). As a former school teacher, Taehoon's mother was aware that many Korean parents enrolled their immigrant children in public

schools in Korea during the summer. She considered enrolling Taehoon and his brother in school so they could experience more Korean academic learning and improve their Korean, but she decided against it. She explained that she didn't enroll them because she worried her children might experience something negative due to language and cultural differences, especially since Taehoon still talked about his negative experiences from four years ago at preschool in Korea.

While Taehoon's family was in Korea, I had the opportunity to closely observe Taehoon and accompany the family to local museums, tourist attractions, cafes, restaurants, stores, and the theatre. During his stay in Korea, Taehoon expanded his understanding of his family and Korean culture, and he improved his Korean speaking skills through interacting with his family members and being immersed in a Korean-speaking environment. On our third meeting in Korea, I observed Taehoon speaking in Korean only to his mother, brother, and me. It was his intentional choice because as he mentioned earlier in our earlier interview, "First day 에는 (영어를) 써요. 그런데 거기 내 family 에 fit in 하려고. 한국말 써요" (Interview, 01/24/2018). [I only use English on the first day. But to fit in my family in Korea, I use Korean] When I met Taehoon after his trip to Korea, he was very excited to share that people told him his Korean had improved since his trip to Korea.

Taehoon's dual frame of reference: Taehoon's Funds of Knowledge

Children in this study showcased extensive funds of knowledge and lived histories stemming from their experiences of moving across linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries. Each child shared their experiences in their own unique ways; Yena composed poems and created digital works about belonging to multiple countries

and Minsu shared his historical knowledge through writing and drawing. Taehoon shared stories of his mobility through spoken storytelling. In our weekly interactions, Taehoon frequently shared stories about his experience on topics ranging from school (library, peers, teachers, and class) to his personal life (favorite toys and books). When he talked about these events and topics, Taehoon provided detailed descriptions from his personal observations and lived experiences of moving across "home" and "host" countries.

In this section, I discuss Taehoon's extensive funds of knowledge, particularly his in-depth understanding of the schooling systems in the U.S and Korea, and the ways he shared his knowledge through actively drawing on a dual frame of reference. *A dual frame of reference* (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001), refers to the way immigrant students "compare life experiences, events, and situations from dual points of view of their native society and their adopted society" (Lam & Rosario, 2009, p. 175). Lam and Rosario's (2009) identified such ways of thinking through an asset-based perspective and describe it as "the cognitive orientation of bifocality" (p. 186). In the study with migrant youth, Lam and Rosario (2009) demonstrated how reading news and watching TV programs about the U.S. and their home countries impacted the ways students viewed the world through dual frames of reference. In Taehoon's case, his lived experiences of attending schools and living in two countries with different cultural contexts shaped his dual frame of reference. Drawing on the comparative perspective, Taehoon often mentioned what he experienced in "home" and "host" countries and what he had read about the two contexts.

For example, when I asked Taehoon to draw a mind map about his school, Green Elementary School (pseudonym), Taehoon expressed the complexity of his schooling

experiences in his map (Figure 23). He first wrote his school name in the center of the map and connected it with “Korean HL School” and “School in Korea.” Then he explained how these schools have different teachers, ways of teaching, curriculum, and physical environments.

Figure 23. Taehoon's mind map about his school

Drawing on his experiences of attending a preschool and an elementary school in Korea, he explained that schools in Korea have strict policies, such as not allowing students to leave food on their plates and making preschool students take naps at the assigned naptime. He also pointed out that in Korea, the afterschool programs do not let students engage in hands-on activities. While reflecting upon his experiences of attending schools in Korea and the U.S, Taehoon shared how in Korea, he felt frustrated in school

because of his limited Korean proficiency, but he feels comfortable at Green elementary school, because he can freely communicate with peers and teachers in English. He then recounted his experiences of going to a local heritage language school, where he learns "Korean" and "Korea." He explained that the heritage language school has great teachers like the ones in Green Elementary School but uses ineffective teaching strategies such as dictation tests. He then commented that he prefers American school where students are given more freedom and have more opportunities to interact with teachers.

The way Taehoon described Green Elementary School in connection to his formal schools in Korea and his heritage language school (an informal learning space) in the U.S. shows how he identifies schooling in multiple locations. His mind map also challenges the fixed and bounded notion of school. In addition, his statements and graphic representation of his school demonstrate the depth of his knowledge and understanding of school in different cultures and society, which is grounded in his lived experiences of attending educational systems locally and globally. Taehoon presented his unique ways of thinking, because he views his world by connecting his experiences across time and space and comparing contexts of "home" and "host" countries.

Taehoon's Identities and positioning

Taehoon's mother shared that she is dedicated to raising bilingual children with a strong sense of identity. She particularly emphasized the importance of her children developing and maintaining "Koreanness." She stressed that she does not want her children to grow up "American" when they "look Korean" (Interview, 11/15/2017). She also said, "제가 듣기로는 정체성이 자리 잡힌 애가 나중에 성공한다고 들었어요. 그래야 될 것 같아요. 내가 한국인 인걸 부끄러워하면 안될 것 같아요" (Interview,

08/14/2017). [I heard those who have a strong sense of identity become successful. I think so, too. It is important not to feel ashamed about being a Korean]

Unlike his mother, who focused on cultivating Taehoon's identity as a Korean, Taehoon viewed himself as "Korean" and "American," (Informal Conversation, 12/20/2017) and "half/half" (Informal Conversation, 04/04/2018). Taehoon seemed to think his identity was complicated, especially because he and his brother were born in different countries. There were several times that Taehoon suddenly brought up the topic about how "strange" it is that he is the only one in his family who was born in America and has two names, one in English and one in Korean. For example, during our conversations about why I moved to North Carolina, he suddenly said: 그런데 이상한 게 내 family 중에 내가 only person 미국에 born 한 사람이요. 형아는 한국에서 born 했고. 엄마도. 내 family 있는 사람은 다 한국에서 태어났어요. 나는 미국에서 태어났고 (Informal Conversation, 12/20/2017). [But it's so strange that I am the only person in my family born in America. My brother was born in Korea. My mom, too. Everyone in my family was born in Korea. I was born in America]

On another occasion, he similarly described how he feels "different" from other family members. He shared his experience at the arrival and immigration area of the airport where he, as a child with dual citizenship, could have stood in the line for American citizens. He noted that he stayed in the line for foreigners with his family because he did not want to hurt his brother's feelings. He added, "어떤 사람이 내가 미국인이니까 형은 half 미국인이래요. 그건 말이 안되요. 그런데 살짝 저는 family 에서 different 해요. feel 해요. 저는 미국에서 born 했으니까" (Interview, 01/24/2018). [Someone told me that my brother is a *half* American because I am an

American. That does not make sense. But I am *different* in my *family*. I *feel* that because I was born in America]

Taehoon's mother also acknowledged the difference between Taehoon and his older brother in terms of the ways they view themselves and their connections to Korea. She felt that their citizenship and their country of origins affected the ways they see themselves:

> 태훈이가 미국에서 태어나서 미국 시민권자인데 처음에 여기 왔을 때 preschool 갔을 때 왜 자기는 왜 금발이 아니냐는 거예요. 왜 자기는 미국 사람이기 때문에 김치 싫어 한대요 (웃음). 자기는 미국사람이다 이게 되게 강해요. (Interview, 08/14/2017)
>
> Taehoon was born in the U.S. and is an American citizen. When he first went to the *preschool*, he asked me why he was not a blonde. He said he did not like kimchi because he was an American (Laugh). He strongly believes that he is an American.

Taehoon's mother's quote shows that Taehoon started questioning his identity from an early age when he started noticing that his appearance differed from the other students in his preschool. The way he rejected eating kimchi because "he was an American" shows that even young children have their own understanding of what Americans do or do not do. Another interesting point about Taehoon's mother's quote is the way she pinpoints that Taehoon "strongly believes that he is an American." It seemed that her understanding of identity is rooted in culture rather than citizenship or country of origin: "Dongjun (Taehoon's brother) has pride as a Korean. When he reads books, he says things like, 'Korea is the world's most country of something' But Taehoon doesn't do that" (Interview, 08/14/2017). [동준이는 그런데 코리안에 대한 자긍심이 있어요. 책 읽으면 '한국이 세계에서 몇 번째래' 그러는게 있거든요. 그런데 태훈이는 그런 게 없어요]

When I met Taehoon after he returned to North Carolina, he proudly said, "엄마가 한국어 늘었 대요" (Interview, 09/20/2018). [My mom said my Korean improved] Taehoon showed me the photographs he took in Korea, which he took at various locations, such as tourist attractions, historic places, and home. Taehoon noted that the only reason he would want to go back to Korea is to spend more time with his grandparents. He then elaborated how he thinks each person in his family feels about visiting Korea in the future:

> Researcher: Do you think you want to go back to Korea later?
> Taehoon: Kind of. 51%.
> Researcher: What about your brother?
> Taehoon: 75%.
> Research: What about your mom and dad?
> Taehoon: My dad doesn't care. My mom was happier there than here because she has more friends in Korea. I think my mom wants to go back to Korea. 99%. (Interview, 09/20/2018)

The above excerpt demonstrates how Taehoon feels less desire to go back to Korea compared to his other family members. This excerpt echoes Duff's (2015) assertion that different members within the same transnational family and even within the same generation will likely have varied connections and perspectives about their "home" country.

Summary

As described in this section, Taehoon demonstrated flexible language use, comparative perspectives, and multi-layered identities. Taehoon, like other two focal children, drew on Korean and English and used multiple linguistic features like honorific and non-honorific speech styles in his daily life. However, Taehoon differs from the other

two students in terms of language hybridity in his oral language because he showed comparatively more obvious and literal translanguaging as he mixes Korean and English.

Taehoon's parents held a strong belief that heritage language maintenance is essential for their children's identities, so they enforced Korean speaking at home. Taehoon's parents actively taught Korean at home using literacy resources from Korea and enrolled their children in a heritage language school to prepare them in case they move back to Korea. Taehoon, on the other hand, did not envision himself living in Korea in the future because of his negative experiences in the country in his early years. Taehoon feels a strong connection to his family members, and he shared that the only reason he studies and uses Korean is to "fit in" with his family in Korea.

Drawing on the comparative perspective framework, Taehoon often shared stories about his "home" and "host" countries through spoken words. His comparative perspective was grounded in his lived experiences moving across linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries, and it was constantly (re)shaped by his extensive reading of books from two countries. Taehoon often compared the situations in Korea and the U.S. and shared his own observations and experiences in the two contexts. As someone who attended schools in both countries, he often discussed the similarities and differences between teachers, curriculum, and the physical environments of school in Korea and the U.S. When sharing these stories, Taehoon made connections between factual information and his prior knowledge and experiences.

Chapter V

LIVING IN A MULTILINGUAL AND TRANSNATIONAL WORLD: THREE CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCES

Researchers in migration scholarship argue that children of immigrants are less likely to maintain connections with their parents' homelands (Min, 2017; Zhou, 1997) or consider the country "as a place to return to or as a point of reference" (Zhou, 1997, p. 64). Some researchers believe that the transnational linkage, or the tie between "home" and "host" countries, is a "one-generation phenomenon" (Portes, 2001, p. 190) that cannot be passed down to subsequent generations (Zhou, 1997). Therefore, second-generation children's mobile experiences and their roles in transnational lifestyles have been overlooked and underexplored (Gardner, 2012; Orellana et al., 2001; Sigad & Eisikovits 2010; White, Caitríona, Tyrrell, & Carpena-Méndez, 2011).

Educational scholars only recently started paying attention to how immigrant children engage in transnational linguistic, cultural, and digital practices that encompass multiple contexts and countries and occur inside and outside of classroom (Duff, 2015; Ghiso, 2016; Orellana 2016). However, studies to date tended to focus on immigrant children's experiences within geographic boundaries—either the country of origin or the host country— so scholars need a new approach to understand immigrant children's mobility and flexibility beyond the boundaries of nation-states (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Punch, 2012). Furthermore, little is known about how immigrant children from

East Asian cultural backgrounds engage in transnational practices, and how these experiences impact their everyday lives.

In this study, I sought to capture the nuances of how transnationalism shapes second-generation immigrant children's everyday lives by focusing on three Korean American children. Employing a multi-sited ethnographic approach, I focused on three specific questions: 1) How do second-generation immigrant children engage with language and literacy in and across various spaces? 2) What transnational funds of knowledge do second-generation immigrant children build as they move across contexts? 3) How do second-generation immigrant children position themselves and represent their identities? In this chapter, I discuss the major findings I identified through cross-case analysis. I organized these findings in the following themes: 1) translanguaging across time and space, 2) care circulation as an axis of transnational lives, 3) transcultural play: mobilizing funds of knowledge beyond local-global, and 4) evolving identities and transnational ways of belonging.

Translanguaging Across Times and Space

The children in this study engaged in flexible and fluid languaging experiences as they moved across linguistic and cultural boundaries in their everyday lives. In the following sections, I illustrate the focal children's translanguaging as well as the role it played in how the children made sense of the multiple "homes" they belong to.

Purposeful and Strategic Translanguaging Across Space

Moving across geographic boundaries, the children in this study engaged in linguistic and cultural border-crossing experience, which García and Wei (2014) call

translanguaging. While all three focal children expressed that they feel more comfortable and confident speaking in English, they purposefully and strategically translanguaged, depending on their interlocuters, contexts, and emotions.

One of the hybrid language practices I observed all three children participating in was border-crossing communication practices. The children communicated with their families abroad, including grandparents and cousins, on a regular basis through online digital tools such as Skype and KakaoTalk. As most of their extended family members do not speak English, the focal children drew on their multilingual repertoire to navigate the language barriers. During these border-crossing communication practices, the children talked about an array of different topics that ranged from their travel plans to their achievements in school, and they alternated between languages (e.g., Korean, Mandarin Chinese, and English) and linguistic features (e.g., formal and informal speech styles). All three children also used various gestures (e.g., bowing and nodding) to amplify their expressions. For example, when Yena video chatted with her Korean grandparents in Yanbian, China, she made a conscious effort to speak primarily in Korean and use the honorific speech style to show respect to her grandparents. When she could not think of the right expression or needed to clarify the meanings of certain words, she asked her mother in English and/or Chinese. Yena's mother, who usually sat next to Yena during the communication practice, helped by transliterating and translating.

During the visits to their parental homelands, the children drew on their multilingual repertoires and flexibly and actively alternated between languages. Taehoon, who often expressed discomfort with speaking in Korean, purposefully used Korean because it helped him to "fit in" in his family in Korea:

> Researcher: 한국 가서는 영어 안써?
> Taehoon: First day 에는 (영어를) 써요. 그런데 거기 내 family 에 fit in 하려고. 한국말 써요.할머니, 할아버지한테 한국말로 해요. (Interview, 01/24/2018)
>
> Researcher: You don't use English when you go to Korea?
> Taehoon: I only use English on the first day. But to *fit in* my *family* in Korea, I use Korean. I speak in Korean to my grandmother and grandfather.

Translanguaging helped the three focal children "fit in" with their families, and it also helped them build strong emotional attachments to their families in "home" countries. The children used multiple languages combined with artistic expressions (e.g., singing, drawing, and dancing) to express affection and appreciation to their families. For instance, Yena, on her cousins' birthday, prepared a birthday song that she performed with her sister and another cousin. She first said, "감사합니다. 성욱아 생일 축하해." [Thank you. Seongwook, happy birth day], and sang the song in two versions, Korean and Chinese (Figure 24).

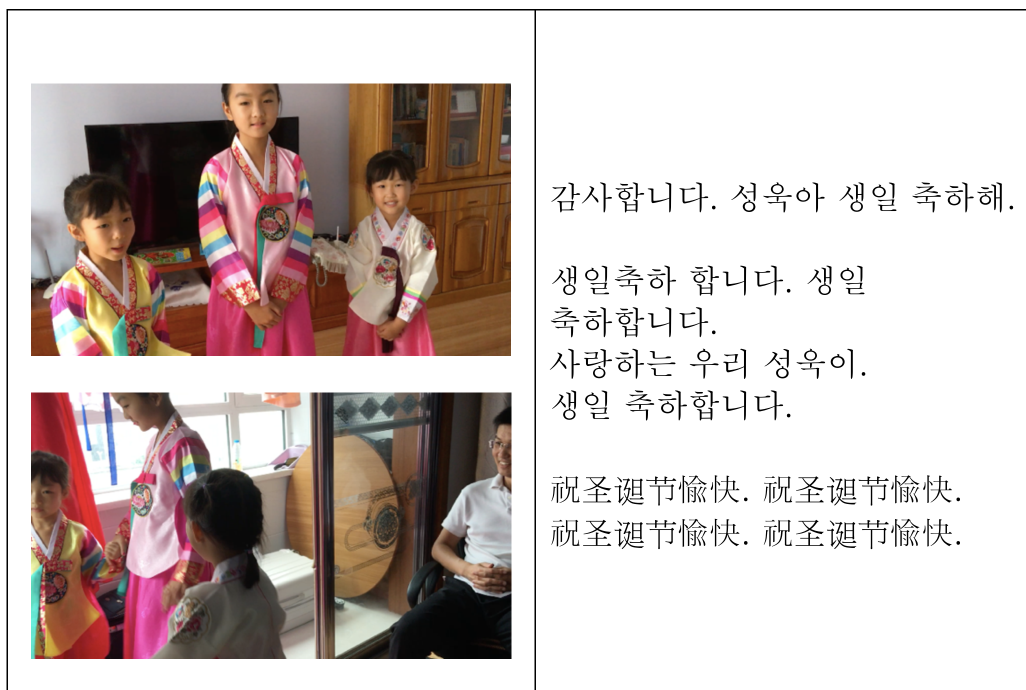


Figure 24. Singing "Happy Brithday" songs in Chinese and Korean

Yena's first statement, "감사합니다. 성욱아 생일 축하해" [Thank you (honorific language) Seongwook, happy birth day (non-honorific language)] highlights Yena's skills in making flexible choices between honorific and non-honorific languages, which I will describe in more detail in the next section. Yena's birthday song for her cousin was not an anomaly; the three focal children often created videos and letters for their family members for special occasions, and they combined languages, drawings, music, and gestures to express affection. These translanguaging practices reminded the family members, in both the "home" and "host" countries, that they are connected through languages and cultures regardless of where they are located.

As the focal children flexibly moved across linguistic and geographic boundaries, they paid careful attention to their interlocutors' language preferences and adjusted to accommodate their needs. Minsu, who his peers, teachers, and family member in Korea positioned as an English teacher, intentionally adjusted his language use for flexible communication with others. The following conversation emerged during my discussion with Minsu about his language use in Korea.

> Researcher: When you meet them (cousins), do you talk in English or Korean?
> Minsu: When I meet Haesol and Haeun, their mom said I should speak to them in English. And the other two, I have to speak in Korean because their English is not good. Haeun knows a little bit. Haesol is good. He is learning English. He goes to English 학원 (private institute). He is pretty good. (Interview, 01/09/2018)

As the quote above illustrates, Minsu flexibly communicated with his family members based on their fluency and language needs. In fact, I observed Minsu speaking in English and reiterating what he said to Sungjoo because he knew that Sungjoo didn't speak English. It is interesting to note how Minsu labels the language proficiencies of his

cousins as good or not so good. His multilingualism may have made him more aware of other people's language proficiencies.

In addition, the focal children used translanguaging as a way to alleviate discomfort at home, school, and in the community in the U.S. and their parental homelands. Minsu, for example, purposefully used the non-dominant language in his classroom (Korean in American school and English in Korean school) whenever he felt uneasy. When I met Minsu for the first time in 2017, he shared that his school in America is "다 영어" [All English]. He shared that he uses Korean on some occasions because "others don't know what I am talking about." I observed him applying similar practice during his stay in Korea:

> Researcher: 한국에서 사람들이랑 한국말로 대화 했어?
> Minsu: 네. 그런데 기분이 안좋을 때는 영어로 했어요. 한국 사람들은 영어 잘 모르니까. 기분이 안 좋을 때는 어려운 말을 영어로 했어요. 그 다음에 다시 한국말로 했는데. (Interview, 09/07/2018)
>
> Researcher: Did you talk in Korean in Korea?
> Minsu: Yes. But when I felt unhappy, I spoke in English because Korean people do not know English very well. When I did not feel well, I said difficult things in English. Then I spoke in Korean again.

The examples shared above highlight how the focal children drew on their multilingual repertoires and engaged in hybrid language practices as they participated in border-crossing communication, expanded their family connections, and navigated spaces across borders. In the following section, I discuss more about the specific aspects of the focal children's translanguaging practices.

Honorifics and Politeness: Flexible Use of Multilingual Repertoires

García and Wei (2014) explained that "translanguaging is the discursive norm in bilingual families and communities" (p. 23). García and Wei (2014) asserted that it is

natural for members of bilingual families to select and/or exclude certain features of their multilingual repertoires. The three focal children in this study, who are members of transnational families, also demonstrated their unique ways of alternating between languages and linguistic features. I was particularly drawn to how the focal children flexibly selected, employed, and/or excluded honorific and non-honorific languages depending on their audience and context when they used Korean. Combined with this practice, the children managed the degrees of politeness, intimacy, and formality through gestures and non-verbal expressions.

Before I discuss their unique translanguaging practices more in detail, it is important to note that Korean is "a language with an elaborate system of speech styles (and honorific forms) that requires speakers to mark each sentence for the degree of politeness, intimacy, or formality" (Brown, 2013, p. 2). According to Brown (2013), the Korean language has six speech styles, and the final verb ending in each style shows the social position of the speaker and the interlocutor (see Table 5).

Table 5

Korean speech styles

Style	Declarative	Interrogative	Category
'deferential' – (su)pnita style	sikan-i eps-supnita	sikan-i eps-supnikka?	'honorific' styles
'polite' – yo style	sikan-i eps-eyo	sikan-i eps-eyo?	
'plain' -ta style	sikan-i eps-ta	sikan-i eps-ni/nya?	'non-honorific' styles
'intimate' -e style	sikan-i epse-e	sikan-i eps-e?	
'deferential' -ney style	sikan-i eps-neyo	sikan-i eps-na?	'authoritative' styles
'deferential' –(s)o style	sikan-i eps-so	sikan-i eps-so?	

It is important for Korean speakers to understand the honorific system of the Korean language because expressing politeness and formality through verbal and non-verbal expressions is an important aspect of Korean culture. Therefore, many heritage language programs and Korean as a second language programs strive to teach this aspect of the language system (L. Brown, 2011).

Despite the complexity and difficulty of the honorific system, I observed the three children flexibly alternating between *contaymal* (honorific language) and *panmal* (non-honorific language) depending on the interlocutor's age, status, and position. I particularly noticed the children alternating between different speech styles when they engaged in dialogues with interlocuters from a different status or age. For example, the conversation below, which took place during Yena's visit to a museum in Korea, shows Yena's complex translanguaging and how she changes between languages (Korean and English), speech styles ("deferential" –(su)pnita style and "intimate" -e style), and different honorific nouns to address family members (e.g., Umma and Unni).

> Yena: 엄마, you press the food to add to the pot. 고기, 파, and then..
> Yena's mother: 볶는거야? 진짜 같이 만들었네?
> Yena: 진짜입니다.
> Soojung: 진짜 아니야.
> Yena: 수정언니, 아니야? (Observation, 06/18/2018)
>
> Yena: Umma (Mom), *you press the food to add to the pot.* Meat, Chive, *and then..*
> Yena's mother: Then you fry it? It looks real.
> Yena: It is real.
> Soojung: It is not real.
> Yena: Soojung *unni* (older sister), it is not?

The above excerpt shows Yena's strategic ways of using honorific *panmal* and non-honorific *contaymal*. When Yena's mother said the display looks real, Yena chose the honorific style and politely explained to her that the display is real. When her cousin

corrected Yena and said, "It is not real," Yena dropped her honorific style and asked her cousin using non-honorific language. Yena purposefully chose non-honorific style to convey her intimate relationship with her cousin. The way Yena called her cousin "수정언니" (Soojung *unni* – Soojung older sister) demonstrated her nuanced understanding of the Korean language system and culture, in which using aged-related titles (*unni* (sister) in this case) is necessary when referring to older family members and teachers.

In fact, all three children used age-related titles whenever they referred to their older family members of Korean heritage in Korea, China, and the U.S. Even when they talked in English or mixed Korean and English, the three children inserted age-related titles, such as *hyung, oppa, unni,* and *noona.* For example, when I asked Minsu if his grandparents in Korea speak English, he responded: "조금. 근데 my 할아버지는 민수가 한거 memorize 하고. 해솔형은 English study 하고. 동주는 한국 말밖에 모르고. 아영 누나도 해솔형 같이 조금 알아요. kind of 알아요."[A little bit. But my grandfather memorizes what I say. Haesol *hyung* studies English. Dongjoo only knows Korean. Ahyoung *noona* and Haesol *hyung* know a little bit (of English). Kind of know]

As Minsu spoke to me, someone who is older, he used honorific language such as 알아요. He also employed aged-related titles, such as *noona* and *hyoung*, when he described his older cousins. Through this translanguaging practice, Minsu constantly moved between two different language systems and two different cultures.

With nuanced understanding of Korean culture and the honorific language system, the three children combined *contaymal* (honorific language) with gestures (e.g., nodding and bowing) when interacting with people who were older and/or of higher

status. For example, when I visited Minsu's house with a box of Minsu's favorite donuts, the following interaction took place, which is an exemplary case of Minsu mixing all languages, linguistic features, and gestures:

> Minsu's father: 민수야, 선생님이 도너츠 사왔다. 네가 제일 좋아하는 것. 뭐라고 해야하니?
> Minsu: 고맙습니다.
> {Minsu bowed} (Fieldnote, 05/02/2018)
>
> Minsu's father: Minsu, she brought you doughnuts. Your favorite. What do you say?
> Minsu: Thank you
> {Minsu bowed}

Minsu first employed honorific language and said "고맙습니다" [Thank you]. Then he bowed, which is a non-verbal cue expressing gratitude in Korean culture. The focal children's flexible ways of adding and dropping honorific and non-honorific languages, age-related terms, and non-verbal expressions show their metalinguistic knowledge (Bialystok, 2001) and metacognitive abilities, which they applied in effective ways.

Making Sense of "Home" and Simultaneous Belonging

The parents of the three focal children felt that visiting educational and historic places in Korea is crucial for informing and expanding their children's understanding of Korean history and culture through hands-on experiences. Each family chose different places to visit that suited their children's interests and age levels. Minsu's family, for example, visited local museums related to Korean history because Minsu had expressed significant interest in visiting museums related to the Korean War. Yena's family visited *Geyongbokgung* palace and the children's museums, because Yena and her young sister learned about these places in their Korean heritage language class. Taehoon's family

visited places that offered many interactive exhibitions and hands-on activities, like folk village and the War Memorial of Korea.

In these historic and cultural spaces, the focal children and their families engaged in translanguaging practices, which enabled them to make sense of "multiple locations of 'home' which may exist geographically but also ideologically and emotionally" (Wolf, 1997, p. 459). The children actively drew on their multilingual repertoires and prior knowledge, and they asked their parents questions in Korean and English to clarify and understand complex terms, historic events, historic figures, and the information displayed. The children read informational texts displayed on the wall and kiosks and alternated between the texts in English and Korean to engage in learning. On certain occasions, they read aloud in English and asked their parents specific questions in Korean and vice versa. The parents used multiple languages, cultural-specific terms, and expressions related to history to provide detailed information that expanded their children's historical and cultural understanding of Korea. On these occasions, the parents shared their family histories and lived experiences that related to the historic events. This practice helped the children build connections to their heritage and families in Korea.

An experience at the War Memorial of Korea with Taehoon's family exemplifies how the focal families co-constructed their understanding of "home" through translanguaging practices. Taehoon, his older brother, and their mother engaged in interactive conversations about what they read, heard, and saw in the museum. When the family visited the Memorial Hall, which was designed for remembering and honoring those who sacrificed their lives for Korea through battles and wars, Taehoon's mother explained what the space means for Koreans. She then engaged in conversations with

Taehoon and his brother about the book displayed in the center of the hall, which showed the list of people from the U.S. who died for the Korean War[15]. When they saw "North Carolina," written on the top of the book (Figure 25), they made connections to their lives:

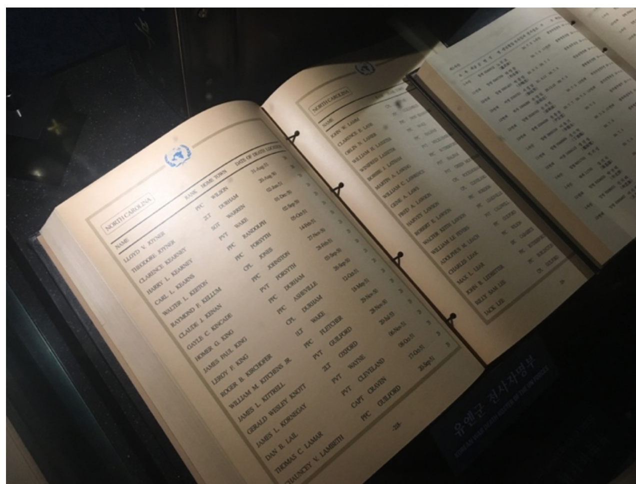


Figure 25. Display at the War Memorial of Korea

> Mother: 같은 나라 끼리 싸워서 전쟁이 일어난거야. 그래서 많은 사람이 죽어서 그걸 기념하는거야 여긴 조용히 해야해. 이것 봐. 그분들을 추모 하는거야. 나라를 위해 몸바친 분들을 추모 하는거야. 여기 전쟁 때 돌아가신 분들 이름이 적혀있어. 여기가 memorial line 이야. 거기 넘어가면 안돼. 추모하는거야. 알겠어 태훈아? 알겠어?
> {책을 손가락으로 가리키면서}
> Mother: North Carolina 가 펼쳐있네. Hometown 에 보면.
> Taehoon: 왜 North Carolina 라고 되어있지?
> Mother: 우리가 감사하는 마음을 가져야해. North Carolina 에서 많은 사람이 참전했대. (Observation, 07/20/2018)
>
> Mother: The war (the Korean War) broke out because the same countries fought against each other. A lot of people died, and this (The Memorial Hall) is to remember their death. You have to be quiet in here. Look at this. This is to remember them. It's to remember those who sacrificed their bodies for this country. The names of the people who died during the war are written here. This is the *memorial line*. You can't pass beyond this line. It's to remember. Do you understand, Taehoon? Do you understand?
> {Pointing at the book displayed}

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[1] The Korean War was a war between North Korea and South Korea, which began on 25 June 1950.

> Mother: This book shows *North Carolina.* If you look at *hometown*.
> Taehoon: Why does it say *North Carolina*?
> Mother: We need to have grateful mind. A lot of people from *North Carolina* took part in the war.

Taehoon's mother used her multilingual repertoires to explain the purpose of the memorial hall, and she helped them create personal connections to cultivate a sense of gratitude for the veterans who sacrificed their lives during the Korean War. Taehoon's mother also included expressions related to history, such as "나라를 위해 몸바친 분들" [Those who sacrificed their bodies for this country] and "추모" [remember] that helped the two children learn new vocabularies while learning more about Korean history.

The focal families engaged in an array of translanguaging practices that helped the children develop historical thinking, language and literacy learning, and a sense of belonging to Korea. One of the practices I observed across the three children was how they read information that was presented via wall text, object labels, museum kiosks, and brochures, by flexibly alternating between Korean and English. On some occasions, the parents explicitly asked their children to read the texts aloud in Korean and/or English. When Yena asked her mother about historic events or certain words, her mother encouraged her to read and said, "읽어봐" [Read]. Yena then carefully read and moved between the English and Korean texts.

When the children had difficulties understanding certain words, they asked their parents for translation. Below is a conversation between Taehoon and his mother that took place while using a touch-screen kiosk and alternating between the texts written in Korean and English (Figure 26):

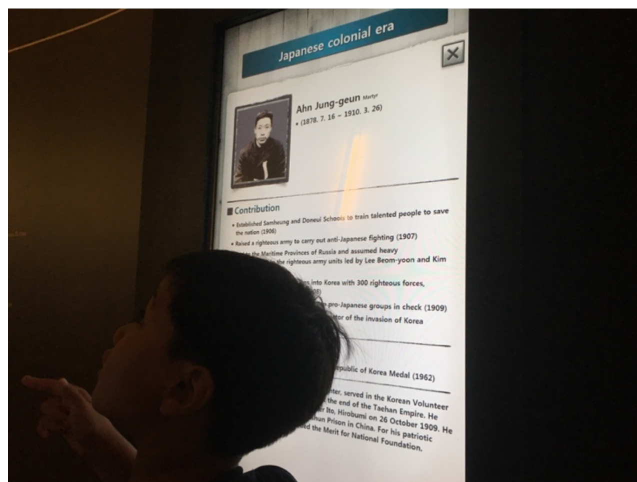

Figure 26. Taehoon's interaction with his mother while using a museum kiosk

{박물관 키오스크를 이용하면서}
Mother: 아까 사진 나오는거 해봐. 그 사람 사진 클릭해봐. 정보가 나오는지.
Taehoon: 이건 뭐야?
Mother: 이거는 일본. 일본이 우리나라 침략 했을때. 안중근의사. 누구지? 어떻게 했지?
Taehoon: 모르지.
Mother: 일본 사람들한테 어떻게 했지? 이토 히로부미를 저격했지.
Taehoon: 그런데 miss 했어?
Mother: 아니지. 죽었지. 태훈이가 아는 사람 있어요? 여기? 동준이는 윤봉길 의사 누군지 알지? 클릭해봐. 뭐한 사람이지? 누구지? 윤봉길의사가 도시락 폭탄 던진 사람 아니야?
Taehoon: 모르지. 이 사람은 뭐 했어?
Mother: 이 사람은 brave soldier 인데.잠깐만 {she first read in Korean before explaining to Taehoon}. 이순신 한번 찾아봐.
Mother: 여기 있을 것 같은데? 한번 찾아봐. 영어로 읽어봐. 영어로 읽고 찾아봐. 이순신 이겠다. 찾아봐.
Taehoon: {After reading in English} 찾았다. 이순신 장군.
(Observation, 07/20/2018)

{Using the touch-screen kiosk}
Mother: Try the one that shows pictures you saw. Click the picture of that person. See if it shows information.
Taehoon: What is this?
Mother: This is Japan. When Japan invaded our country. Ahn Jung-geun. Who is he? What did he do?
Taehoon: I don't know.
Mother: What did he do to Japanese people? He shot Hirobumi Ito.
Taehoon: But he *miss*ed him?

Mother: No. He died. Taehoon, do you know anyone here? here? Dongjun, you know who Yun Bong-Gil, right? Click it. What did he do? Who is he?
Taehoon: I don't know. What did he do?
Mother: This person is a *brave soldier*. Wait a minute. Lee soon-sin, look it up.
Taehoon: army? navy? war?
Mother: I think he should be here. Look it up. Read it in English. Read it in English and look it up.
Taehoon: {After reading in English} I found it. Admiral Yi Soon Shin.

Taehoon's mother encouraged him to explore historic information by clicking, reading, and searching words and photographs on the touch-screen kiosk. Taehoon actively engaged in learning by asking questions in English for clarification. It is interesting to note how Taehoon's mother, who always speaks Korean to her children, used English words (e.g., brave solider) in her explanation and even encouraged her child to look up information in English. The way she engaged in and fostered translanguaging practices in this museum space shows her understanding of how using two languages can benefit her children's learning. Likewise, translanguaging practices provide children with opportunities to develop their comprehension skills as well as their understanding of Korean historic events.

I observed the focal families making connections between the lived experiences of their families and what they saw in the museums. For example, when Minsu's father explained the military display, he connected historic information with what Minsu already knew about his grandfather:

Minsu: 여기는?
Father: 옛날에 한양을 지키던 군부대가 있었어. 그 군부대가 다섯개가 있었어 그 부대 중에 하나야. 하남 할아버지 사시는 남한산성을 지키는 부대가 수호청이야. (Observation, 06/30/2018)

Minsu: What about here?
Father: There was an army that protects Hanyang. There were five divisions of the army. This is one of them. The army that protected Namhansanseong, where your grandfather lives now, is this one called Soohochung.

In addition, the focal children and their families co-constructed their understanding of Korean history and culture by unpacking the texts displayed in museum. The parents often encouraged their children to think beyond what was written or presented by asking questions and making the children guess the hidden meanings. When Taehoon and his mother saw the sign, "발해인 세명이 모이면 호랑이를 잡는다" [It only takes three Balhae men to subdue a tiger], Taehoon's mother asked Taehoon:

> Mother: '발해인 세명이 모이면 호랑이를 잡는다' 무슨뜻 이야? 우리나라 이름이 발해였어.
> Taehoon: 우리나라 이름이?
> Mother: 우리나라 이름이 발해였어. 이게 무슨 뜻일까? 호랑이를 잡는다. 무슨 뜻일까?
> Taehoon: 세다고.
> Mother: 세고. 호랑이를 잡을 정도로 용감하다고. brave 하다고. 알겠어? (Observation, 07/20/2018)
>
> Mother: 'It only takes three Balhae men to subdue a tiger.' what does it mean? The name of our country was Balhae.
> Taehoon: The name of our country?
> Mother: The name of our country was Balhae. What do you think it means? Subduing a tiger. What does it mean?
> Taehoon: Strong.
> Mother: Strong and? They were brave enough to subdue a tiger. They are *brave.* Do you understand?

Through translanguaging, Taehoon learned the literal meaning of the displayed text, and he also expanded his understanding of Balhae, an ancient kingdom of Korea.

Taehoon's mother repeatedly used the word "우리나라" (our country) as she explained different Korean historic events. I observed Minsu's father engaging in a similar practice multiple times during his interaction with Minsu at the Seoul Museum of History. When Minsu asked his father if Korea fought a war against the U.S., Minsu's father explained, "미국이 우리랑 싸운 건 아니야." [We did not fight against the U.S.]

He frequently used "우리" [us] when referring to Korea in his explanations. The parents' use of such expressions (e.g., "our country" and "us") highlights their desires for their children to build strong connections with Korea and to learn more about "our country."

The findings show that the focal children engaged in translanguaging to make meaning around their multidirectional and simultaneous belonging to multiple cultural contexts and countries.

Care Circulation as an Axis of Transnational Lives

The focal children in this study received and exchanged emotional, educational, social support with their families in parental homelands. In other words, the children engaged in the process of care circulation, or "the reciprocal multidirectional and asymmetrical exchange of care" (Baldassar & Merla, 2004, p. 25). The exchange of care allowed the focal families and their extended families in Korea and China to develop and maintain their bonds. In this section, I discuss how the focal children circulated care across geographic spaces and how this practice impacted the children's heritage learning.

Care Circulation and Multidirectional Transnational Connection

Family linkage, the close connection between the focal children and family members in their parental homelands, was the center of the three children's transnational lives. The children often noted emotional, educational, and social support they received and exchanged with their relatives in Korea and Yanbian, China. They also expressed emotions such as love, care, belonging, and longing toward their family members and the memories they had with them. I observed the three focal children engaging in care

circulation practices from the beginning of this study, even before they visited their families in the summer.

When I first met the focal children, I invited them to draw maps about their parental homelands—Korea for Minsu and Taehoon, and Korea and China for Yena. I expected that they would draw some symbolic and representative images of Korean culture, such as national flags and food. Although the children did include several cultural images, the first things that all three children drew and wrote, in multiple languages, were related to their extended family members whom they have spent time with physically and digitally. The children's drawings included words such as "할머니" [grandmother], "사촌" [cousin], "형아" [2][brother], and "이모" [aunt]. The children then added more detailed descriptions, drawings, and words illustrating their experiences and memories with the family members (Figure 27).

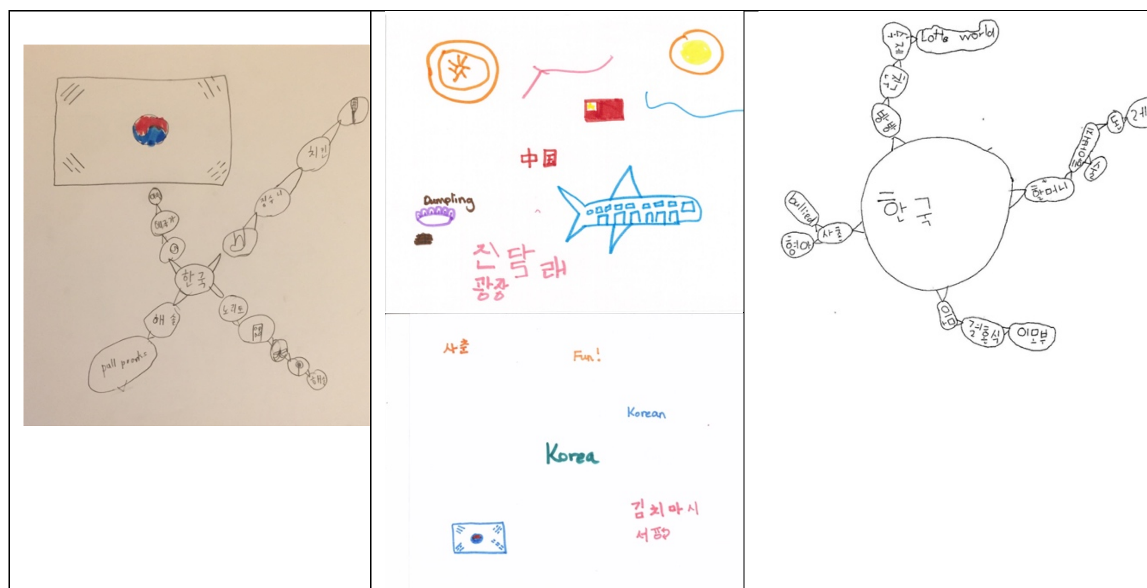

Figure 27. Child-generated maps about parental homelands (Minsu, Yena, Taehoon)

[2] This is an unconventional spelling.

Of the 16 words that Taehoon wrote on his map, 13 were related to his extended family members in Korea. He first wrote "할머니" [grandmother] and talked about how his grandparents make efforts to spend time with him whenever his visits the country. Minsu talked about Haesol, whom he described as "my brother." Throughout the year of interacting with Minsu, he often shared how he missed Haesol and wanted to talk, play, and live with him. Unlike the other two children, Yena created two maps as she considered her parental homelands as both Yanbian, China and Seoul, South Korea. With no hesitation, she drew several symbols and images illustrating her connection to grandparents in Yanbian, China and her experiences of visiting them in Yanbian. On the map of Korea, she wrote cousins, whom she has never visited but has communicated with digitally many times through video chat and online messages.

The three children built, maintained, and extended their connections with their families in their everyday lives through an array of transnational engagements. One way the children circulated care was through practicing regular and frequent border-crossing communication. This practice usually took place on a weekly basis via online video applications (e.g., Skype and KakaoTalk) during the afternoon or the weekends because of the different time zones. For Taehoon and Yena, this regular border-crossing communication practice was diasporic and encompassed multiple countries, as their extended families were scattered in various countries. Taehoon felt a close connection with his uncle in India, whom he has never met, because of regular online communication with him. Similarly, Yena, a child of a Korean ethnic minority family from China, regularly engaged in video chatting and phone conversations with her grandparents in Yanbian, China, and exchanged videos with her cousins in Korea. During these

communication practices, they celebrated special occasions (e.g., birthdays), shared trivial things about daily life, and discussed their plans for visiting each other. These border-crossing communication practices allowed the three children to feel connected to their families beyond the U.S.

The three children's engagement in care circulation also involved educational support shared among the focal children and their extended families. These children often received and sent educational resources (e.g., children's picture books and textbooks) as gifts. All three children had received children's books, written in Korean, and toys from their grandparents and cousins. I observed Minsu and Taehoon listening to, reading, and studying DVDs, textbooks, and children's books that their relatives in Korea shared with them. These children shared educational support with their extended families as a process of reciprocal sharing. The three families, whenever they visited Korea and China, also brought books and materials in English for their relatives who were learning English as a foreign language. Circulating educational materials helped the young family members in both countries learn languages, share care, and support each other.

In addition, the families living in the parental homelands served as guides for the focal families as they planned and organized their children's transnational journeys. For example, Minsu's grandparents and aunts actively helped Minsu's family find a school in Korea where he could audit classes during the summer. They are now organizing another transnational trip, where Minsu's two cousins will visit North Carolina for a short-term schooling experience. The families in two distant countries informally organized an exchange program where school-age family members can visit each other's countries and engage in temporal schooling experiences. The ways these families circulate their

information, support, and care for children's education highlight how they are connected as more than just family members; they support each other as educational partners.

After the transnational visits, all three children often expressed emotions such as longing, love, and affection toward their family members. Taehoon, who shared a lot of photographs he took with his grandfather, said if he visits Korea again, "수지 할아버지 더 많이 보고 싶어요. 많이 못봤으니까."[I want to meet grandfather living in Suji more often. I could not see him that much] Minsu and Yena also shared how they miss their cousins and described them as "sister" and "real brother." The children' quotes, their maps about their parental homelands, and their practices of sharing support illustrate how the focal children are active participants of care circulation. The children's family linkage continuously evolved in conjunction with their engagement in sharing support, resources, and information with each other.

Family Linkages as a Driving Force for Heritage Learning

Davin and Norton (2014) introduced the notion of *investment* in contrast to the idea of motivation in describing how migrant students invest in learning because they know they will "acquire a wide range of symbolic and material resources, and these social and economic gains in turn enhance the range of identities they can claim in a particular community" (p. 57). In this study, the closer the focal children became with their families in parental homelands, the more *invested* (Darvin & Norton, 2014) they became in learning their heritage languages and cultures. Through closely interacting with family members in Korea and China, the children learned the necessity of knowing the Korean language and culture in order to better communicate with and be part of their families.

Regular and frequent digital communication with grandparents in parental homelands motivated the children to work on their heritage language learning so they could better communicate with the grandparents. Visiting the families in parental homelands also provided the children with opportunities to improve their communicative skills in a natural setting. All children shared that their Korean proficiency improved after their returned from visiting Korea and a Korean community in China. Both Minsu and Taehoon's parents commented that they were excited to see how their children began to write longer journal entries in Korean using complex and advanced vocabularies. Minsu said it is "because I used it a lot with grandmother and grandfather" (Interview, 06/30/2018). Yena also reported that she became more confident in speaking Korean after spending a month in the Korean community in China, where Korean is the dominant spoken language. The focal children's parents also felt that their children became more motivated to read and write in Korean after interacting with their relatives.

The close family linkage and intergenerational relationship also fostered the children's active learning and engagement in their heritage culture. Minsu, for instance, became noticeably motivated to practice Taekwondo, the traditional Korean martial art, after his grandfather, whom he describes as "a national hero" and "a role model" suggested that the first person in his family to achieve a black belt will win a prize. Minsu spent much time practicing Taekwondo not only to win the prize but also to make his grandfather proud and happy. When Minsu received the black belt, he said with high-pitched excitement that he would bring the belt to his grandfather in Korea. During his stay in Korea, Taekwondo created a special bond between Minsu and his cousins, who were also learning it, and sharing the experience with his cousins solidified Minsu's

interest in learning Korean heritage and practicing Taekwondo. In fact, during his stay in Korea, Minsu performed Taekwondo on the stage at his school. Minsu also joined the local Taekwondo competition and won the award, which surprised many of his peers, teachers, and family members who did not expect that Minsu, as a child from America, would excel in the traditional Korean martial arts.

During the photo-elicitation interview activity after all the focal children returned to the U.S., the three children shared the photographs they and their family members took in Korea and China. A majority of the photographs that Taehoon and Yena brought showed their extended family members, and the pictures that they selected as their favorite ones included at least one family member. Yena's pictures and her elicitation of the images clearly demonstrated how interacting with family members fostered her heritage learning in a way that provided her with opportunities to experience Korean traditional culture.

The photograph that Yena selected as the most meaningful one (Figure 28) displayed her and her cousins doing a Sebae bow, a practice of formal Korean bowing, to her great-grandmother, which was taken in Yanbian, China. Given that Sebae bow is a special ritual that Koreans do only on special occasions such as Lunar New Year, it is worth emphasizing that Yena's family engaged in such practice because it is special and meaningful that all of Yena's family members were together in one place.

Yena described and reflected on the image and said, "That's my great grandma. I see her every time I go. All my relatives in China speak Korean. That's one of my relatives." Her photograph taken in China and her quote, "all my relatives in China speak Korean," challenge assumptions around Korean culture by showing how Korean heritage

and culture are practiced, celebrated, and maintained beyond the geographical boundary of Korea.

Figure 28. Yena's photographs of her family

In addition, Yena and Minsu's cases illustrate how family linkage and maintaining intergenerational connection through transnational engagements are important influences on second-generation immigrant children's heritage learning.

Transcultural Play: Mobilizing Funds of Knowledge beyond Local-Global

The children in this study showcased a depth of historic, linguistic, and cultural knowledge grounded in their own unique transnational and multilingual experiences. Two children, Minsu and Taehoon, often described that monolingualism is the norm in their school and that their curriculum only focuses on mainstream American culture and history. Minsu stated, "학교는 다 영어" [School is all English] and said it is a place where students only learn about American history. Yena, on the other hand, was given relatively more opportunities to share her identities and cultures as *Joseonjok* in her Chinese-English dual language program. She often engaged in conversations with her

peers and teachers from China about their connections to Chinese cultures and experiences of visiting their parental homelands. While each child had different experiences in school regarding opportunities to share their transnational knowledge and experiences, I observed all three children actively mobilizing and transferring their knowledge outside of school through playful engagement, which I call *transcultural play*. Through transcultural play, the focal children made sense of their transnational connections and co-constructed transnational funds of knowledge with other young children. Below, I describe how each focal child engaged in transcultural play and mobilized transnational funds of knowledge beyond local-global.

I characterized Minsu as a historian in earlier chapters, and he drew on his historical knowledge and created games that fostered historical thinking in his transcultural play. For example, when Minsu visited the National Museum of Korea with two cousins who were the same age as him, he came up with a game that he called "a national treasure hunting game." When he explained the game to his cousins, he alternated between English and Korean. He said the basic rule is to find the artifacts and written texts displayed in the museum that are about the national treasures of South Korea. Minsu then explained the rule that "whoever finds more national treasures win the game." As Minsu and his two cousins toured the museum, they engaged in active historic learning as they closely looked at the artifacts and read the informational texts to find something about national treasures. On another occasion, when Minsu visited the Seoul Museum of History (Figure 29) with his cousins, he introduced another game that sparked the children's geographical and cultural thinking.

Figure 29. Display at the Seoul Museum of History

As Minsu walked on the digital display of the map of Seoul, he asked his cousins to locate places on the digital map, such as “Olympic park” and the elementary school they attended. Together, Minsu and his cousins viewed, navigated, and interacted with the digital map and tried to find their neighborhood, which sparked conversations about their school and community. When they struggled to locate home and school on the map, the children played with the touchscreen kiosks and read informational texts about different areas of the city. Minsu read the texts in English, and his cousins read the texts in Korean. Two children who were exploring the museum joined in and helped Minsu and his cousins locate the particular school that they were looking for. Minsu’s initiative in transcultural play created a collaborative engagement among young children from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Minsu’s transcultural play also engaged other children using different sensory modes (e.g., movement, visual, and texts) on the touchscreen kiosk and digital map while fostering their geographical and cultural thinking.

Transcultural play was an entry point for the focal children to socialize with peers and family members during their visits to parental homelands. Yena, for example, taught

her cousins some playful activities that she enjoyed in the U.S., such as “Down by the river” (Figure 30). Using multiple languages (e.g., English, Korean, and Chinese) and play-specific terms (e.g., rules), Yena explained the game and invited her cousins to sing the song together. Through transcultural play, Yena created a fun, enjoyable activity for her family members, and she also opened up a space to share and exchange their cultures and learn from each other.

Figure 30. Yena and her cousins' transcultural play

Through initiating and engaging in transcultural play, the focal children engaged in literacies, such as reading stories, telling stories, creating rules, and singing songs. These playful activities allowed the children to build and extend their connections with family members and exchange cultural, historic, and geographic knowledge in a playful manner. This finding supports Yoon’s (2018) assertion that children’s active engagement with literacy (drawing, writing, and oral language) happens during informal moments when they are given space to play and use their interests.

Evolving Identities and Transnational Ways of Belonging

Parents of the three focal children shared the beliefs and views that building a strong sense of identity is crucial for their second-generation immigrant children. For these families, a strong sense of identity equaled maintaining “Koreanness.” I observed the parents continuously sending implicit and explicit messages to their children that cultivating and maintaining their “Koreanness” is essential. For instance, all of the focal children’s parents encouraged their children to use Korean at home, attend a Korean heritage language school, and regularly read and write something related to Korea. In addition, one of the primary reasons that they regularly took their children to Korea and China, despite the high cost of travel, was to expose their children to Korean heritage language and culture and to spend time with family members. Taehoon and Minsu’s parents explicitly told their children how important it is for them to maintain their “identity as a Korean” (MS, E-mail exchange, 03/25/2018) and prepare for possible future in Korea.

Unlike the parents’ views and desires to cultivate their children’s “Koreanness,” the focal children in this study showcased transnational ways of belonging (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) that are hybrid, complex, and evolving. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) introduced two important concepts for understanding immigrants’ complex identities: transnational *ways of being* and *ways of belonging*. Transnational ways of being refers to practices that immigrants engage in, whereas transnational ways of belonging are the ways individuals “combine an action and an awareness of the kind of identity that action signifies” (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1010).

The focal children in this study demonstrated that Levitt's two concepts do not go hand in hand. While all three children participated in frequent and intensive transnational engagements (e.g., border-crossing communication, exchanging educational resources, and visiting families in parental homelands), they showed different degrees of attachment to their parental homelands. For example, Taehoon and his older brother lived in the same household and engaged in the exact same transnational practices, yet they identified with Korean culture in different ways, which may have been impacted in part by their different citizenship status and schooling experiences in Korea. Taehoon's brother, who was born in Korea, considered Korea as "home" and a place to return to. Taehoon, as the only person in his family born in the U.S., often expressed that he feels different in his family because he was born in America. His mother also noted that Taehoon "strongly believe(s) that he is American." Combined with the negative experiences he had during pre-school years in Korea, Taehoon did not show a strong cultural identification to Korea like his brother. When I asked Taehoon if he wants to go back to Korea, he said it's "51%" whereas his brother will feel "75%" and his mother will feel "99%." Taehoon's situation shows how transnational ways of being and ways of belonging are not always connected.

It is important to note that the focal children's transnational ways of belonging cannot be characterized in a singular and a fixed way, because the three children's dynamic identities shift and evolve as they engage in transnational practices, particularly in relationship to the people, places, and experiences resulting from moving across borders. For example, when I first met Yena, she used to say, "I don't know anything about Korea," and "I don't speak Korean." She identified herself as someone connected

to China and the U.S. because of her fluency in Chinese and English. However, after she returned from her trip to Korea and Yanbian, China, she became more vocal about her sense of belonging to Korea and initiated a writing project on Korean history and culture. Minsu, who identified himself as "Korean American" and expressed his strong connection to Korea from the beginning of the study, became more vocal about his desire to live in Korea after he returned from Korea:

> Researcher: Minsu, do you think you can live in Korea?
> Minsu: I think I might live. I think I might. Maybe I will live. I think I actually will live in Korea.
> Researcher: Why?
> Minsu: I can live close by my cousins. I want to have a Korean citizenship. But then I have to go to 군대 [serve in army] or get first, second, third place from Olympic or Asian game. (Interview, 09/07/2018)

Minsu then explained that he does not want to serve in army but he needs to since serving in the army is mandatory for all males in South Korea, and that it is the only realistic way for him to maintain his dual citizenship. His statement in the above exchange, "I think I might. Maybe I will live. I think I actually will live in Korea" clearly highlights how his transnational ways of belonging are constantly evolving. All three focal children, including Minsu, demonstrated that identities are fluid and constantly changing for children in the transcultural world. More research is needed to understand how transnational ways of being shape and how second-generation children develop their transnational identities over time as they engage in more or less transnational practices.

Conclusion

> *If home is where the heart is, and one's heart is with one's family, language, and country, what happens when your family, language, and culture occupy two different worlds? (Falicov, 2005, 399)*

The second-generation immigrant children in this study played important roles in migration and in their families' transnational journeys, which is a topic that has been overlooked in past research (Gardner, 2012; Orellana et al., 2011; Orellana, 2016; Sánchez, 2007b). Employing multilingual repertoires and extensive linguistic and cultural knowledge grounded in lived transnational experiences, these second-generation immigrant children build and rebuild connections with their parental homelands. Their engagement in border-crossing experiences, circulating case, mobilizing transnational funds of knowledge, and developing transnational identities teach educators and researchers what it means for young children to live everyday lives that encompass multiple languages, cultures, and countries and to forge the connection across boundaries and generations.

Chapter VI

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Implications

Implications for Research

Documenting second-generation immigrant children's transnational experiences can deepen our understanding of the fluidity of migration in a transnational context (Waldinger, 2013). Using a multi-sited ethnographic stance and a child-centered approach, this study paid particular attention to what children experienced across linguistic, cultural, and geographic borders by following their transnational journeys and centralizing their voices and experiences. Below, I discuss implications for future research on immigrant children living in a multilingual and transcultural world that aligns with these orientations.

Implications for child-centered research. In order to centralize children's voices and experiences in migration research, educational researchers should select and employ appropriate and effective child-centered research methods (Punch, 2002). This study involved a number of child-centered activities that helped me explore the focal children's transnational experiences *with* them *through their eyes*.

Mind mapping activities, which I designed to pay attention to the children's *mobility* and c*onnectedness*, helped me explore the focal children's understanding of their

transcultural world. Child-generated mind maps also showed each child's unique way of thinking, expressing, and summarizing their experiences visually. For example, the mind maps that the focal children created about their parental homelands before their transnational journeys became a platform for understanding how children think and feel about the languages, cultures, and countries they belong to. Future research can invite children to draw maps about their parental homelands before and after their transnational journeys and compare the maps to understand how they remained static and/or shifted across time. Through the mind mapping activity, I found that the family linkage across borders was an important aspect of the three focal children's transnational ways of being and ways of belonging. Future research can use a mind mapping activity with immigrant children from different ethnic backgrounds and migration histories to understand the diversified transnational experiences of young immigrant children.

This study documents how children's drawings created additional pathways to encourage children to be actively engaged in research (Punch, 2002). The focal children in this study taught me a great deal about the ways they view themselves and others through their drawings. When I asked Minsu to draw a picture of his school in the beginning of this research, he said, "몰라요. 왜요?" [I don't know. Why?] Then he said, "Can I just draw a colorful picture with no meaning?" Instead of drawing his school, he drew a picture full of colors, entitled "Lake of Shapes" (Figure 31).

After a yearlong interaction with him as a participant observer, I learned that Minsu did not feel a sense of belonging to his school, as he felt that school is a "boring place," where he does not have "any friends" and "just hangs out with people" (Interview, 01/09/2018).

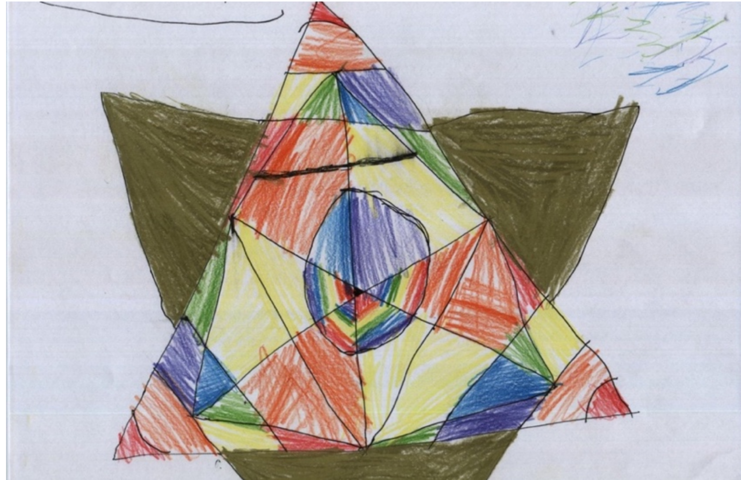

Figure 31. Minsu's drawing entitled "Lake of Shapes"

His drawing, "Lake of Shapes," made more sense to me after I learned his dynamic experiences of attending multiple schools across countries (e.g., schools in America, Korea, and a heritage language school). The artifacts (e.g., maps and artwork) that the children created before, during, and after interviews deepened my understandings of what the children experienced in their daily lives. Future studies focusing on children's border-crossing experiences might investigate how widening opportunities for children to make research their own, including through drawing, may foster greater understanding of the issues while directly engaging the children in guiding the research process. Future studies may also benefit from giving the children a camera and inviting them to take photographs of their transnational practices so that researchers can examine transnationalism and mobility from children's perspectives.

Implications for transnational and multilingual children research. Following the advice of scholars in migration (Marcus, 1995; Zeithlyn & Mand, 2012), I employed a multi-sited ethnographic approach and followed the three focal children and examined their transnational practices in different locations. The multi-sited ethnographic approach helped me capture a more complete picture of immigrant children across different locales

and how their experiences and literacies get circulated across borders. In particular, future research could employ a multi-sited ethnographic approach to examine the experiences of transnational migrants such as geese families[1] (*kirýgi kajok*) and "parachute kids" [2]. Following the students across borders will help researchers understand the complexity and dynamicity of the migrants' experiences in multiple contexts.

Minsu's case illustrates that immigrant children's participation in schooling in the parental home country is a growing phenomenon. Participants in this study frequently brought up this topic, and I observed it in North Carolina and South Korea. Transnational schooling impacts the immigrant children who participate in transnational schooling, and it also impacts many students, teachers, and schools in South Korea who interact with these children temporarily during the summer. Given the growing number of immigrant children taking part in schooling in Korea, further studies might continue to explore this phenomenon. For example, qualitative research such as this study could be complemented with a large-scale survey on Korean immigrant children's transnational schooling experiences focused on how families make decisions to participate in such schooling experiences and what children learn from attending schools in their parental homelands.

This study examines Korean immigrant children in North Carolina who have limited access to HL resources, ethnic communities, and opportunities to interact with the same ethnic group. Future research is needed to examine Korean immigrant children

[1] A family with a mother and a child migrating to an English-speaking country for education (Finch & Kim, 2012).
[2] Children who migrate to the U.S. for better education (Orellana, Thorne, Chee, & Lam, 2001; Zhou, 1998).

living in areas with a high Korean population to expand portraits of how the local context and other sociocultural dimensions shape opportunities for transnational learning.

Implications for Practice

The three focal immigrant children in this study highlight unique funds of knowledge that are transnational and multilingual and can enrich their peers and teachers' understanding of languages, cultures, and the world. Incorporating these transnational literacies and experiences into instruction can help all children's language, literacy, and content learning (Ghiso, 2016; Jiménez et al., 2009; Souto-Manning, 2013b). In this section, I discuss how educators can explore and incorporate immigrant children's transnational and multilingual experiences into their curriculum and instruction.

Immigrant children as codesigners of transnational curriculum. When educators "invite children to become curriculum codesigners" (Souto-Manning, 2013b, p. 78), children can express their transnational literacies and mobile experiences, which have great potential to cultivate others' global understanding.

One way for educators to invite their children to become "codesigners" of transnational curriculum is by incorporating literacy materials and resources that illustrate transnational connections and mobile experiences. For example, children's picture books such as *Dear Juno* (Pak, 1999), *Drawn Together* (Lê, 2018), and *A Gift* (Chen, 2009) depict the stories of Asian American children developing close connection with their families in Korea, China, and Thailand. Stories such as *Halmoni and the Picnic* (Choi, 1993) and *Grandfather Counts* (Cheng, 2000) can introduce border-crossing experiences of Korean immigrant children and invite immigrant children to share their own unique experiences of engaging in care circulation. These stories will resonate with many

immigrant children, regardless of their national origins, who physically and culturally move across geographic borders. Using such picture books as entry points, teachers can engage children in a discussion about care circulation. As Compton-Lily et al. (2019) pointed out, it is essential that teachers take a critical stance when selecting these materials in order to raise and explore important transnational issues in the classroom, which can benefit both immigrant and non-immigrant children.

Inviting students to bring in and share their own photographs, artifacts, and stories about their transnational connections is another way to position students as educators and curriculum codesigners. Kim and Slapac (2015) provided an example of a class in which students were invited to create and present videos combining photos, videos, texts, and comic animation to represent their identities. In this linguistically and culturally diverse class, the students drew on diverse cultural contents, their multifaceted identities, and linguistic forms to share their identities and interests with the class. Kim and Slapac (2015) argued that using the multimodal tool created a third space where the students felt ownership of their learning and connected what they learned with their identities.

Translanguaging pedagogy. This study illuminates the specific ways Korean immigrant children engage in translanguaging and alternate between languages (e.g., Korean, English, and Chinese), modes (e.g., using sound, images, and colors), and speech styles (e.g., formal and informal). These young children are skilled in noticing and meeting interlocuters' needs, which is an important skillset for all language learners. These children also demonstrate how translanguaging practices help young immigrant children make sense of complex historic and cultural concepts and how they navigate their multidirectional and simultaneous belonging to multiple cultural contexts and

countries. Given the essential roles of translanguaging in transnational immigrant children's learning and identity building, it is necessary for educators to actively encourage children to incorporate such hybrid language practices. Some of the ways that educators can encourage children to draw upon all languages are by reading in multiple languages, developing a listening library that provides summaries and translations of class materials, and helping teachers partner with peers who share the same heritage language (Bajaj & Bartlett, 2017). It is also important that schools and educators encourage parents to continue engaging in linguistic flexibility at home by explaining the positive roles that it has on children's cognitive development and language learning.

Recognizing the diversified experiences of Asian American children. Asian Americans are a diverse group from East Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia. Asian American students and their transnational experiences differ by their nationalities, geographic locations, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and migration histories. As Taehoon's case shows, individuals and different generations within the family can even feel varied degrees of attachment to the "home" country and have different transnational experiences. However, there is a tendency to group students from different Asian countries into a singular category. As the three focal students in this study demonstrate, even children within the same ethnic backgrounds can have substantially different experiences with their languages, cultures, and connections to homelands. Hence, it is essential for educators to move away from a single narrative about Asian immigrant students and to question the assumptions that they take for granted (Campano, 2007, p. 12) about the children, their literacies, and transnational experiences.

Partnering with families of immigrant children. Educators need to pay attention to immigrant children's families and communities to better understand their out-of-school experiences that span across geographic borders. (Ghiso, 2016; Jo & Kwon, 2019; Souto-Manning, 2013b). Visiting immigrant children's homes and communities and documenting their linguistic and cultural practices in out-of-school spaces is a powerful way for teachers to learn about these children's lives involving multiple languages and cultures (Kwon, 2019a). For instance, my regular and frequent documentation of the focal children's experiences in their homes uncovered how their home literacy environments and family language policies are grounded in transnational networks. Interviewing the families also taught me about the families' literacies, cultures, funds of knowledge, and lived histories as migrants, and it also shaped and strengthened my asset-based perspective on immigrant children and their families. Visiting immigrant children's homes and interacting with the families can also help teachers form closer relationships with immigrant students and their families while sending a firm message to the families that what they do at home is valued and important. Jiménez et al. (2009) suggested that visiting a local neighborhood is a great way for educators to explore transnational and community literacies with great potential for children's language and literacy learning. Jiménez et al. (2009) explained how a church sign written in Korean can be used in class to teach children about Hangul, an alphabetic-syllabic writing system of the Korean language, and to help children understand multilingual resources in their community. Using such community literacies in class can motivate Korean students in the classroom to showcase linguistic and cultural understanding.

Inviting immigrant children's family members to school and providing them opportunities to highlight their experiences and cultural knowledge is another way schools and educators can show their commitment to supporting immigrant children and creating an inclusive space in school. In this study, when Yena's mother was invited to give a presentation about family culture in Yerang's class, everyone in her family including Yena and her dad participated in choosing topics, making presentation slides, and preparing activities for the presentation. In other words, the culture presentation provided the family with a meaningful opportunity to discuss their experiences and proudly share their culture with others. The mother's presentation about "Chinese American (中國朝鮮族) (중국조선족)" and her family's experiences helped students and teachers learn more about Yerang and her family, and on a broader level, it also expanded the children's understanding of linguistic and cultural diversity in China. This example echoes Ghiso's (2013) assertion that inviting children and families to share their stories and immigration histories can help educators build partnerships with immigrant families and create an inclusive learning environment in their school.

Implications for Teacher Education

Most professional development offerings and teacher preparation programs for educators do not recognize the rich transnational lives of immigrant students (Sánchez & Kasun, 2012). To recognize and incorporate immigrant students' transnational experiences in the classroom, teacher education programs should provide pre-service and in-service teachers with opportunities to explore immigrant children's transnational and multilingual literacies and out-of-school experiences.

One possible option to give educators chances to explore the linguistic landscapes of their students' lives would be through establishing a community walk. During the practice, teachers may collect samples of texts and artifacts such as church signs, school brochures, and grocery advertisements to learn about the children's community literacies. These resources can help teachers understand the linguistic and cultural contexts of their students and explore important issues relevant to their students' lives such as immigration, community events, and medical and health issues (Jiménez et al, 2009; Orellana, 2016). A community walk activity can challenge educators' assumptions around what immigrant children bring from their homes and communities and challenge their thinking by making them question how to effectively utilize these linguistic landscapes as resources for instruction.

Limitations

This section describes several limitations of this study. The first limitation of this study stems from the fact that this work required a cross-language practice, which demands the use of more than one language during the data collection process. In this research, all formal and informal interviews were carried out in the participants' preferred language of either Korean or English. I also encouraged participants to employ both languages during conversations if desired. However, as Sutrisno, Nguyen, and Tangen (2014) note, "in cross-language qualitative studies, trustworthiness does not only concern the research process and findings but also the translation procedures and the translation results upon which the final research finding is based" (p. 1338). In translating and back-translating the participant's narratives, I tried to convey the implied meanings of the original words rather than literally translating the words (Suh, Kagan, & Strumpf, 2009).

However, I acknowledge that sometimes meanings get lost in translation because there are many "foreign concepts and terms have no equivalent in English" (Emerson et al., 2001, p. 174), and it is challenging to translate such concepts that require knowledge of specific cultural contexts.

Another limitation of this study is the limited number of participants. As a qualitative researcher employing a multi-sited ethnographic case study, I did not seek generalizability, but I attempted to present in-depth documentation of how immigrant children engage in language and literacies that move across different spaces locally and globally. Focusing on a limited number of children allowed me to take a close look at the children's engagements in transnational networks. However, I understand that this study cannot be extrapolated to represent or describe the experiences of Korean immigrant children living in different locations from different socio-economic backgrounds. Taking a large-scale survey on this topic will provide insights into how Korean immigrant families engage in varied transnational practices depending on their locations and the parents' socio-economic status and education level. A large-scale survey on Korean immigrant children's temporary schooling experiences in the Korean homeland could help researchers and educators better understand this rising phenomenon and might uncover information for how to assist immigrant children visiting their homelands and enrolling as students in South Korea.

Significance of the Study

This study examines how second-generation Korean immigrant children's languages and literacies stay and/or move from one space to another beyond geographical boundaries and also investigates the learning and identity shifts that takes place during

their transnational engagements. By documenting the children's lived experiences in both South Korea and the U.S., this paper creates a more comprehensive and nuanced picture of immigrant children whose families sustain close relationship with their homelands. This study discovered that immigrant children's transnational engagements and multilingual and multiliterate practices are meaningful resources and assets. This paper emphasizes that immigrant children's linguistic, cultural, and mobile experiences need to be honored and integrated into English-dominant classrooms where one language is privileged over others.

This study is significant because it centers on the intersections and interdependency among immigrants, transnationalism, and language and literacies with an emphasis on children's experiences and perspectives. When it comes to discussions about transnationalism and mobility, scholars tend to focus on adults' experiences rather than on children and youth (Sánchez, 2007b; White et al., 2011). Oftentimes, children are not viewed or valued as active agents and actors in this transnational process, so the voices of mobile children and youth are rarely explored (Orellana, 2016). I believe children hold different competencies from adults, and we can examine those competencies through child-centered methodologies (Gardner, 2012; Sánchez, 2007b; Zeithlyn & Mand, 2012). By paying close attention to the young children's experiences and perspectives through an ethnographic stance, this study highlights immigrant children's agency in transnational experiences.

Furthermore, this work is meaningful in that the insights produced from this investigation can contribute to developing a transnational curriculum that can foster "transnational literacies by investigating the transnational experiences and concerns of

students (that span personal, social, political, economic, and cultural domains)" (Skerrett, 2012, p. 388). A transnational curriculum will support immigrant children's language and literacy learning while also helping mono-national students develop local and global understandings as well as linguistic and cultural knowledge. Bajaj and Barlett (2017) proposed that critical transnational curriculum should see diversity as a learning opportunity, encourage translanguaging, utilize civic engagement, and cultivate multidirectional aspirations. Designing and developing curriculum tailored to transnational students' linguistic and cultural needs will be valuable for students and educators.

Another significance of this study is its focus on an under-studied group in the context where they are positioned as ethnic minorities in white-dominant contexts. As previously explained, this dissertation study examined Korean immigrant children living in North Carolina to understand their transnational ties and experiences in both the Southeastern U.S. and Korea. Currently, a large body of literature on the Asian population focuses profoundly on the areas with high immigrant populations such as California and New York, which are traditionally the largest immigrant receiving states (Orellana et al., 2011; Shin, 2005). However, there is a paucity of research on the experiences of Asian immigrant population in other regions of the U.S. such as the Southeastern U.S (Jo & Lee, 2016). For instance, my research site of North Carolina is one of the "new gateway states" that has experienced a tripled or quadrupled immigrant population during the last two decades (Hilburn & Fitchett, 2012; Rong & Preissle, 2009). This rapid demographic and cultural influx have led schools in the states to be more linguistically and culturally diverse. However, there are few research outcomes

from North Carolina about this fairly new phenomenon of immigration (Rong, 2006). Moreover, limited resources are available for parents and teachers to help them better support the children of immigrant families. This highlights the necessity of carrying out an extensive qualitative study on Korean American children in these areas (Jo, 2001).

Methodologically, this research takes a multi-sited ethnographic stance (Marcus, 1995), which focuses on tracing the mobility of certain groups of migrants across geographical boundaries to document their lived experiences. Previous studies on language and literacy learners in transnational contexts have typically employed ethnographic observational studies or interview-based case studies (Duff, 2015; Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009). While these methods serve as important vehicles to gain an understanding of selected transnational individuals and families, many have neglected the mobility and flows that emerge across geographical boundaries. As Warriner (2017) noted, ethnographic work on immigrants has illuminated the ways in which immigrants build and maintain transnational connections with their homelands. However, these works tend to focus on a particular space like a classroom or limit their experiences to either their homelands or the host country. Hence, scholars who focus on transnational children and youth have pointed out the necessity of finding refined methodological tools for such research (Sánchez & Machado-Casas, 2009). This study is grounded in Soja's (2004) belief that "every space and place in the world becomes readable and interpretable as a classroom" (p. xi). By collecting data in multiple spaces, communities, and countries, this research expands the notion of where immigrant children's learning takes place and examines immigrant children's experiences beyond the traditional and fixed notions of "home" and "school" as well as "old" and "new" countries. This study will open up

possibilities for scholars in migration and transnational studies to consider such methods for future immigrant research in the transnational era.

Conclusion

The young immigrant children in this study provide a lens to teach us about the nature of transnationalism and what is like to engage in multiple languages, cultures, and countries in everyday life. The findings of this study challenge previous literature in migration scholarship that second-generation immigrant children do not maintain active transnational linkages to their parental homelands (Min, 2017) and "lack meaningful connection to their 'old' world" (Zhou, 1997, p. 64). In fact, the children in this study demonstrated a strong connection to their parents' home countries and actively participated in transnational ways of being. Their involvement in a wide range of transnational practices, including cross-border communication with extended families, schooling experiences, and building intimate relationship with relatives in their parents' home countries prove that transnational connection is not a "one-generation phenomenon" (Portes, 2001, p. 190) but a continued phenomenon that is being passed down to subsequent generations.

The focal children in this study played crucial roles in building, maintaining, and extending transnational networks through engaging in flexible ways of drawing on multiple languages and linguistic features (e.g., honorific speech styles and gestures) as they moved across geographic spaces. Through translanguaging, the children participated in regular and frequent border-crossing communication practices, which allowed the family members in "home" and "host" countries to build strong connections. Drawing on

multilingual knowledge, the children also engaged in making sense of multiple cultures and countries they belong to.

As active agents, the three children circulated care and mobilized funds of knowledge beyond local-global levels. The children received and exchanged educational resources, emotional support, and cultural knowledge with their families abroad. In addition, the children mobilized their funds of knowledge through transcultural play; they initiated, led, and participated in playful activities that fostered transnational literacies and geographical and historical thinking. The children's engagement in transcultural play highlights the meaningful and contextual knowledge that these children possess and also their mindsets and skills in mobilizing their knowledge. This finding contributes to existing literature arguing that children's transnational experiences and knowledge outside of school need to be valued as important epistemic resources (Campano, 2007; Gay, 2010; Ghiso, 2016; Jiménez et al., 2009).

Finally, the focal children in this study demonstrated that active participation in transnational practices does not necessarily lead to strong identification with the parents' home culture. Although all children were actively involved in transnational social spaces, each child had different degrees of connection to their parental homelands. They also presented complex and constantly evolving transnational ways of belonging. Unlike the parents, who emphasized cultivating Koreanness, the focal children expressed and articulated multidirectional and simultaneous belonging to multiple cultures and countries. Moreover, the immigrant children's transnational ways of belonging continuously evolved in conjunction with their transnational engagements and border-crossing experiences. This finding calls for additional research to understand how

immigrant children's literacies and identities stay, move, and/or shift across multiple locales.

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Appendix A

Timeline

October 2017 – November 2017	Proposal hearing and revisions IRB approved Participant recruitment
October 2017 – May 2018	Data Collection in North Carolina, U.S.A - Participant observations at various locations (e.g., home, heritage language school, mainstream school, stores, public libraries, playgrounds) - Child-centered interview activities - Parent interviews - Artifact and document collections Preliminary Data Analysis for the case in the U.S.
June 2017 – August 2018	Data Collection in Seoul, Korea - Participant observations at various locations (e.g., museums, stores, after-school programs, tourist attractions) - Artifact and document collections Preliminary data analysis for the case in Korea and the U.S.
September – October 2018	Data collection in North Carolina, U.S.A - Parent interviews - Child-centered interview activities - Artifact and document collections Data analysis - Data analysis and interpreting data - Member check - Triangulation
November 2018 – March 2019	Data analysis and manuscript preparation - Continue data analysis and interpreting data - Writing of findings

Appendix B

Parent Questionnaire

Tell us about your family

	Nationality	How long have you been living in the US?	Language proficiency	
You			Korean: Novice Intermediate Advanced	English: Novice Intermediate Advanced
Spouse			Korean: Novice Intermediate Advanced	English: Novice Intermediate Advanced

	Name	Gender	Nationality	School/Grade Level
Child 1				
Child 2				
Child 3				

Tell us a little about language use at home.

In what language do you speak to your spouse?	In what language do you communicate with your child?	In what language do your children communicate with each other at home?

How many hours does your child spend on the following activities?

	Watching TV in Korean (Cartoon, movies, drama)	Reading in Korean (newspapers, books, magazines)	Browsing Korean webpages (social media, websites)	Doing homework learning Korean assigned by Korean teachers (journal writing, handouts)	Doing homework learning Korean assigned by parents	Contacting families and friends in Korea
Child 1						

Child 2						
Child 3						

Has your child visited Korea in the past 3 years? If so, when and why?

Is your family planning to visit Korea in 2018 or 2019? If so, when and why?

Why is it important for your child to attend the Korean school?

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
The Korean school helps my child improve speaking skills.					
The Korean school helps my child improve reading and writing.					
The Korean school helps my child better understand Korean culture.					
The Korean school helps my child feel proud of his/her cultural heritage.					
The Korean school helps my child's academic learning.					
It is important for my child to be bilingual in English and Korean.					
My child enjoys learning Korean.					

What do you like the most about this school? (e.g., textbook, teacher, assignment, etc.)

What would you like this school to improve in the future? (e.g., textbook, teacher, assignment, activity, etc.)

Thank you.

Appendix C

Child-centered Interview Activity Protocol

Activity	Objectives	Questions
Self-portrait	Getting to know the participant child Building rapport and trust	Tell me about your name and its meaning. a. Do you have multiple names in different languages? What do they mean? Which name do you prefer? Can you draw a picture of yourself? You may include anything about yourself—your family members and friends, your favorite things to do. a. Can you tell me about this self-portrait? b. Tell me more about yourself.
Drawing	Exploring the participant child's schooling experiences in the U.S. and their parents' home countries.	Can you draw a picture of your school or yourself in school? a. Would you explain your drawing to me? b. Tell me about your school. c. Tell me about your experience at your school. d. What do you like about your school? e. Is there something that you don't like about your school? If the child draws pictures of multiple schools (e.g., school in the U.S. and/or South Korea and heritage language school) a. Let's look at these two drawings. Are your experiences in the two schools similar or different? Tell me more about your experiences.
Mind mapping	Understanding the participant child's transnational connection and border-crossing experience	Can you draw a circle in the middle of the page and write down *South Korea* in a language you like to use? Can you jot down any ideas or pictures that come into your mind when you think about South Korea? Can you link related ideas and images together with a line or arrow? a. Can you explain your map to me? b. Tell me more about each idea and/or image. c. What made you connect these ideas and images? Can you tell me about your experience of visiting where your parents are from? a. When was the last time you visited the country?

		b. What did you do there? Who did you meet? Where did you visit? c. What do you like about visiting the country? e. Tell me about the most memorable experience you've had in the country. d. Is there something you don't like about visiting the country?
Mind-mapping and drawing	Exploring the participant child's ties with families and friends in the U.S. and their parents' home countries.	Can you draw a map or a picture about your family and friends in the country your parents are from, and/or memorable experience with them? a. Can you explain your map/drawing to me? b. Tell me about the most memorable experience you've had with them.
Photo-elicitation interviews	Exploring the participant child's experiences in North Carolina and South Korea	What are five pictures you want to share with me first? a. Is there anything you would like to say about these photographs? b. Tell me why you chose these pictures to share first. c. Tell me more about the people, places, and events in these photographs. What other photographs do you want to share with me? a. Is there anything you would like to say about these photographs?
Mind-mapping and drawing	Understanding the child's experiences of language learning and use in the U.S. and their parents' home countries.	What language do you speak? What comes to your mind when you think about the languages you speak? Can you draw a picture of a map about your thoughts? a. Tell me about your map and/or picture. b. How do you feel when you use these languages with your teachers, friends, parents, and siblings?

Appendix D

Parent Interview Protocol

Objectives	Questions
Background information	Could you introduce yourself (name, age, occupations, educational background)? Could you tell me about your family (country of origin, reason for immigration, migration history)? What languages do you speak? How often do you speak each of these languages? Could you tell me about your child? (place of birth, age, school, generation in the U.S.)
Experiences in the United States	How long have you and your family been in the United States? How long are you and your family planning to stay in the United States? How would you describe your life in the United States? How would you describe your child's life in the United States? How would you describe your family's experience in North Carolina? Could you tell me about your child's schooling experiences in the United States? Is your family affiliated with an ethnic community? (Examples of this include Korean church, Korean American association, and Korean heritage language school)
Language use at home	What language do you mostly use when interacting with your spouse? What language do you mostly use when interacting with your children at home? What language does your child use when interacting with siblings? How would you describe your child's level of Korean and English? Does your child prefer to use Korean or English at home? Do you have any rules in your family to make your child speak certain languages?
Experiences and perspectives on bilingualism and biliteracy	Did you teach your child Korean reading and writing? If so, how did you teach your child to read or write? (reading at bedtime, purchasing story books, singing a song, going to a library) What difficulties have you had in teaching English or Korean to your child? How do you support your child's development in English and Korean outside of the home? (Examples of this include tutoring, heritage language school, summer camps) Please describe your child's attitude toward these activities. Does your child attend a heritage language school? If so, what impact do you think the heritage language school has on your child?

	How important is it for your child to be proficient in English and Korean? What motivates you to enroll your child in a heritage language school?
Transnational practices	How often do you visit Korea, and have you gone back to Korea in the past three years? Tell me about your family's recent visit to Korea. What is the main reason for visiting Korea? What do you and your children do when you visit Korea? Have you enrolled your children in any type of educational program (Examples of this include private institutes, public schools, summer camps, and afterschool programs) in Korea? What is your family planning to do during your visit to Korea next summer? Does your child watch transnational media? (Korean television channels and popular culture) Does your child read books and magazines related to Korea? Does your child communicate with family members and friends in Korea via phone and online? Do you think you have a close tie with Korea and/ or families and friends in Korea? Do you think your child has a close connection with Korea and/ or families and friends in Korea? How do you think maintaining a connection with Korea affects your child's future? How do you think maintaining a connection with Korea affects your child's language and literacy learning?
Closing	Is there anything else you would like to share about your children's language, literacy, and transnational experiences? Thank you so much.

Appendix E

Assent Form for Minors

Protocol Title: **Moving across linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries: A multi-sited ethnographic case study of immigrant children**
Principal Investigator: Jungmin Kwon, Teachers College, Columbia University

This study is for exploring and documenting the complexity and mobility of Korean immigrant children's language and literacy experiences that move across multiple spaces beyond geographical boundaries.
I_________________ (child's name) agree to be in this study, titled *Moving across linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries: A multi-sited ethnographic case study of immigrant children.* What I am being asked to do has been explained to me by Jungmin Kwon. I understand what I am being asked to do and I know that if I have any questions, I can ask Jungmin Kwon at any time. I know that I can quit this study whenever I want to and it is perfectly OK to do so. It won't be a problem for anyone if I decide to quit.

Name: ____
Signature: ____
Witness: ____Date: _______________

Investigator's Verification of Explanation

I certify that I have carefully explained the purpose and nature of this research to ________________ in age-appropriate language. He/she has the opportunity to discuss it with me and knows that they can stop participating at any time. I have answered all of their questions and this minor child has provided the affirmative agreement (assent) to participate in this research study.
Investigator's Signature ____________________________________
Date _______________

Appendix F

Informed Consent

Protocol Title: **Moving across linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries: A multi-sited ethnographic case study of immigrant children**
Principal Investigator: Jungmin Kwon, Teachers College, Columbia University

INTRODUCTION: You are being invited to participate in this research study called "*Moving across linguistic, cultural, and geographic boundaries: A multi-sited ethnographic case study of immigrant children.*" This study is being conducted as part of the dissertation of the researcher. You may qualify to take part in this research study because you have second-generation children who were born in the U.S. with at least one Korean descent parent who emigrated to the U.S; children enrolled in schools in North Carolina and exposed to Korean as a heritage language in home; and have visited/and or are planning to visit Korea during 2018. If you are presently participating in another study you cannot be part of this study. A small group of children and their families and teachers will participate in this study, and it will last for approximately one year.

WHY IS THIS STUDY BEING DONE?: This study is being done to examine explore and document the complexity and mobility of Korean immigrant children's language and literacy experiences that move across multiple spaces beyond geographical boundaries.

WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO IF I AGREE TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?: If you decide to participate, your children and your family will be interviewed by the principal investigator about your experiences, perspectives, and beliefs regarding your literacies, identities, and learning. This interview will be audio-recorded. If you opt out of the recording, the researcher will take handwritten notes. Moreover, your children will be observed in multiple spaces (e.g., heritage language school, churches, and home) in the United States and Korea. Artifacts produced by your children (e.g., drawings, photographs, and writings) will be collected. You will be given a pseudonym or false name in order to keep their identity confidential. All of these procedures will be done in a place and at a time that is convenient to you.

WHAT POSSIBLE RISKS OR DISCOMFORTS CAN I EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?: This is a minimal risk study, which means the harms or discomforts that you may experience are not greater than you and your child would ordinarily encounter in daily life while taking routine physical or psychological examinations or tests. However, there are some risks to consider. You might feel embarrassed to discuss your literacies, identities, and learning. The researcher will take precautions to keep you and your child's information confidential and prevent anyone from discovering or guessing your identity, such as using a pseudonym instead of your name and keeping all information on a password protected computer and locked in a file drawer. The researcher will remind you that you and your child may stop the interviews or turn off the audio-recorder at any time. You do not have to answer any questions or

divulge anything that you do not want to talk about. You can stop participating in the study at any time without penalty.

WHAT POSSIBLE BENEFITS CAN I EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?: There is no direct benefit to you for participating in this study.

WILL I BE PAID FOR BEING IN THIS STUDY?: You will not be paid to participate in this study. There are no costs to you or your child for taking part in this study.

WHEN IS THE STUDY OVER? CAN I LEAVE THE STUDY BEFORE IT ENDS?: The study is over when you have completed interviews and the researcher has conducted weekly observations, lasting for approximately 1 year.

PROTECTION OF YOUR CONFIDENTIALITY:
The interview data will not be collected anonymously. However, the subjects' identity will never be revealed on collected data – this includes field notes, formal observations, interviews, and archival records. The researcher will be responsible for removing all identifiers (if necessary) and replacing with pseudonyms for all formal records.
The researcher will keep original artifacts and transcriptions in a locked file cabinet for least five years. All records will also be preserved digitally. The dis-identified digital data will be collected and uploaded to Google Drive of the principal researcher.
The researcher will track data input and organize the data by topic. The researcher will also be responsible for maintaining the coding system, which will be kept in a password-protected file on her computer.

HOW WILL THE RESULTS BE USED?
The results of this study will be published in journals and presented at academic conferences. You and your child's name or any identifying information about you and your child will not be published. This study is being conducted as part of the dissertation of the researcher.

CONSENT FOR AUDIO RECORDING
Audio recording is part of this research study. You can choose whether to give permission to be recorded. If you decide that you don't wish to be recorded, you will still be able to participate in this study. If you opt out of the recording, the researcher will take handwritten notes.

______I give my consent to be recorded ____
Signature

______I **do not** consent to be recorded ____
Signature

WHO MAY VIEW MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY

___I consent to allow written and audio taped materials viewed at an educational setting or at a conference outside of Teachers College ______________________
Signature

___I **do not** consent to allow written, video and/or audio taped materials viewed outside of Teachers College Columbia University _________________________________
Signature

WHO CAN ANSWER MY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS STUDY?

If you have any questions about taking part in this research study, you should contact the principal investigator, Jungmin Kwon, at jk3710@tc.columbia.edu **If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, you should contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) (the human research ethics committee) at 212-678-4105 or email IRB@tc.edu. Or you can write to the IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY 1002. The IRB is the committee that oversees human research protection for Teachers College, Columbia University.**

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

- I have read and discussed the informed consent with the researcher. I have had ample opportunity to ask questions about the purposes, procedures, risks and benefits regarding this research study.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw participation at any time without penalty to future. There are no direct benefits to participants from this study.
- The researcher may withdraw me from the research at his or her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue my participation, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research study that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- I should receive a copy of the Informed Consent document.

My signature means that I agree to participate in this study

Print name: _________________________________ **Date**: _______________
Signature: ____________________________________