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## New Literacy Practices of a Kiregi Mother from a(n) (Im)migrant South Korean Family in Canada

Ji Eun Kim and Ryan Deschambault

The purpose of this study was to explore one South Korean (hereafter Korean) mother's literacy practices after she had migrated to Canada for the purpose of overseeing her children's education. Using a case study method, we focused on language, media, domains, and purposes of literacy practices in Korea and Canada. Data were obtained through two semi-structured interviews, two home visit observations, a questionnaire, and collection of literacy artifacts. The documented changes in the mother's literacy practices, along with the theoretical and methodological approaches used to document them, offer promising areas and approaches for future research about the out-of-school literacy practices of (im)migrant students.

#### Introduction

This case study was conducted to examine a recent Korean immigrant family's literacy practices. However, the term 'family' here is somewhat unique; the mother, Su-Young, and her two young sons live in Canada by themselves. Su-Young's spouse remained in Korea because the source of the family's income is located there. He comes to Canada to visit Su-Young and their sons two to three times a year. This family type has been referred to generally in the literature as a "split-household transnational family" (Yeoh, Huang, and Lam), and more specifically among research on Korean splithousehold transnational families as "*kiregi kajok* (geese families)" (Song, "Migration, and Bilingualism" 4; see also Ahn; Lee; Tokita). The term *kiregi kajok* refers to the fact that fathers typically visit and meet their wives and children only once or twice a year, meant to denote a pattern of living that is similar to those of wild geese (*kiregi*).

The number of Korean families living abroad for their children's education has continued to increase for almost a decade. In fact, between 2001 and 2006 there was a twenty-fold increase in the number of Korean families with young children who choose to migrate overseas for the

purpose of education (KEDI)-a phenomenon known as jogi yuhak or early study abroad (ESA; Lo, Abelmann, Kwan, and Okazaki; Park and Bae; Song, Korean Children's Language Socialization). Importantly, and as is the case with many kiregi kajok, Su-Young reported that she and her spouse had decided to live as a split-household transnational family so that their children could learn English and have an education within a more student-centered school curriculum. Because families' sources of income are often in Korea, the fathers frequently remain in Korea while the rest of the family members go to 'English-speaking' countries such as the USA, Canada, England, Australia, New Zealand, and more recently, the Philippines. Indeed, the mothers of these split-household families often face a new lifestyle due to (im)migration and the absence of their husbands (e.g., Huang and Yeoh for a description of Chinese-speaking mothers' experiences). As these kiregi mothers play an important role in the sociocultural, linguistic, and educational environments of children in Korean split-household transnational families (e.g., Chew; Lee; Tokita), it is necessary to obtain understandings about their literacy practices after they (im)migrate to their new environment. Through these understandings, more relevant ESL curricula for the mothers who choose to study while abroad can be proposed, and their children's home literacy environments can be better understood. Additionally, these understandings can help further our knowledge of the ways in which transnational education is related to shifts in literacy practices. This study examined Su-Young's literacy practices after her arrival in Canada, with a focus on the changes that were a result of her new geographic and familial contexts.

## **Theoretical Frame**

#### Literacy as a Social Practice

In the past, literacy was considered a set of skills to learn and a kind of textual or written technology used to communicate and structure people's scientific thoughts (Gee). In this *autonomous* model, textual or written literacy was conceptualized as objective, decontextualized, and related to scientific thought; hence it was deemed more advanced than oral language— which was considered to be contextualized and subjective (Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice*). However, according to Street's (*Literacy in Theory and Practice*) ideological model, literacy is always tied to practice within social contexts, is socioculturally embedded, and as such "is social practice" (Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice* 36). Similarly, for Barton, explaining and analyzing literacy as social practice meant paying close attention to: *literacy events*—"the particular activities where literacy has a role" (37), and *literacy practices*—"the general cultural ways of utilizing literacy which people draw upon in literacy events" (37; see also Street, *Literacy in* 

Theory and Practice). In daily life, people engage in various literacy events, such as reading newspapers, writing letters, and filling out forms. Literacy practices, however, involve things that cannot be seen, such as values, beliefs, and attitudes that contextualize individual literacy events. These values, beliefs, and attitudes—by, through, and in response to which individuals are socialized within families and within immediate geographical and cultural environments—shape their day-to-day literacy practices. Changes to these socializing surroundings—i.e., familial, geographical, or cultural environments—may also lead to new literacy practices and reconfigured contexts for individual literacy events (e.g., Heath).

#### **Multiple Literacies and Multiliteracies**

According to Street ("The Meanings of Literacy"), in each social context there is a unique form of literacy that is socioculturally specific. Thus, there are "multiple literacies that vary with time and place and are embedded in specific cultural practices" (Street, "The Meanings of Literacy" 37). Barton has also argued that different institutions privilege different literacies, and in each institution there is a dominant power that controls the use of literacy. Thus, literacy is closely related to sociocultural contexts in its use, and different literacies exist and are controlled in accordance with these sociocultural contexts. For instance, Barton and Hamilton showed that people engage in various types of literacies in their daily lives in different social contexts, such as paying bills at a bank. Moreover, Purcell-Gates, Jacobson, and Degener's study of the literacy practices of adult education students demonstrated how people use various literacy materials in ways suitable to their social contexts; the use of literacy material by adults in Purcell-Gates et al's (Print Literacy Development) study varied by the different social activities in their daily lives.

In turn, multiple literacies have also been argued to be practiced in different ways by people in different cultural groups. Heath's study, for example, showed that young children from working class communities are exposed to different literacy practices at home and at school, while there was a greater consistency between the literacy practices children from a more 'mainstream' community were exposed to at home and at school. Heath's descriptions of these differences demonstrate the ideological nature of literacy practices among different sociocultural groups.

More recently, the notion of multiple literacies has been widened to describe the diverse modes via which literacy practices are carried out. The New London Group used the term *multiliteracies* to reflect "the multiplicity of communications channels and media" and " the increasing salience of cultural and linguistic diversity" (Cope and Kalantzis 5). We draw generally on the term *multiliteracies* to situate our discussion of shifts in participants' use of multiple modes of communication after migration to Canada.

Indeed, it was also the case that these shifts often involved multimodal literacy texts and practices—both as a result of technological development (e.g., Lankshear and Knobel). In sum, this study is framed by the theory that literacy is multiple, situated, and reflects the social and cultural lives of actors participating in their worlds; in particular, in accordance with these various social activities and the media through/in which they occur, we consider literacy to be multiple and generative of a range of different kinds of literacies.

#### **Literature Review**

# Outside School Literacy: Community, Family, and Parental Roles in (Im)migrants' Practices

# Home and community: Shaping children's literacy practices and development.

Some previous studies have shown the importance of home and community literacy practices in relation to young children's literacy development and school literacy achievement (e.g., Heath; Purcell-Gates, Other People's Words; Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines). Heath's study showed how families within three communities shaped their children's early and outside school literacy practices, which ultimately affected their children's academic literacy learning at school. Parents from the white working class community focused primarily on the actual content of stories in storybooks while sharing books with their children, as people in that community valued facts and not fictionalized stories. However, in school, elaborations on and inferences from stories were asked for as a part of literacy practice. Because those children had been primarily exposed to factual aspects while reading books at home with their parents, they had difficulty answering in ways deemed appropriate by their teachers. This led Heath to suggest that due to differences in literacy practices at home and school, children from those communities were disadvantaged in literacy learning at school.

Besides community and family literacy practices, parents' literacy practices within the home environment also appeared to influence children's literacy practices and learning (Purcell-Gates, "Home Literacy Experiences"; Richardson and Sacks; van Steensel). For instance, Purcell-Gates's ("Home Literacy Experiences") study found a significant relationship between young, aged four to six, children's literacy knowledge about written language—alphabetic principle and specific forms of written language—and literate family members' literacy activities, including reading and writing, that involved more complex levels of discourse for their entertainment and leisure. Some other studies have also shown the positive influences of parents' frequent engagement in literacy practices for personal purposes on development of children's vocabulary (van Steensel) and of parental support on schoolwork and reading materials on youth's reading achievement (Richardson and Sacks). Thus, in addition to community and family literacy, parents' literacy practices appear to be related to children's literacy practices and learning. Moreover, as the research reviewed in the next section suggests, this relationship may also hold true for parents and children from immigrant families—that is, families with English language learning parents (e.g., Orellana et al.).

#### Literacy practices in immigrant families.

There have been some studies about outside school literacy practices of families from varying linguistic, ethnic, and cultural groups (e.g., Heath; Lynch; Volk and de Acosta) and low-socioeconomic statuses (SES; e.g., Hicks; Vernon-Feagans, Hammer, Miccio, and Manlove). However, as Orellana et al. point out, there have been only a few studies focusing on immigrant families' literacy practices (Orellana et al.; Watson-Ellam). Orellana et al.'s study highlighted the role of Mexican-American immigrant children's language brokering in their parents' English language practices in their daily life, noting that parents' English language and literacy practices were in some cases mediated by their children. Watson-Ellam's study chronicled the literacy practices of children from two Chinese immigrant families in Canada. The family whose literacy practices involved more 'English culture' appeared to help the children's literacy practice at school, since they were thought to experience more consistent in- and out-side school literacy practices.

Similarly, Scarcella and Chin's study demonstrated how immigrant families' language and literacy environments are influenced by their community environments. By illustrating how American-Koreans' language and literacy use differed in two different communities because the requirements of English outside the home environment were different, Scarcella and Chin established the importance of community environment in immigrants' literacy practices, which is consistent with Street's (*Literacy in Theory and Practice*, "What's 'New' in New Literacy Studies?") notion that literacy practices are closely situated within a sociocultural environment. Not only do these brief summaries hint at the multiple configurations, distributions, and situated natures of immigrant families' English language literacy practices in their daily lives, they also suggest that children's literacy practices outside school influence their literacy practices at school.

#### Bringing Outside School Literacies into the Classroom

The examination of outside school literacy has been emphasized by many researchers (e.g., Jimenez, Smith, and Teague; Lynch). Indeed, the utilization and adaptation of students'—both adults and children—home literacy

practices is crucial for their school literacy learning (e.g., Purcell-Gates, *Other People's Words*). In Purcell-Gates' (*Other People's Words*) study, Jenny, from a white working class family and the mother of a child in her study, could not learn to read and write at school because her language use at home, such as pronunciation and accent, was not consistent with that of the school. At school, Jenny was marginalized in literacy practices due to her language use that she brought from home. She could not use her own words in school literacy practices. However, when she had literacy lessons that encouraged her to use her own words and for her own purposes, she could learn to read and write. Thus, instruction that connects with learners' outside of school experiences provides learners with meaningful literacy learning which encourages their literacy learning at school.

More recent studies have provided the important implication that understanding students' literacy practices outside school in their daily lives is necessary for providing authentic literacy materials (Purcell-Gates, Degener, Jacobson, and Soler, "*Impact of two dimensions of instruction*", Impact; Purcell-Gates et al., *Print Literacy Development*). According to Purcell-Gates et al. (*Print Literacy Development*), the use of authentic literacy materials for adult ESL classes encouraged their learning of English, as those materials are embedded in their daily lives, which provides them more meaningful literacy learning in ESL classes. Moreover, that will in turn bridge the students' literacy learning in educational settings—e.g., ESL classes or public school—and their literacy practices outside school settings.

The bridging between outside school literacy practices and school literacy practices has been also emphasized in English language learners' literacy practices at school. Jimenez et al. emphasized how bringing transnational literacies—"the written language practices of people who are involved in activities that span national borders" (17)—and community literacies into school literacy practices encourages English-learning youths' literacy learning at school. Furthermore, the use of culturally familiar texts can provide benefits to both parents and children in their literacy learning (Larrotta and Cainer). Thus, as these studies consistently have shown and emphasized, literacy education should reflect students' outside school literacy practices in their daily lives to the school literacy practices.

#### 'Kiregi Kajok' as a Unique and New Type of (Im)migrant Family

In Canada, the number of families who (im)migrate temporarily (temporary landing family) is increasing, especially in British Columbia (Kwon). According to this report, one of every three Korean (im)migrant families is a temporary landing family that can be generally referred to as *kiregi kajok*. Moreover, Onishi has reported that over 40,000 Korean schoolaged students are living, with their mothers, as *kiregis* in foreign countries. Many researchers attribute the genesis of this new family type and decisions

to 'early study abroad' to the educational environment in South Korea, and more generally to the globalization (*segyehwa*) movement which was spearheaded in the mid-1990s under President Kim Young Sam's administration (Cho; Lee; Song, *Korean Children's Language Socialization*); this movement spawned a dramatic increase in the general marketing of English education and allowed "the educational aim of raising 'global' or 'international' individuals (*segyein*)" to result in "English as a formal subject in elementary school" (Song, *Korean Children's Language Socialization* 4).

Research concerning *kiregi* families' educational migration is not new in the area of Korean sociology, taking interest both in how these practices relate to globalization discourse (e.g., Cho; Lee and Koo) and in the material separation between spouses (Choi). More directly related to education, the *kiregi* trend has been investigated as a form of studying abroad (Lo et al.; Cho), to examine the on-the-ground difficulties (Tokita) and narratives (Lee) faced by mothers who travel overseas to reside with their children, and to examine the language ideologies informing *kiregi* mothers' (e.g., Song, *Korean Children's Language Socialization*) and families' (e.g., Park and Bae) decisions about language education, language choice/use, and transnational migration.

#### A Gap in the Literature

Despite these multiple foci, no research has yet examined how literacy practices are implicated in and/or altered as a result of migration for educational purposes or the new social, cultural, linguistic, and familial contexts this migration engenders. Even though understandings about outside literacy practices can enhance students'—both adults and children—literacy practices and learning at school, there is a need for further research investigating immigrant families' outside school literacy practices (Orellana et al.; Watson-Ellam). According to Orellana et al.,

The key variable for examination has been either culture or social class—not immigration status or the contexts engendered through immigration. Attention has focused on differences between mainstream and non-mainstream community practices or between the cultural practices of particular groups and practices at school. (18)

Literacy practices in immigrant families may differ from literacy practices in monolingual 'native English speaking' families because parents in immigrant families often have limited proficiency in English, which is their 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, etc. language—and as a result their homes are multiliterate environments. Even though immigrant families' literacy practices may differ from native-speaker families' literacy practices, there have not been many studies focusing on

these differences. Thus, studying immigrant families' literacy practices is important for developing our understanding of how to provide parents and children with more meaningful in-school literacy practices (Heath).

Furthermore, most of these have focused on immigrant families in the US (e.g., Orellana et al.; Scarcella and Chin; Purcell-Gates, Other People's Words), and few studies have focused on immigrant families in Canada, as Watson-Ellam has pointed out. In particular, there have not been many studies about the literacy practices of Korean immigrants, even though the number of Koreans (im)migrating to Canada is increasing (CIC). Thus, since there is a lack of understanding about Korean (im)migrant families' literacy practices, research is needed in order to understand their outside school literacy practices and link those practices to school curricula. Finally, immigrant families often experience a great deal of change in their lives as a result of their immigration. As posited by Barton and documented by Purcell-Gates et al. (Print Literacy Development), life changes influence the types of literacy practices people take up. Thus, as those studies show that people's lives and literacy practices are tied closely together, it is believed that examining the changes that occur following (im)migration will allow for a deeper understanding of one Korean (im)migrant (kiregi) family's literacy practices.

To fill the gap in the literature, this study was guided by the following questions:

- 1. What are the literacy practices of a Korean (im)migrant family (focusing on the mother) outside school? What does their literacy environment look like?
- 2. What changes in the mother's literacy practices are due to her life changes after (im)migration? Are there any changes in their literacy practices in terms of different areas of literacy related aspects, such as mode, domain, language, and purpose? (Please see the definitions of the terms in the Appendix A.)

#### Method

#### Design

A case study method was employed in order to examine and explore the family's literacy practices closely. According to Gall, Gall, and Borg, the case study research methodology refers to "the in-depth study of instances of a phenomenon in its natural context and from the perspective of the participants involved in the phenomenon" (436). Thus, as a case study enables the detailed examination of a phenomenon within its context (Yin), this methodology seemed most appropriate to examine a Korean (im) migrant family's literacy practices at home and within the community in this study.

#### Participants

#### The family.

One Korean family in Western Canada was involved in this study. The family has a father (Han-Su), a mother (Su-Young), a nine-year-old child (Jung-Woo), and a five-year-old child (Sung-Woo). The family had lived in Canada for one and a half years at the time data were generated, though Han-Su still resided and earned money in Korea—sending it to his wife for the family's living expenses. Since their (im)migration, they have lived as a *kiregi* family. Before coming, they had lived in Seoul, Korea. Both Han-Su and Su-Young have undergraduate degrees.

#### The family's home and community.

While in Korea, the family lived in a middle-class community located in an urban area. Their home was a high-rise condo, the preferred living quarters of Seoul's wealthy. It was located in a mixed commercial and residential area. Nearby there was a large department store, hospital, and broadcasting company. At the time of this research in Canada, Su-Young and the children lived in a small house in a middle class community in an urban area of Western Canada. They rented this house instead of an apartment because, Su-Young reported, she wanted to provide the children with more space to play, as she felt they lacked adequate play-space when they were in Korea. Their home was located in a residential area next to a school and a park apart from commercial areas, so they usually needed to use a car to go shopping, to doctors' offices, or to other stores.

The family lived in a community where white middle-class people were dominant. However, near their home there was a state university where recently, the numbers of people from diverse ethnic groups such as Chinese and Koreans have been increasing. Even though the family's physical environment was located in a white middle-class community, the family's psychological community seemed to be with Korean people who live in the area, as the family usually mingled with other local Korean families. Su-Young also knew some other mothers whose children attended the same school as her children, and reported socializing primarily with those Korean mothers. Even though Su-Young attended English as a Second Language (ESL) class, she did not spend time with her ESL classmates. She reported socializing on the weekends with one Korean *kiregi* family, whose child was in the same class at school as one of her children.

#### Brief history of Su-Young's literacy practice.

Su-Young reported remembering only some of the literacy activities she engaged in when she was young. She noted that her favorite literacy activity was reading comic books, which she borrowed from a store and either read by herself or shared with her friends (in Korea, stores rent comic books for a small fee). She spoke of literacy activities outside her home when she was young as well:

- people reading price tags at a store or on signs
- bus numbers and subway routes on the street
- reading the sutras at a Buddhist temple; both monks and lay people read the sutras
- reading and searching for books at the library
- reading tickets, schedules, captions and information about movies at a theater
- reading a ticket and the electronic scoreboard at sporting events
- writing application forms and reading prescriptions at a hospital

In terms of literacy activities at school, she reported doing dictation, such as where children are tasked with writing down exactly what is read aloud by the teacher, and reading textbooks, to learn the Korean alphabet and how to read, when she was in grades one to three. After that, Su-Young reported mostly having read textbooks, reference books, and workbooks, and having copied the text from those books so as to memorize their content. She indicated that her favorite literacy activity at school was reading storybooks, as they provided enjoyable stories. However, she hated writing in a diary as homework, saying: "It had to be done on a daily basis, but I hated to do it every day. And when I skipped it for several days, it became a lot of work." Moreover, she pointed out that she felt it was difficult to study history because the content was hard to understand.

After graduating from university, Su-Young did not continue her studies. She reported working as a clerk at a store for a short time and that after getting married she became a stay-at-home mother. Su-Young mentioned that after coming to Canada, she hired a tutor to help her with English conversation for over half a year because she had difficulties with her English. However, she also stated that she found tutoring not very helpful. At the time of the study, she was attending an ESL class in order to improve her listening skills.

In her daily life in Canada, she had to deal with many things, such as going shopping, paying bills, reading maps, filling out forms and so on by herself *and* in English. Thus, her literacy practices primarily involved interaction with and use of English-language literacy materials, which she was not exposed to when she lived in Korea. Besides, her children's literacy materials—which included various kinds of English-based literacy materials, such as homework and worksheets—were also a part of Su-Young's outside school literacy practices, as she helped her children with schoolwork and academic study at home. At the same time, both Su-Young and the children still had strong connections with Korea. Su-Young reported regularly reading Korean news and the children learned and practiced literacies that kept them connected to Korea and the Korean language. Consequently, in this family, English and Korean language were both involved in their daily life and literacy practices.

#### Procedures

#### Researcher Location.

Kim, who collected and analyzed the data, is originally from Korea and had experienced what it is like learning and living as an immigrant in Canada with a Korean cultural background. Moreover, she had been conducting research on young Korean immigrant children's literacy practices in community and home environments, as such literacy practices are important for literacy learning at school. Deschambault, who is familiar with the education-related literature on split-household transnational families, encountered the data and analyses as a second reader. He has worked extensively with (im)migrant *kiregi* families in western Canada, and is a comfortably proficient user of the Korean language.

#### Data Collection.

Data were collected through a questionnaire, two in depth semi-structured interviews, and two home visit observations. Since this study was a small part of the Cultural Practices of Literacy Study (CPLS), it also relied on CPLS instruments and protocols for data collection.<sup>2</sup> The questionnaire was used to collect demographic information, and other data were collected through semi-structured interviews, home visit observations, and collection of literacy artifacts. Kim met with the family several times before conducting this study, and had developed a casual relationship with them. In an attempt to obtain more details about her literacy practices, two interviews were conducted in Korean at Su-Young's home. In the first interview, Su-Young's current and historical literacy practices were discussed in general. In the second interview, her literacy practices in Korea and Canada were the main focus. The interviews took 20 and 30 minutes respectively, and both were audio recorded and transcribed. Moreover, two home visit observations were done to obtain information about what literacy materials were used at home, how those materials were used, and for what purposes. In addition, literacy artifacts were documented by taking pictures of them during the home visit observations.

#### Data analysis.

The data from interviews were first transcribed in Korean. These transcripts were then translated into English, and a content analysis was conducted. Literacy related activities and literacy materials appearing in the transcripts of Su-Young's talk, as well as pictures of artifacts, were coded according to

the CPLS categories of social activity domains, text genres, and purposes (Purcell-Gates, "*Cultural Practices of Literacy*"). After the coding, the literacy activities Su-Young reported as typical or usual were examined, and differences between those she reported as common in Korea versus those that were common in Canada were investigated.

## **Findings and Discussion**

#### Overview

The analysis of Su-Young's current and previous literacy practices, based on data from interviews and artifacts, showed 12 different social domains with 58 different purposes of literacy activities (please see Appendix B for the complete list). Moreover, there were 85 different types of texts, which were found to have 52 different functions for Su-Young (please see Appendix B for the complete list). There were more reading mode (100) than writing mode (26) and writing-copy mode (2) in both her current (read: in Canada) and previous (read: in Korea) literacy practices. In terms of language of the texts there were more Korean (80) than English (61), and some English-Korean hybrid (2). However, her current literacy practices involved more English (61) than Korean (34) and some English-Korean hybrid (2). As suggested by these basic findings, the distinct characteristics of both Su-Young's current literacy practices outside school and the changes in her literacy practices after (im)migration warrant further discussion.

#### Literacy Outside School

#### Social Domains.

The data derived from the interviews with Su-Young and the artifacts in her home suggested that her current literacy practices were situated within several social activity domains (Table 1). Even though Su-Young used literacy within different social domains, these data suggest that her literacy practices were manifest primarily in her life at home, where she spent the majority of her time. *Table 1. Social Domains and examples of Su-Young's literacy practices outside school* 

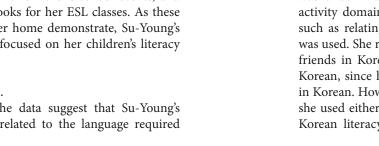
Social Domains	Examples	The number of reported literacy practices
Responding to civic rules and regulations	Writing visa application form in order to renew visa document	3
Cooking/eating	Reading a recipe in order to prepare ingredients and cook dishes	4
Entertaining oneself, having fun	Reading local news in order to spend time while waiting	14
Participating in family life	<ul> <li>a) Reading children's worksheet</li> <li>in order to guide children's</li> <li>homework</li> <li>b) Reading report cards in</li> </ul>	23
	order to know the children's achievement and improvement at school	
Maintaining finances	Reading bills in order to pay the amount of money owed	10
Acquiring or disseminating information/ news	a) Reading real estate newspapers in order to learn about the current real estate market	17
	b) Reading advertisement flyers in order to know about sale information	

Relating interpersonally	Writing e-mail in order to stay in touch with friends in Korea	8
Maintenance of tools and home environment	Reading how-to books in order to assemble and fix furniture	1
Participating in formal schooling	Reading English newspapers in order to learn English	6
Engaging in self-motivated education/ personal improvement	Reading English workbook in order to learn conversation skills in English	1

Home observations also implied Su-Young's literacy practices were centered on family, and in particular, parenting. In the home, there were many children's books-storybooks, informational books, novels, and comic books (Figure 1). In the living room, there were two small threeshelf bookcases filled with English-language children's books. In the children's bedroom, there were four small three-shelf bookcases and two large five-shelf bookcases filled with mostly Korean-language children's books. Su-Young reported that she had brought those books from Korea so her children could continue to practice reading in Korean. In the dining area, there was a small bookcase containing various English and Korean literacy materials, such as bills, letters, receipts, children's books, children's worksheets, and homework. On the dining table, there was an array of worksheets in English from the children's school and Korean workbooks for children. On the wall were posted several phonics charts in English and in Korean. According to Su-Young, she had put them there for her children's literacy learning (in both English and Korean). In the kitchen, on the refrigerator, there was a calendar to keep her children's school events, and on the side table, there were some workbooks for her ESL classes. As these descriptions of some of the artifacts in her home demonstrate, Su-Young's literacy practices and events were largely focused on her children's literacy education and family related activities.

#### Language choices in literacy practices.

In terms of language in literacy uses, the data suggest that Su-Young's choice of either Korean or English was related to the language required





*Figure 1. Literacy texts in the participant's home* 

by the context. For instance, Su-Young reported using only English while engaging in activities within the following social domains: (a) responding to civic rules and regulations; (b) maintaining finances; (c) and participating in formal schooling. When filling out a visa application form, she did not have a choice about which language she used, but rather had to use English. Paying bills, any banking-related activities, and studying English in her ESL class were similar in that they necessitated the use of English. Thus, English was a dominant language in Su-Young's literacy practices within those activity domains. In other social domains of Su-Young's literacy practices, such as relating interpersonally through letters or e-mails, mainly Korean was used. She reported using Korean to write letters or e-mails to family and friends in Korea. In these cases, Su-Young had only one language choice, Korean, since her family and friends could sufficiently read and write only in Korean. However, where she had choices in language for her literacy uses, she used either English or Korean. For example, she used both English and Korean literacy in activities centered on cooking, reading recipes in the Korean cooking books that she brought from Korea and English cooking books that she bought in Canada. Thus, Su-Young's language use appeared to be closely related to the availability of language options, or their lack, within specific social activities, as she made choices about which language to use according to the requirements of specific contexts. This finding is also reminiscent of the work of Scarcella and Chin, who found that language demands within the community environment influenced Korean immigrants' choice about which language to use.

# Changes in Literacy Practices as a Result of Migration to Canada

#### Social activities and literacy practices.

Su-Young's interview talk suggested that her literacy practices had changed after her (im)migration due to various transformations in her life in Canada, in terms of types, modes, purposes, and media of literacy practices. First of all, the changes resulting from (im)migration altered Su-Young's sociocultural environments-such as those related to social activities. relationships with others, and leisure activities-which in turn influenced the types of literacy practices she engaged in. Several 'new' literacy practices were required, as there were new types of social activities in Canada after her (im)migration, such as using personal cheques and cessation of attending Buddhist temple. For instance, unlike in Korea, where Su-Young's familiarity with her local and provincial surroundings made a verbal explanation a preferable mode of finding her way around, she reported that coming to Canada meant having to orient herself geographically primarily through the use of print and online mapping resources. Interestingly, she also indicated that the use of a map was simply a more feasible method of finding one's way in Canada because of its simple road system compared with Korea.

Other social activities impacted by (im)migration were banking and formal English learning. Since only banks issue cheques in Korea, she had never had to write a personal cheque; after coming to Canada, writing personal cheques was necessary for paying rent and buying goods. In addition, after coming to Canada, Su-Young expressed that her lack of English-language ability had made her life difficult. As a result, she began attending adult ESL classes, despite the fact that she had not studied English in Korea for many years: "I haven't studied English [in Korea] for 10 years... English is the biggest problem for me in Canada." As a result, new literacy practices that resulted from her relocation to Canada were doing homework for her ESL class and taking notes about the class content.

On the other hand, geographic change brought with it the cessation of certain literacy practices. Unlike in Korea, there was no Buddhist temple near her home after coming to Canada, and Su-Young reported that she had to discontinue her practice of reading the sutras at the temple. She also reported that she could not even attend Buddhist religious events, stating that "...we don't really have a religion now. I cannot go to the Buddhist Temple now because it's too far for me to drive there." As these examples suggest, some of the changes in Su-Young's literacy practices were directly related to her (im)migration to Canada.

In addition, Su-Young's relationships with others in Korea and in Canada also appeared to impact the literacy practices common for her in Canada, in the sense that her (im)migration meant temporarily living apart from her husband, family, and friends for extended periods. For example, in order to maintain her relationships with people she cherished in Korea, she needed to write letters and communicate via email and video chatting:

When I e-mail my family and friends in Korea of course I type in Korean because they can really only read e-mail in Korean. It's for staying in touch with spouse or friends. I also have a kind of a mini-homepage in order to show my life in Canada to family and friends in Korea. I also write on the board section on web sites, such as my friends' mini-homepages, in order to provide some short message (comments or suggestions) to family or friends in Korea...Now, my children also use e-mail to communicate with their father in Korea. And all of these things on the Internet are in Korean because my children and I usually use Korean to write and read at home.

As her interview language insinuates, she uses diverse on-line resources e.g., e-mail, on-line boards, and homepages—to maintain her changed relationships with people in Korea. In addition, literacy practices that had normally been her husband's responsibility—such as using tools to fix things around the home, reading instruction manuals to assemble furniture, or filling out 'official' or government-related forms—became part of Su-Young's repertoire. In Su-Young's words, "When something is broken, I have to fix it. If I buy furniture, I have to read the instructions to assemble it...I have to do it all by myself."

Finally, changes in leisure activities from the (im)migration appeared to shift Su-Young's literacy practices. Although in Korea leisure activities involved Korean-language literacy practices related to eating out or visiting well-known places, such as an amusement park, going to movies with her children in Canada meant reading English-language schedules or listening to advertisements on TV, and in turn having to actually read the movie schedule charts and tickets prior to entering the theatre. Thus, as Su-Young's leisure activities changed, those literacy events were newly encompassed into her literacy practices.

#### Modes, purposes and media.

In terms of the *modes* of literacy, some of Su-Young's literacy practices shifted from reading mode to writing mode, and vice versa. Communicating with friends and family while in Korea involved primarily verbal communication; however, in Canada she reported having to use reading and writing modes to communicate with them, in cards and emails. Additionally, the use of cheques only involved reading in Korea, while Su-Young needed to write cheques in Canada.

The *purposes* for some literacy practices also changed after the (im) migration. Su-Young reported reading a newspaper in Korea only to obtain information; however, reading English newspapers in Canada served the dual purpose of learning English and finding out about recent world events. When discussing work for her ESL class, she said: "I read news articles to study English. And I listen to radio news with scripts. It's mostly to try and improve my listening skills in English and find out what's going on around the world."

Finally, the *use of media* in Su-Young's literacy practices also changed. In terms of obtaining news, Su-Young reported watching TV news or reading a Korean newspaper while in Korea. However, after coming to Canada she also reported reading the news via the Internet in addition to watching TV news. She described using the internet only to access Korean news to know what was happening in Korea, since this information was not as readily available in print or on basic cable TV in Canada. She said:

In Korea, I don't need to use the Internet to get the news, but here I always read the news on the Internet...Yes, if I want to get the news from Korea, I need to get it from the Internet. Without the Internet, I wouldn't really have the chance to know the daily news from Korea...I read Korean newspapers available at the Korean supermarket. But, for me, the Internet is more convenient.

In addition, she reported watching Canadian TV news to know what is happening in Canada. Moreover, although Su-Young frequently used the internet for shopping in Korea, she reported discontinuing her use of the internet for shopping after (im)migration to Canada: "In Korea, I always shopped on the Internet, but here I cannot really do that because I am not really familiar with the system." Her 'familiarity' with internet shopping referred to the different style of website, of online shopping practices, and importantly, sustained effort in English.

These findings in this study are consistent with the notion of multiple literacies (Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice*) in that Su-Young had different types, modes, purposes, languages, and media of literacy practices

according to certain contexts. Further, changes in geography resulting from her (im)migration to Canada caused a shift in the types, modes, purposes, and media of literacy practices relevant to her day to day living by starting new or ceasing old literacy practices. Indeed, other studies have shown that changes in employment, schooling, relationships, and geography have the potential to influence the literacy activities people participate in (Purcell-Gates et al., *Print Literacy Development*). In both the current study and Purcell-Gates et al.'s (*Print Literacy Development*) study, different social activities provided people with different literacy texts and ways to use literacy within particular contexts.

In addition, Su-Young's changes in types, modes, purposes, and media of literacy practices after (im)migration showed dynamic relationships between the sociocultural environment and literacy practices rather than linear simple relationships. In some cases, Su-Young maintained a type of literacy practice, but the purposes of that practice changed, e.g., reading the newspaper; in other cases, Su-Young took up new types of literacy that required the use of new or different media in her literacy practices, e.g., reading internet news. Thus, it seems that a new sociocultural environment after (im)migration altered Su-Young's literacy practices in significant ways. Consequently, the findings in this study evidenced close and dynamic relationships between social contexts and literacy practices.

### **Implications and Conclusions**

In this case study, Su-Young's literacy practices were involved in several activity domains: responding to civic rules and regulations, cooking/eating, entertaining oneself, participating in family life, maintaining finances, acquiring or disseminating information/news, relating interpersonally, maintaining tools and home environment, and participating in formal schooling. However, limitations on the types of social activities Su-Young—e.g., mainly around family—appears to have constrained the range of literacy practices she participated in, and for the most part her literacy practices centered around family and maintaining their home environment.

In terms of teaching English literacy for ESL students, having an understanding of how changes to/in (im)migrants' literacy-related experience could offer a practical means for designing or informing their ESL learning. Some previous studies (Purcell-Gates et al., *Impact* of Authentic Adult Literacy Instruction, Impact of Two Dimensions of Instruction, Print Literacy Development), for example, have shown the positive influences of the use of authentic literacy materials on adult ESL students' English literacy learning. Although ESL classes for adults often focus on skill-based learning, according to Purcell-Gates et al. (Print Literacy Development), just teaching decontextualized literacy skills may not be meaningful for them, as these types of literacy are often not related to their lives outside of the ESL classroom. Su-Young pointed out that the ESL school where she studied English in Canada "helps listening skills, but doesn't really help with daily English conversation," and in turn that "Learning English at [ESL] school does not really connect with my daily life here because the vocabulary we study at [ESL] school is not commonly used in my daily life. They are more difficult words."

In Su-Young's literacy practices outside of school, she read and wrote various types of texts—from financial statements to manuals for assembling furniture in English. Moreover, in terms of the use of technology, she used e-mail and read the news on the internet in Korean. Providing literacy materials and ESL instruction based on those types of texts and media online resources—may result in lessons that more meaningfully meet the literacy needs of students like Su-Young; in addition, it would also be useful to increase ESL teachers' awareness of recent (im)migrants' current and past literacy practices, and the transformations they have gone through as they experience changes in their life due to different sociocultural environments that require different literacies. For example, teachers could ask the students, individually or in groups, to think about which parts of their lives have become difficult after moving to Canada, and then ask them to discuss/ express how these might be related to language or literacy practices.

Given Su-Young's unique *kiregi* family context, her children's literacy may also be implicitly influenced by her outside school literacy practices, since children's literacy socialization is provided, for the most part, by parents (e.g., Schiefflin and Ochs), and some studies have shown the influences of family literacy practices on young children's literacy practices (e.g., Heath; Lynch; Purcell-Gates, *Other People's Words*). As some studies have shown synergy effects of parents' ESL learning and their children's literacy development among immigrant families (e.g., Anderson, Purcell-Gates, Jang, and Gagne), Su-Young's efforts in studying English may benefit her children's literacy development, especially in English, by providing them with more guidance on their homework and study at home. More generally, Su-Young's opportunities to develop her English ability could help her to engage in a wider variety of sociocultural, socioeconomic, linguistic, and educational activities, which may in turn help to facilitate a broader range of experiences and possibilities for her children.

In short, this study showed a Korean mother's literacy changes due to her migration to Canada within this unique *kiregi* family structure. Even though many (im)migrant families may have some distinctive characteristics in their literacy practices in their daily life, the subject has not been studied in depth. As Orellana et al. have pointed out, most studies about family literacy practices have focused on families in minority or different SES groups. Thus, since the number of Koreans (im)migrating for educational purposes—as international students and/or *kiregi* families—is increasing in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada) and in the province of British Columbia in particular (British Columbia Ministry of Education; Multiculturalism and Immigration British Columbia; Kwon), further investigation of their non-school-related literacy practices is paramount for improving their sociocultural, linguistic, and pedagogical experiences after (im)migration. Furthermore, as parents have been shown to be a crucial environmental factor in children's literacy learning, future studies about (im) migrant parents' literacy practices are necessary.

A further nuance to better understanding (im)migrant parents' literacy practices will be textured considerations of the ways in which 'community' influences these practices. However, unlike in Heath's study, where the notion of community is seemingly specified by residing in a unique geographical location, Su-Young's residence in a white middle-class 'community' did not necessarily influence her peer group. She reported socializing primarily with other Korean mothers in the area, and moreover, that she chose her ESL schools and some private English lessons based on information shared among those Korean mothers. Thus, in Su-Young's case, the notion of community was shaped by both her physical location as well as the people with whom she socialized.

The degree to which English education has become a site of struggle (Heller) for Koreans is exemplified by the documented changes in Su-Young's literacy practices: not only is Su-Young's willingness to undergo these changes suggestive of a "cosmopolitan striving (i.e., the desire to feel at home in the larger world)" (Park and Abelmann 664), the reported parental rationale for (im)migrating-for her kids to learn English and have an education within a more student-centered school curriculum-may well be an index of "the symbolic value of English as economic capital in the Korean society and the globalized world" (Song, Korean Children's Language Socialization 5). (Im)Migration to Canada for the purpose of education, which ultimately altered her family's formation and the languages, media, domains, and purposes of Su-Young's literacy practices, presents a new and important area for investigation by literacy researchers. Given the seeming inevitability of this (kiregi) and other "transnational household arrangements" (Waters 360) in which "the family is transformed into a spatially flexible unit" (Park and Bae 368), further exploration of how these families' literacy practices relate to processes of globalization and notions of education and English language learning, and similarly how these practices then relate to literacy curriculum and instruction in and out of schools, is vital for education in the coming decades.

## Appendix A

#### Definitions of the terms

(Dm) Domain: A domain of social activity reflects a focused area of common activity engaged in by people that can be named and recognized as shaping textual activity, social relationships, roles, purposes, aims, goals, and social expectations. For community texts (CT), the domain reflects the spatial and sociological aspect of the textual environment.

(Fn) Function: Is what happens in order to achieve a given comprehension or expressive purpose. A literacy event's function is implied by the text. A function drives the intent of reading/writing. Example: Driver turns the wheel. Function: to turn the car. Example: Read the Bible. Function: to learn what the Bible says. For CT, function is not possible to determine.

(LE) Literacy Event: Any instance of somebody reading/writing/listening to print. CTs are not considered literacy events, but the textual environment where literacy events actually take place.

(Lg) Language: Is the language in which the literacy event or community text occurred.

(Md) Mode: Is the type of literacy activity. Modes for this study are: Reading, Writing, Pretend Reading, and Copying.

(Pr) Purpose: Is the ultimate goal of the literacy event or community text within a particular social activity domain/space. The purpose is implied by the domain. A purpose is the reason for any reading/writing to be done. Example: Driver turns the wheel. Purpose: In order to get to turn on the street where the friend's place is. Example: Read the Bible. Purpose: In order to participate in Christian community activities.

(Tx) Text: Is the text involved in any literacy practice/environment. A text's genre is theoretically defined (see discussion on genres).

## Appendix B

Code lists for functions and types of texts and purposes of literacy activities

### Functions of texts 52

Fn: To check if visa needs to be renewed Fn: To communicate with family and friends

Fn: To compose an essay Fn: To copy text Fn: To discover how story unfolds Fn: To do homework Fn: To enter into agreement Fn: To express personal thoughts and feelings Fn: To find information about appropriate scores Fn: To help child read text Fn: To identify business Fn: To identify label Fn: To identify transport Fn: To indicate how much money is to be paid Fn: To learn about course content Fn: To learn about product information Fn: To learn about real state market Fn: To learn details of event Fn: To learn how child had performed Fn: To learn how much money is owed Fn: To learn how to care for children Fn: To learn how to do procedure Fn: To learn how to go from one place to another Fn: To learn information about entertainment Fn: To learn information about home decorating Fn: To learn information about potential living space Fn: To learn information about sales Fn: To learn information about schedules and activities Fn: To learn news Fn: To learn price of item Fn: To learn procedures of a game/activity Fn: To learn what Bible says Fn: To learn what child/one is to do on homework Fn: To learn what information/answer is prompted/provided Fn: To learn what ingredients and procedures are involved in preparing a dish Fn: To learn what is funny Fn: To learn what school wants one to know Fn: To learn what text says Fn: To learn which foods are on the menu Fn: To learn which medicines to buy Fn: To learn which songs/stories are on CD Fn: To list things one wants to buy Fn: To locate place on map Fn: To locate relevant section

Fn: To practice writing skills Fn: To provide information required on form Fn: To record dictation Fn: To say what words say Fn: To search catalogue Fn: To sign name Fn: To understand TV/film content Fn: Unknown

#### Types of texts 85

Tx: Admission ticket text, ticket Tx: Advertisement, flver Tx: Advertisement, poster Tx: Advertisement, TV Tx: Alphabet letters, any Tx: Application form/letter, piece(s) of paper Tx: ATM text, ATM form, ATM machine Tx: Bank cheque, cheque Tx: Bill, piece(s) of paper Tx: Bus number, transport Tx: Caption, TV Tx: Comic book, book Tx: Company/establishment/organization/institution name label, sign Tx: Contract, piece(s) of paper Tx: Copy text, book Tx: Cover text, CD/DVD Tx: Credit card statement, piece(s) of paper Tx: Feature story, newspaper Tx: Fiction narrative, book Tx: Game text, card Tx: Game text, game box, hand-held electronic Tx: Game text, gaming webpage, computer Tx: Game text, unknown Tx: Game text, video game interface, TV Tx: Greeting card, card Tx: Holy text, book Tx: Homework, unknown Tx: Information text, book Tx: Information text, magazine Tx: Information text, personal webpage, computer Tx: Information text, reference webpage, computer Tx: Instructional text, book Tx: Instructions, pamphlet

Tx: Instructions, prescription form Tx: Item list, piece(s) of paper Tx: Library catalogue, card Tx: LIT, dictation, piece(s) of paper Tx: LIT, essay, piece(s) of paper Tx: LIT, novel, book Tx: LIT, worksheet, piece(s) of paper Tx: LIT, writing journal, notebook Tx: Map, map paper Tx: Map, sign Tx: Menu, piece(s) of paper Tx: News story, news webpage, computer Tx: News story, newspaper Tx: News story, unknown Tx: Official status text, document Tx: Personal letter/note, email page, computer Tx: Personal letter/note, piece(s) of paper Tx: Personal letter/note, weblog page, computer Tx: Price tag, tag Tx: Product catalogue, product catalogue webpage, computer Tx: Real estate listing, newspaper Tx: Recipe, book Tx: Recipe, reference webpage, computer Tx: Report card, card Tx: Schedule, unknown Tx: Scoreboard, electronic board Tx: Search result list, search result page, computer Tx: Search term, search engine page, computer Tx: Signature, bank cheque Tx: Skill practice text, workbook Tx: Street name label, sign Tx: Subtitle, movie screen Tx: Textbook, book Tx: Titles/credits, movie screen Tx: Unknown, book Tx: Unknown, magazine Tx: Unknown, newspaper Tx: Unknown, shopping webpage, computer Tx: Unknown, TV Txc: Brand name label Txc: Calendar entry Txc: Comic book Txc: Dictionary

Txc: Greeting card Txc: LIT, flash card Txc: LIT, phonics chart Txc: LIT, sentence Txc: LIT, skill practice workbook Txc: Musical score Txc: Newsletter Txc: Record-keeping list Txc: Report card

#### Purposes of literacy activities 58

Pr: In order to attend event/activity Pr: In order to be entertained Pr: In order to be informed about events/issues Pr: In order to buy food/product Pr: In order to complete assignment Pr: In order to complete/pass exam Pr: In order to create/maintain interpersonal bonds Pr: In order to decide if want to buy product Pr: In order to decide whether to participate in an event/activity/program/ contest Pr: In order to explain stories to child Pr: In order to extend stay in country Pr: In order to find item/location Pr: In order to get website information Pr: In order to go somewhere Pr: In order to help child choose DVD Pr: In order to help child play a game Pr: In order to help someone with homework Pr: In order to imagine cooking different dishes Pr: In order to learn about other languages Pr: In order to learn how to spell words/names Pr: In order to learn new things/skills Pr: In order to learn/improve skills in another language Pr: In order to locate services/business Pr: In order to meet course requirements Pr: In order to meet school requirements Pr: In order to monitor child's learning/achievement Pr: In order to participate in event/ceremony Pr: In order to participate in spiritual ritual Pr: In order to pass time Pr: In order to pay bills Pr: In order to pay fee

Pr: In order to plan future investment Pr: In order to play/do/solve game/puzzle/activity Pr: In order to practice new skills Pr: In order to receive extra academic help for child Pr: In order to receive/maintain health insurance Pr: In order to register child/self/other for school/course/program Pr: In order to relax Pr: In order to rent/purchase house/apartment Pr: In order to save money Pr: In order to take care of child Pr: In order to teach child/adult to read and write Pr: In order to understand the TV message better Pr: In order to use public transportation Pr: In order to use the medicine correctly Pr: In order to watch movie Pr: Unknown Pr1: In order to celebrate special occasion Pr1: In order to create/celebrate community Pr1: In order to document that child had done homework Pr1: In order to identify product Pr1: In order to provide definition/translation of word Pr1: In order to provide entertainment Pr1: In order to provide information on child's performance at school Pr1: In order to provide practice musical score Pr1: In order to remember events/dates/information Pr1: In order to teach correct pronunciation of words Pr1: In order to teach literacy skills

#### Endnotes

1. All participants' names are pseudonyms.

2. Since this study was conducted under the CPLS umbrella (Website: www.educ.ubc.ca/research/cpls) and relied upon data collection instruments and analytic frameworks developed therein, we have adopted the same assumption about these instruments, their use in practice, and the data they generate - that is common in other CPLS-based studies. The assumption is that the uses of these instruments are exempt from consideration as literacy practices in-and-of-themselves, and thus, that the theories guiding the overall study need not be applied to the data collection methods themselves or the processes through which analyses of the data they generate occur (i.e., interviews are not considered as social [literacy] practices, nor are the data they generate theorized or analyzed as situated and/or socioculturally mediated artifacts). Though we do not discuss the implications of this type

of assumption in detail in this paper, a growing body of work in other language and literacy-related areas of research has called for more explicitly reflexive consideration of this issue in research reporting and representation (for work specifically on interviews, see, e.g., Deschambault; Talmy; Talmy and Richards).

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## **Real-World Literacy Activity in Pre-school**

*Jim Anderson, Victoria Purcell-Gates, Kimberly Lenters, and Marianne McTavish* 

In this article, we share real-world literacy activities that we designed and implemented in two early literacy classes for preschoolers from two innercity neighborhoods that were part of an intergenerational family literacy program, Literacy for Life (LFL). The program was informed by research that shows that young children in high literate homes develop important emergent literacy knowledge by engaging in meaningful and functional activities in their homes and communities that are mediated by print. We defined real-world literacy activity as reading, writing, or listening to real-life texts for real-life purposes. The children made significant gains in literacy knowledge when compared to the norm group. We share examples of how we integrated real-world literacy activities into daily classroom management/organizational routines, whole class and small group instruction, celebrations and special events and how we took advantage of teachable moments to make explicit the purposes and functions of print and texts in developmentally appropriate ways.

On a gray, rainy October day, Kim and eight four- and five-year olds enter their classroom. The caretaker has again forgotten to turn up the heat and everyone shivers. The children are excited as they sign in and sit at the group table. Next week is Xiao Ping's birthday and they know that today they will be planning for her birthday party. Kim points to a large sheet of paper, taped to the wall. She prints "Things we will need for our party" at the top of the page. "Boys and girls, we're going to make a list," she announces. "Lists help us remember what to bring or what to buy. This list will tell us"-pointing to each word as she reads it-"things - we - will - need - for our - party" and pointing again to each word, says, "Boys and girls, this says, 'Things we will need for our party." Four year old Ling (children's names are pseudonyms) excitedly calls out "a cake" and Kim neatly prints "cake" on the chart. She points to the print as she reads the word. "Food!" Xin says hurriedly