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Understanding the perspectives, practices, and expectations of Korean American parents toward the heritage language education of their children

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UNDERSTANDING THE PERSPECTIVES, PRACTICES, AND EXPECTATIONS OF
KOREAN AMERICAN PARENTS TOWARD THE HERITAGE LANGUAGE
EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN

A Dissertation Proposal
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
Department of International and Multicultural Education

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

By
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San Francisco, CA
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THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Understanding the Perspectives, Practices, and Expectations of Korean American Parents

Toward the Heritage Language Education of Their Children

The purpose of this qualitative study, conducted with parents of a Bay Area Korean school, was to explore how Korean American parents perceive, practice, and expect from the heritage language education of their children. The parents shared their experiences as Korean immigrants in raising their children in two languages.

First, a survey was distributed and collected to apprehend the demographics of 24 Korean American parents in a West Coast metropolitan area who sent their children to a Korean heritage language school on weekends. Then one-on-one in-depth interviews were conducted with seven of these parents. Seven themes emerged from the data: 1) the importance of the parental role in heritage language education, 2) maintaining the Korean language and ethnic identity, 3) limited exposure to the Korean language, 4) positive feelings towards the Korean culture and language, 5) no strict family language policy, 6) no high expectations for heritage language learning, and 7) diminishing the Korean language use with the start of schooling.

Even though the parents regarded heritage language maintenance as important for their children and viewed their parental role was significant, they did not impose a strict family language policy. The underlying reason for this discrepancy in their perceptions, expectations, and practices could be the wish for their children to learn the Korean language someday primarily in order to maintain their Korean identity.

SIGNATURE PAGE

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

Yunhee Choi June 2, 2022

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Words cannot express the gratitude that I have for my family. Throughout my whole life, my parents were the biggest supporters of every decision that I made and the best role models for what I wanted to be. I am grateful for the encouragement and unconditional love that my parents had for me. 아빠, 엄마, 감사합니다. 그리고 사랑합니다. I certainly could not have done it without you. Thank you for allowing me to pursue my dreams. I would like to extend my thanks to my brother, sister-in-law, and my one and only niece for their love, support, and encouragement.

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experiences with me. I want to thank many other people I did not mention here but who played a very important role in the completion of the doctoral dissertation journey.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

I have always thought that having the ability to speak more than one language is one of the biggest advantages in one's life in many ways. Having the command of multiple languages gives people greater exposure to diverse cultures, broadens their views, and provides more opportunities. Since being multilingual is regarded as prestigious in South Korea, students are required to begin learning English during their elementary school years. In addition, not only must students learn English, but also they must study a second foreign language such as French, Chinese, Japanese, German, or Spanish. Within Korean public high schools, this is a mandatory practice. With increasing interest in multilingualism, several Korean private schools launched immersion programs, where the medium of instruction is English in all subjects except Korean history and Korean literature. Admission into these schools has often become very competitive and only top students are admitted. These schools are regarded as elite schools and the most gifted and talented students are accepted. The launch of several immersion schools in Korea first attracted my initial interest in bilingual education.

With a keen interest in bilingual education, I chose to take the following course, *The Bilingual Exceptional Child*, during my first semester of graduate school in the United States. Since bilingual education in South Korea has been regarded as elite education for gifted and talented students, I expected to learn about gifted education programs in the United States. During my first class, the professor asked every student about personal expectations regarding the course. Upon listening to my expectations, he told me that this might not be the course for me. Then he added that it actually might be the opposite of what I expected it to be since bilingual education in the United States was

not considered gifted and talented education. It is considered remedial education because in most cases, it was designed for the English Language Learners (ELL) who needed support for English. I was shocked to learn that being bilingual could be regarded as requiring special help in this country, while it is regarded as a huge benefit in most other countries.

After taking the course, “The Bilingual Exceptional Child”, and several more courses during my graduate program, I learned that being bilingual in the United States puts you in a very different position than being bilingual in South Korea. Haugen (1972) stated, “Bilingualism is a term that evokes mixed reactions nearly everywhere. On the one hand, some people (especially academics) will say; ‘How wonderful to be bilingual!’ On the other, they warn parents, ‘Don’t make your child bilingual!’” (p. 308). While being bilingual is considered an asset in most parts of the world, being bilingual is considered a liability in the United States.

The United States is comprised mainly of immigrants of various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. More than 40% of the population speak a language at home that is not English with over three hundred languages spoken nationwide (Gandara & Hopkins, 2010). Therefore, to be defined as a bilingual in the United States can be very different from being identified as a bilingual in other parts of the world. Bilinguals in most parts of the world are often regarded as elites who have favorable socioeconomic positions (Skutnabb Kangas, 1981), greater educational opportunities, and resources (Hu, 2008). In contrast, bilinguals in the United States who are forced to learn a second language may be from very different backgrounds and thus have very different experiences from their elite bilingual counterparts (Feng, 2005).

To explain this phenomenon, Valdes (2003, p.39) identified three different types of bilinguals: “privileged child bilinguals,” “majority group children schooled in a minority language,” and “minority children schooled in a majority language,” depending on their educational contexts. “Privileged child bilinguals,” also called “elite bilinguals,” are mostly middle-class or upper-middle-class children whose language education was thoughtfully planned by their parents. The students in the Canadian French immersion schools fall into the category of “majority group children schooled in a minority language;” these are the children of middle-class English-speaking parents who decide to send their children to school in the minority language, French. Lastly, with “minority children schooled in a majority language” (Valdes, 2003, p. X), also referred to as “folk bilinguals,” these language minorities in the United States are forced to learn the language of their community for survival purposes (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

This study attempts to better understand the trajectories of folk bilinguals, specifically the language learning experience of Korean Americans, by taking into account the role that parents play in understanding the attempts to maintain and develop their children's Korean heritage language and English at the same time.

Background and Need for the Study

In the 19th century, when early European settlers first immigrated to the United States with their own languages, being able to communicate in two or more languages was considered an advantage. Consequently, the Continental Congress translated official documents into different languages in support of European immigrants (Castellanos, 1983). However, the surge in immigration eventually let xenophobia prevail and consequently prompted strict language policies. In 1907, even President Theodore

Roosevelt was quoted as saying, "We have room for but one language in this country, and this is the English language" (Roosevelt, as cited in Edwards, 1994, p. 166).

After many years of intolerance for other languages as well as efforts to counter such movements, the first bilingual education program was established in Miami at Coral Way Elementary School in 1963 (Castellanos, 1983). The success of this school contributed to the establishment of bilingual education programs in other states, such as Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Subsequently, two bilingual schools were established in California in 1966 (Garcia, 2008). In 1964, the passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination against race, color, or national origin, impacted the development of bilingual education in the United States.

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, was passed by the United States Congress in 1968 and was sponsored by Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas. He stated that the goal of this act was to help school districts with students with limited English ability acquire English quickly. After the passage of the Bilingual Education Act, the high school dropout rate of Chicano in the Southwest increased, with 89 percent in Texas (Garcia, 2008).

In 1974, a group of 800 Chinese American parents in San Francisco filed a lawsuit against the district regarding language discrimination. They claimed that their children, as non-native English speakers, were not receiving equal education by being taught exclusively in English without any extra support (Schmid, 2001). Known as the *Lau vs. Nichols* case, the court ruled that a special program for non-English speaking children was the district's responsibility. In 1975, the Office of Civil Rights set up guidelines (known as Lau remedies), and bilingual education programs were developed

based on these guidelines (Del Valle, 2003). Yet, Lau remedies were mostly in the form of English as a second language (ESL) classes or English tutoring which resulted in transitional bilingualism (Baker, 2006). In 1979, Lau remedies advised school districts to implement bilingual education in elementary schools if there were at least 20 children who shared the same native language (Crawford, 2004). However, Lau remedies never became official regulations and mostly provided scaffolding in the transition to English.

The policy was short-lived, as opinions against bilingual education emerged beginning in the 1980s. On the third of March in 1981, President Ronald Reagan stated, "It is absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving their native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can get into the job market and participate" (Reagan, as cited in Garcia, 2008, p. 172).

Years later in 1998 in California, Ron Unz, a former businessman who unsuccessfully bid for the Republican nomination in California gubernatorial election in 1994, criticized bilingual education and the effectiveness of bilingual programs by sponsoring Proposition 227, the initiative promoting "English for the Children." Proposition 227 was posed as an attempt to teach English to students in need, but the intention behind it was to ban bilingual education (Baker, 2006). According to Proposition 227,

All children in California public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English. In particular, this shall require that all children be placed in English language classrooms. Children who are English learners shall be educated through

sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period not normally to extend one year. (Del Valle, 2003, p. 248)

This law had an immediate impact on students, as Proposition 227 essentially ended bilingual education in California and replaced it with ESL as well as a two-way immersion program (Crawford, 2004). The passage of Proposition 227 in California also affected other states; in 2000, Arizona passed Proposition 203, which was also backed by Ron Unz, which prohibited bilingual education, and in 2002, Massachusetts passed a proposition that replaced bilingual education with structured English immersion program (Garcia, 2008).

This “English only” spread nationwide resulting in the replacement of the Bilingual Education Act with No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2002 (Kohl & Katz, 2002). The NCLB Act promoted English-only instruction by imposing a high-stakes testing system. Under NCLB, all references to bilingual education in all federal documents were deleted (Crawford, 2004). While Proposition 227 required that English learners be taught intensively in English, the English language acquisition program provided scaffolding instructions, such as English as second language programs, to help immigrant children. According to Shin (2005), the goal of this legislation is to transfer language minority students to mainstream classes quickly and no attention is paid to maintaining their first languages. Under NCLB, in extreme cases, the teachers could be in danger of being penalized for using the languages of their students to create bonds with their students (Kohl & Katz, 2002).

Since the implementation of Proposition 227, the percentage of English language learners receiving primary language instruction decreased from 29.1% in 1997-1998 to

5.6% in 2006-2007 (Gandara & Hopkins, 2010). Although this proposition was passed with the intention to improve academic achievement for English language learners through English-only instruction, studies (Parrish et al. 2006) found that while there was a slight decrease in the performance gap between native English speakers and English language learners right after the implementation of Proposition 227. However, Parrish et al. (2006) stated, that since other reforms were applied with Proposition 227, it is not possible to point out one factor for this decrease.

In 2016, almost two decades after the passage of Proposition 227, Proposition 58 overturned the English-only requirements and allowed public schools to use non-English languages effectively as the medium of instruction. Schools in California now have the flexibility to decide whether English-only, bilingual, or other types of language programs are best for their student population (Hopkinson, 2016). Proposition 58 has become an opportunity for English learners to obtain English proficiency through multiple means and for native English speakers to learn a new language (Hopkinson, 2016). Proposition 58, also known as the California Education for a Global Economy Initiative, viewed language as a resource rather than a problem and appointed all children as the beneficiary of this education, rather than immigrant children alone (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017).

With a record number of 44.8 million immigrants residing in the United States as of 2018, which takes up 13.7% of the country's population (Budiman et al, 2020), it is important to examine the influence of bilingualism. Research in the past decades (Saer, 1923; Peal & Lambert 1962) has consistently established that bilingualism provides benefits on many different levels, even though studies prior to 1962 concluded that bilingual children were at a disadvantage in overall academic achievement. These early

studies (Saer, 1923; Peal & Lambert 1962) were designed with flaws as they had not considered differences in socioeconomic status or degrees of bilingualism. Often, participants were evaluated in their weaker language. However, Peal and Lambert (1962) made distinctions between “true bilinguals” - those that have mastered “both languages at an early age and have the facility with both as a means of communication” and “pseudo-bilinguals” - those that “know one language much better than the other and do not use their second language in communication” (p. 6). Once this distinction was made and socioeconomic status was controlled for, bilinguals performed better on both verbal and nonverbal assessments.

Since Peal and Lambert’s (1962) seminal study, research on bilingualism has provided evidence that is strongly in favor of bilingual education. Bilinguals tend to have cognitive advantages, including better metalinguistic abilities (bilinguals tend to comprehend meaning rather than focus on sound and display higher levels of creativity) (Ben-Zeev, 1977; Ianco-Worrall, 1972; Bialystok, 2001; Garcia, 2008). According to Thomas-Sunesson, Hakuta, and Bialystok (2018), balanced bilingual students performed better in non-verbal cognitive tasks in their study. Bilingualism has also been linked to self-esteem (Wright & Taylor, 1995) as well as a series of other advantages (Goetz, 2003; Schwartz, Leikin & Share, 2010). Garcia (2008) addressed four cognitive advantages of bilingualism: metalinguistic awareness, divergent thinking, communicative sensitivity, and the ability to learn multiple languages.

At the same time, researchers (Fishman, 1965; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Rumbaut et al, 2006; Wiley, 2005) have indicated that many language minority families and communities are experiencing the pressures of language shift. According to Fishman’s

(1965) Three Generation Model, first-generation immigrants speak their native language, the second-generation immigrants are - to varying degrees - bilingual, but by the third generation, the language shift has been completed and their heritage language has been lost. This language shift has led to a series of other issues, such as jeopardizing parent-child relationships, as they face both linguistic and cultural barriers between them (Yoo & Kim, 2014). Along the process of “Americanization,” immigrant children feel the pressure to give up their national, cultural, and linguistic identities to be fully accepted as “Americans” (Olsen, 1998). They tend to drop their mother tongue to become English speakers resulting in the loss of strong family ties (Olsen, 1998; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2002) and this could hinder family relationships and sometimes cause identity problems.

Besides, previous research on heritage language education has extensively focused on Spanish- and Chinese-speaking populations. Therefore, the Korean population has not been sufficiently explored and a study on Korean speaking population is needed.

Statement of the Problem

Currently, it is estimated that 1.7 million Koreans are living in the United States as of 2010; about 63.2% were born in Korea and 35.1% were the U.S. born (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim & Shahid, 2012). Koreans compose approximately 4.8% of the total United States population, being the third-largest Asian-American subgroup in the United States (Kim, 2005). According to Yu, Cho, and Han (2002), 32.12% of 1,076,872 Koreans living in the United States reside in California. Specifically, 5.33% are in the Bay Area, including San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose as of 2000.

The Korean U.S. Embassy reported that there are approximately 1,200 Korean heritage language schools with a total of about 60,000 students (Lee & Shin, 2009). It is estimated that about 50 schools exist with a total student enrollment of 5,000 in Northern California only, according to the Korean Schools Association of Northern California (2016). Despite the growth in the Korean population and Korean heritage language schools, there is only one Korean English Two Way Immersion program in Northern California (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2016) - Claire Lilienthal Elementary School, located in the city of San Francisco. This school has one Korean immersion classroom each for grades K through three and one for combined 4th and 5th -grade classes.

Most heritage language schools provide instruction for only three to four hours a week. Evidently, three to four hours a week of heritage language instruction is not sufficient (Pearson, Fernandez, Lewedeg, & Oller, 1997), which means that children need opportunities to practice more outside of heritage language programs to maintain heritage language. As a result, parents play an integral role in the decisions that children make, particularly regarding heritage language education choices, and the opportunities that are provided to them such as heritage language practices at home, heritage language exposures for their children and heritage language schools and/or tutors. With more than 50 heritage language schools, and only one immersion school in the Bay Area, I began to wonder how parents make decisions on their children's heritage language education. Thus I wanted to discover more about the perspectives, practices, and expectations of Korean parents in the Bay Area toward their children's heritage language education and how these factors affect their decision to choose one program over others.

Purpose of the Study

As parents can play a vital role in both the development or loss of their child's heritage language, the purpose of this study is to explore and describe the perspectives, practices and expectations of Korean American parents in the Bay Area toward their children's heritage language education. Through in-depth interviews, parents will be able to have an opportunity to share their perspectives, practices, and expectations. Many Korean American parents are sending their children to Korean heritage language education programs on weekends. Their perspectives on language education are reflected in their decision to send their children to Korean schools on weekends and practice of heritage language.

Research Questions

The following research questions were utilized to explore the perspectives, practices, and expectations towards heritage language and the heritage language education of Korean American parents in the Bay Area.

1. What are the language beliefs that Korean parents possess?
2. How do Korean American families describe their use of language at home?
3. What educational goals and expectations do Korean American parents have for their children's heritage language education?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study was based on Krashen (1996) and family language policy (Spolsky, 2004). Krashen (1996) contended that providing education in children's primary/heritage language gives them two things: knowledge and literacy. Having knowledge in their heritage language enables the children to understand the English language more comprehensibly, leading to greater English language acquisition.

Moreover, as literacy is transferrable across languages, literacy from the heritage language can be transferred to English. Heritage language acquisition leads to greater knowledge in the sense that the words we have at our disposal affect what we see, and the more words there are, the better our perception. In the case of immigrant families, the onset of heritage language education is generally at home through parental language input in their heritage language.

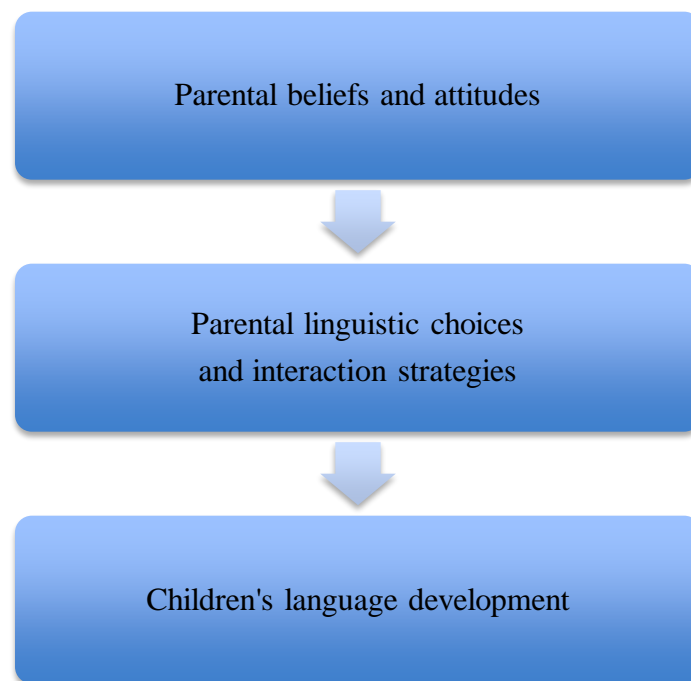
As a framework to understand parents' perspectives, practices, and expectations toward heritage language education, this study will apply the lens of family language policy.

Family Language Policy

Spolsky (2004) described three components of language policy: language beliefs or ideology, language practices, and language planning or management. Language beliefs or ideologies are people's attitudes, perspectives, or thoughts on languages, and language practices are what people actually do with the languages. Language planning or management is how people manage or control language practices (Spolsky, 2004). While language policy determines which language should be used in society, family language policy determines which language should be used at home.

"Family language policy refers to explicit and overt decisions parents make about language use and language learning as well as implicit processes that legitimize certain language and literacy practices over others in the home" (Fogle, 2013, p. 83). Family language policy determines which language family members should use in communicating if they have more than one language. Language beliefs or ideologies play a pivotal role in language policy and language acquisition (De Houwer, 1999).

De Houwer (1999) maintained that parental beliefs and attitudes affect parental linguistic choices and interaction strategies, which eventually affect children's language development. Parents have ideas about which language they would use with their children for different purposes (parental language beliefs and attitudes). Based on their language beliefs and attitudes, parents would choose specific languages depending on specific situations and apply different interactions (parental linguistic choices and interaction strategies). Parental linguistic choices and interaction strategies would directly influence the outcome of language development of children (children's language development).



Parents who firmly believe in the importance of heritage language education make choices and use various interaction strategies that enable their children to maintain their heritage languages. They provide an atmosphere where their children feel comfortable using their heritage language. It could be heritage language classes, tutoring, or engagement with ethnic communities so that children could be exposed to the heritage

language and have more opportunities to use it. This directly has an impact on the heritage language development of their children. (De Houwer, 2007; Kang, 2013; Pak & Sarker, 2007).

On the other hand, parents who put more importance on the majority language (as opposed to the heritage language) will not use their heritage language with their children at home. As a result, children will not be exposed to the heritage language and will not likely have opportunities to develop their heritage language fully. This will eventually lead to a language shift to the majority language (Fillmore, 2000).

Delimitations and Limitations of the Study

This study had several limitations. As this research was focused only on a particular context and population, the results could be different from other populations or contexts. Specifically, the findings were limited to a specific heritage language school in a particular city in Northern California and the findings were also limited to Korean parents whose children attended a Korean immersion program who voluntarily participated in this study. In addition, the researcher was a teacher in this heritage language school and knew the parents in person. This factor might have affected the participants in answering the questions.

Educational Significance of the Study

The value of this research is to fill the gap in the literature regarding heritage language education among the Korean population. In addition, this study will hopefully serve as guidance for administrators to develop new perspectives based on what Korean American parents want for their children's heritage language education.

The role that parents play in the efforts to maintain and develop heritage language is integral (Fishman, 1991; Li 1999). Yet, parental attitudes and language use patterns remain to be more fully investigated in the Korean American community. The focus of my study is to examine the relationships among immigrant parents and child heritage language use to increase awareness concerning the immediate and practical advantages of heritage language retention so that immigrants are better able to negotiate and readjust to their internal and external conflicts with which they are inevitably faced.

Definition of Terms

Balanced bilingual: “Someone who is approximately equally fluent in two languages across various contexts” (Baker, 2006, p. 9).

Bilingualism: “Native-like control of two languages” (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 55).

Bilingual education: A broad term that includes many different ways two or more languages may be used in an educational setting (Hakuta, 2011).

Dual immersion program/education: Academic schools that have the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy (Potowski, 2004).

Heritage language: The language (often referred to as the native or home language) spoken at home among family members whose native language is different from the dominant language (Schechter & Bayley, 1997).

Heritage language student/learner: Someone who is exposed to a language other than English in the home (Carreira, 2000).

Immigrant: A person who permanently moved from his or her country of birth to another country.

Language shift: Language shift is the process by which a speech community in a contact situation (i.e. consisting of bilingual speakers) gradually stops using one of its two languages in favor of the other (Ravindranath, 2009).

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

This chapter is dedicated to the review of the literature applicable to this research and consists of six different sections. The first section begins with how the immigrant population changed the demographics of the United States and then continues with the depiction of the characteristics of the Korean population in the second section. The third section describes how linguistic barriers could affect the lives of immigrants, and then the fourth section focuses on the benefits of bilingualism examining the cognitive and social-emotional benefits. The fifth section is devoted to the heritage language education of Korean. The last section covers the attitudes of parents towards heritage language education.

Demographic Changes in Population

The number of immigrants from all over the world to the United States has risen at a significantly rapid rate over the past few decades due to globalization and the mobility of the world population. According to Capps, Fix, Murray, Ost, Passel, and Herwanto (2005), the number of immigrants who arrived during the 1990s exceeded that of all past decades. In addition, the number of legal permanent residents had increased by over one million each year since 2001 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2013). In 2014, 42.4 million immigrants, both legal and illegal, settled in the United States; they took up 13.3 percent of the whole population with the highest percentage in 94 years (Camarota & Zeigler, 2016). Consequently, U.S. society has increasingly diversified due to the influx of the immigrant population. According to Budiman et al. (2020), the origins of the United States immigrant population have been

dramatically changed. Immigrants from Europe, Canada, and other North America decreased from 84% in 1960 to 13% in 2018 while immigrants from Asia, Mexico, and other Latin America increased from 13% to 78% in 2018 (Budiman et al. 2020)

As a result of the high rate of immigration, the demographics of public schools have been rapidly changing (Capps et al., 2005). U.S. classrooms have become much more culturally and linguistically diversified with the increasing number of immigrants (Wright & Taylor, 1995). By 2000, one in nine of all the U.S. residents were immigrants and one in five children under age 18 were immigrants. The proportion of children of immigrants has shown a rapid increase, from six percent in 1970 to 19 percent in 2000 (Capps et al., 2005). Census bureau data of 2016 indicated that 21.6 percent of the U.S. population speaks a language other than English at home, which is almost double in numbers compared to 11 percent in 1980 (Camarota & Zeigler, 2017).

Among the world languages spoken at home, Spanish has the largest population with 40.5 million and the Korean language ranked seventh with 1.1 million speakers as of 2016. In California, 45 percent of residents were using a language other than English at home. Similarly, 44 percent of students in public schools in California speak a language other than English at home (Camarota & Zeigler, 2017). Some states have shown a remarkable increase in the number of immigrants, such as Nevada where the number skyrocketed from seven percent in 1980 to 35 percent in 2016. Among the students who were living below the poverty line, 30 percent were immigrant children in 2015, nationwide (Camarota, 2017).

Asian immigrants account for 25 percent of the immigrant population (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009). According to a report by the Pew Research Center (2013), the

population of Asian Americans reached 18.2 million in 2011, taking up 5.8 percent of the total U.S. population. The Pew research study presented Asian Americans as the “the highest-income, best-educated and fastest-growing racial group in the United States” (Pew Research Center, 2013, p.1). This study also reports that Asian Americans are indeed the “model minority” - a uniformly high-achieving, financially and educationally successful racial group. However, closer investigation and disaggregation of the data on Asian Americans reveals more complex and diverse realities. Asian Americans vary significantly in categories like immigration status, language proficiency, employment, educational levels, and political affiliations.

The Pew Research study (2013) disaggregated data for only six ethnic subgroups: Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese; but the U.S. 2010 census included 20 different Asian American ethnic subgroups. Disaggregating economic data of Asian Americans reveals that refugee populations such as Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Hmong are far from the economically and educationally successful “model minority.” These groups have high rates of poverty, unemployment, and school drop-out rates--in numbers similar to, and sometimes exceeding, that of African Americans and Latinos (National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education, 2008). Failure to disaggregate this data confirms stereotypical and simplistic representations and obscures the educational realities and needs of Asian American students.

Characteristics of the Korean Population

For Korean American immigrants specifically, immigration can be categorized into three distinct periods. The first period started in 1903, initiated by the demands of the

Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association, which was seeking inexpensive labor (National Association of Korean Americans, 2003). About 7,000 Koreans were employed as plantation laborers, and about 1,100 Korean women came to Hawaii to get married a few years later (Yu, Cho & Han, 2002). The second period was from 1951, and the immigrants of this period mostly consisted of Korean women who married U.S. soldiers and war orphans adopted by American families. In addition, a few students and doctors, whose education got interrupted due to the war, came to the United States to continue their studies at U.S. schools (Shin, 2005).

The third wave of immigration began with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which enabled full-scale family immigration (Yu, Cho & Han, 2002). The number of immigrants skyrocketed from 34,526 in the 1960s to 267,638 in the 1970s (Shin, 2005). This resulted in the development of Korean communities throughout the United States including Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago. The majority of the immigrants from this period were from middle-class Korean society with a college-level education, which differentiated them from the earlier immigrants who were mostly low-skilled workers (Shin, 2005). However, partly because of their lack of English, most first-generation Korean-Americans took labor-intensive jobs without hesitation for a better life for their families in the United States (Min, 2000). The competitiveness of Korean education brought a new phenomenon called 'Kirogi' families, who flew their families (usually mother and children only) to foreign countries with the hope of a better education for their children (Ly, 2005).

Based on the study by the Pew Research Center (2013), Korean immigrants have several distinct features, which make them stand out among other immigrant groups, such

as their high educational levels, emphasis on their children's education, and desire to maintain their heritage language. More specifically, among the Korean-American immigrant community, academic success is frequently viewed as the essence of being Korean. In a study examining Korean-American immigrants and their children to better understand their career choices, Kim (1993) found that children of Korean immigrants regard academic success as the core of being Korean. She found that "one can observe that money and children's education are automatically paired as the two most important concerns of Korean immigrants when the issue of their success is even remotely alluded to" (p. 230).

As Confucianism is deeply embedded in Korean culture, it instills the belief that education leads to social mobility and economic prosperity (Hurh, 1998). Thus, educational opportunities for children are often cited as one of the primary reasons why Korean parents emigrate (Shin, 2005), and Korean-American immigrants' priority in education is also apparent in their academic attainment rates. According to the U.S. Bureau of Census (2010), 90.2% of single Korean-Americans aged 25 and older had at least a high school degree (compared to 83.9% of their American counterparts) and 50.8% had a bachelor's degree or higher (compared to 27% of their American counterparts). Confucian beliefs also instill values of Filial Piety, which refers to the virtue of respecting and obeying one's parents and elders and their words (Chan & Tan, 2004). Therefore, communication between parent and child could be considered particularly important in the Korean community, as children would need tools to understand their parents' words and obey (Chan & Tan, 2004).

Even though many studies describe Korean immigrants as a homogenous group of model minorities with higher levels of education, young Korean Americans differ from the previous generations (Chung, 2012; Lew, 2004). Lew (2004) also maintained that the younger generation of the Korean American population was no longer homogeneous and have varying levels of education and socioeconomic status.

The Christian church has been one of the most important parts of Korean American society and has played a significant role (Hurh, 1998). Min (1996) reported that the church functions as a social network for Korean communities where new immigrants have a chance to meet other Koreans and seek information when needed. The church plays a powerful role in the lives of many Korean-American immigrants as the celebration of Korean holidays, consumption of Korean food, and opportunities for the instruction of the Korean language allow the Korean culture to be practiced and preserved (Hurh, 1998; Min, 2000). Most Korean schools are affiliated with or run by churches, with only a few independent schools existing on their own (Chung, 2012). Many Korean heritage language classes are provided by churches, as a part of free community service or with minimum tuition.

The Korean American population appears to have the lowest heritage language maintenance rate among Asian Americans (Lopez, 1996; Min, 2000). Second-generation Korean Americans often use English as their dominant language once they start schooling (Shin & Milroy, 1999). According to Min (2000), 77 percent of Korean American children started using English at the age of five in her study. In Jeon's study (2008), the author acknowledged that language myths and ideologies caused the loss of the heritage language of the Korean population. Korean American parents have a higher expectation

for their children's academic performances and try to provide the best available educational resources (Kao, 1995). They also tend to set higher goals in the education of their children than their Hispanic or African American counterparts (Peng and Wright, 1994).

Linguistic Barriers of Immigrants

However, despite the growth of immigrants in the United States, immigrants are often faced with social, cultural, and linguistic barriers that are difficult to overcome. Immigrants, who may be more driven for opportunities for success as they have already sacrificed leaving their homeland, face difficulty to maintain their language, culture, and identity when they are threatened by the idea that the delay of English acquisition may interfere with possibilities of upward social mobility (Porter, 1990; Rodriguez, 1982). The children of immigrants who are exposed to multiple languages grow up interacting with family members, peers, or community members and may develop the impression that one language is more powerful than another (Freeman, 1998). As immigrant children enter school, they notice that the language they use at home does not have value as much as the language used at school and quickly learn the new language to adapt to the new environment (Fillmore, 1991). Consequently, children often become more proficient in the language in which the host community places a greater value (Tse, 2001).

In the specific case of the English and the Korean languages, the power relations of the respective languages may play a key role in the decision that the child makes in determining how much effort will be invested in the acquisition of each language. However, immigrant children are often under the impression that to acquire English successfully and maximize their potential for their success, they must no longer develop

their Korean language proficiency. According to Shin (2005), “in the Korean American family, language shift is accelerated in part by parents’ extreme emphasis on education, which is perceived to depend largely on the perfect acquisition and use of English.” (p. 141)

Moreover, the lack of support for bilingual education may also contribute to the increased acceleration of language shift (Wiley, 2005). Bilingual education is an umbrella term that may refer to over 90 different forms of language education programs (Baker, 2006). Bilingual education programs may range from occasional foreign language classes that language learners take to intensive programs that are designed to convert a speaker from one language to another. For this study, bilingual education has been operationalized to refer to the maintenance of bilingual education, where the target is for a minority language learner to achieve a balanced level of bilingualism and biliteracy (Otheguy & Otto, 1980).

There has been much debate on what is a heritage language, and in the United States, it has been widely referred to as a language used by immigrants and their children (Wiley, 2005). As of now, heritage language education is provided only as a foreign language or bilingual education in the U.S. public school system. Most immigrant parents who cannot expect any heritage language education support from public schools depend on weekend heritage schools operated by communities. Some communities, such as Chinese and Korean, have had more success in developing weekend heritage language schools. About 60,000 students took Korean classes in 1,200 Korean community schools (Lee & Shin, 2008). It was reported that approximately 150,000 students enrolled in community-based Chinese schools in 2007 (McGinnis, 2008).

Kouritzin (1999) insisted that home, school, and community have to work together to help in maintaining and enhancing their heritage language. Lao (2004) also stated that the use of language at home between parents and children plays an essential role in maintaining the heritage language. Fillmore (2000) maintained that language loss in immigrant families is led by the children once they start schooling. She described how the children of the Chen family in her study stopped using Cantonese once they learned enough English to get along. She highlighted the role of the family is not only maintaining the heritage language but also providing the essential elements for living a life including “a sense of belonging; knowledge of who one is and where one comes from; an understanding of how one is connected to the important others and events in one’s life; the ability to deal with adversity; and knowing one’s responsibility to self, family, community” (p. 206).

Benefits of Bilingualism

Children’s bilingual language learning experience may begin early, from when they hear the sounds of their mother while in the womb during the last trimester before birth (Byers-Heinlein, Burns, & Werker, 2010). Upon birth, through observations and interactions in the home and community with adults and peers, they rapidly learn about the sounds of speech, language functions, and features. These experiences in turn result in unique neural connections that concretely affect the architecture of their brain development (Conboy & Kuhl, 2011). Research has largely displayed findings in support of bilingualism, particularly with bilingual children exhibiting unique cognitive and social-emotional advancements (Castro & Espinosa, 2014; Espinosa, 2013).

Cognitive Benefits

The cognitive advantages of bilingualism can be detected as early as seven months of age (Barac, et al, 2014; Sandhofer & Uchikoshi, 2013). In a study comparing monolingual and bilingual infants, bilingual infants were better able to differentiate various speech sounds. Bilingual infants were also able to react to changes more quickly in learning conditions and display enhanced attention during speech processing. Moreover, not only have bilinguals reported better performance on tasks that require attention to sounds and detail, but they also report enhanced metalinguistic abilities, including divergent thinking and creativity (Ben-Zeev, 1997; Bialystok, 1991; Leopold, 1961). That is, as bilinguals are trained to separate their two language systems by controlling and analyzing language processing, they naturally develop the ability to see the parts of a whole (i.e. three lines constitute a triangle) (Bialystok, 2001). Ianco-Worrall (1972) further suggests that bilinguals register meaning in speech whereas monolinguals tend to focus on sound. For example, in the sentence “I want ice cream,” monolinguals may be able to repeat the words accurately due to their focus on sound, but bilinguals may produce sentences such as “I crave ice cream,” suggesting that the meaning has been precisely registered.

Recent research (Bialystok & Craik, 2010) suggests that the positive effects of bilingualism appear to continue with aging. As the cognitive benefits of bilingualism exist in the prefrontal cortex, where executive functions such as control of attention and expansion of working memory are located, Bialystok and Craik (2010) propose that there is evidence of bilingualism having the potential to delay the rate of cognitive decline that typically come with aging.

Social-emotional Benefits

As described above, proficiency in two languages not only pushes bilinguals to separate their two language systems but also enables them to consciously select which language to activate depending on context. This enhanced awareness of communication provides heightened sensitivity to the needs of the interlocutor and adjusts accordingly (Baker, 2001). *Theory of Mind* (Wimmer & Perner, 1983) refers to the ability to decipher people's actions and their underlying intentions. Goetz (2003) contends that practice with linguistic inhibitory control and increased sociolinguistic competence of bilinguals assists in the development of the *Theory of Mind*.

Thus, the language we speak not only influences our brains but also shapes who we are. The words we speak form our cultural and social identity (Deaux, 2000; Thornborrow, 1999). It is through language that we negotiate our membership in groups and identify with them (Duff, 2007). Norton (2001) proposed that “when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world” (p. 11). As proficiency in multiple languages allows greater access to various ethnic groups, bilingual children tend to have higher student retention rates, more graduates, and positive self-concepts such as higher self-esteem (Sung, 1987; Wright & Taylor, 1995; Phinney et al., 2010) compared to their monolingual counterparts.

Further, children who lack proficiency in their home language may experience more cultural gaps and less communication with their parents than those who share a language (Kim, 2011). Loss of communication with parents and family members has

consistently been found to impact a series of other issues such as intergenerational conflicts (Rumbaut, 1996), psychosocial well-being (Gil & Vega, 1996), academic aspirations (Szapocznik, 1988), estrangement from cultural and linguistic heritage (Fillmore, 2000), as well as other social and academic problems (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006).

Tse (1996) suggested a four-stage model of ethnic identity development, which projected the ethnic minorities' attitudes toward their heritage language and majority language with the Chinese population. In the first stage, *unawareness*, which is normally short, and during childhood, the ethnic minorities are not aware of their language minority status and they acquire heritage language at home and in the community as a sufficient amount of comprehensible input is provided. During the second stage, *the ethnic ambivalence/evasion*, which usually happens in adolescence, ethnic minorities feel ambivalent about their heritage culture and language. The ethnic minorities show behaviors and attitudes that are distancing themselves from their own group and in favor of the majority group. During this phase, they usually resist learning their heritage language. For the third stage, *ethnic emergence*, an ethnic minority young adults realize that they would never be thoroughly integrated into the mainstream society, they now return to their ethnic community and explore their own culture and language. For the fourth stage, *ethnic identity incorporation*, ethnic minorities finally acknowledge their identity with ethnic minority group and sometimes effectively learn their heritage language.

Korean Heritage Language Education

Maintenance of bilingual education can be achieved through intensive forms of bilingual education, such as Dual Language (or two-way) education or heritage language education. For the Korean language, the number of Dual Language programs offered is very limited. The Korean Immersion Parent Council (2010) acknowledges only 11 schools in the U.S. as being officially registered with the Board of Education as a Korean-English Dual Immersion program. Among those 11 programs, only two schools offer programs at the high school level.

Despite Koreans having more heritage language schools than any other Asian community except Chinese (Min, 2000), it appears that school-based heritage language programs are not sufficient (Fishman, 1991). 77% of the second-generation Korean-Americans report Korean as no longer being their first language by the age of five (Min, 2000). Research suggests that home support, namely parental support, where learners can witness their native language being used in meaningful ways, plays an equal - if not more important - role than heritage language school enrollment for successful language maintenance and development (Schwartz, 2008).

As Korean is typically formally introduced for the first time at the university level in the United States (Lee & Shin, 2009), parents play a decisive role in their children's early heritage language development. As previously discussed, heritage language loss usually begins when an immigrant child is introduced to formal education, often in kindergarten (Portes & Hao, 1998, 2004); however, the sharpest heritage language decline is detected in early adolescence, ages 8 to 14 (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Rumbaut, 2007), when children are more sensitive to feelings such as embarrassment of cultural isolation. This is also when immigrant and immigrant children report high rates

of conflict and frustration regarding widening cultural gaps and greater emotional distancing (Rumbaut, 2000; Tse, 1998). My study attempted to clarify parental attitudes towards heritage language education, and, as positive attitudes may not be sufficient to reverse language loss, I aimed to gain a deeper understanding of the home context since this is where students experience the impact of their parents' perspectives.

Parental Attitudes toward Heritage Language

Parents are the crucial factor in their children's education as they make decisions on how their children should be taught or shouldn't be taught based on their beliefs and values. Especially for their children's language acquisition/education, parental attitudes/practices become the most important factor because children are exposed to the languages that their parents choose to use from their birth. Shin (2005) claimed that "parents' attitude toward the two languages significantly influences how they socialize their children to view, learn and use them" (p. 128). Many researchers repeatedly confirm that the parents are one of the biggest factors in their children's becoming bilingual (De Houwer, 2007; Kang, 2013; Pak & Sarker, 2007). According to De Houwer(2007):

The findings from this survey have shown that successfully raising children to speak two languages very much depends on the parental language input patterns. This means that language choice patterns can be planned ahead of time and modified to suit families' needs. For instance, parents who might have decided to each use both languages might be well advised to restrict the use of the majority language so that only one of them uses it. (p.421)

Korean parents firmly believe that language and culture are interconnected with developing a strong identity in their children (Jeon, 2008; Kang, 2013). According to Kang(2013):

Korean-immigrant parents' intention to pass on the Korean language to their American-born children and raise them bilingually is, at least in part, derived from multiple underlying forces: their perception of language as an identity marker, their language barrier in the host country, and their possible return to Korea for familial obligations and economic opportunities. (p.437)

This could be an explanation for the vast number of Korean heritage language schools. However, Korean parents do not make much effort at home for their children to maintain their heritage language even though they have high expectations for heritage language maintenance (Shin, 2005). In Chung's (2012) study, English-speaking Korean parents' educational goal for heritage language school was to expose their children to the heritage language and culture so that they maintain their interest. For them, the school served as a place to establish their own community.

Lee (2013) explored Korean immigrant parents' beliefs and attitudes toward their children's heritage language through interviews. The parents in her study regarded the Korean language as "(i) a factor contributing to shaping their child's ethnic identity; (ii) a resource to reinforce their children's positive self-esteem in school; (iii) a factor contributing to family cohesion; or (iv) a key resource for their children's future" (p. 1582). She also noted that the parents send their children to Korean school because they believed that it would allow their children to socialize with other children with the same ethnic background. However, the parents in the study (except for one parent) did not

actually practice Korean with their children despite their beliefs that their children needed to maintain the Korean language. Most of them let their children speak whichever language they want, which was mostly English.

Kim (2011) investigated the meaning of heritage language and heritage language schools for Korean immigrant families and children. In general, mothers indicated that they felt uncertain and at times fearful regarding their children's future as foreigners in the United States, but believed that heritage-language schools could provide social and emotional support that American schools could not provide. The mothers also reported that their children's attending heritage-language schools reduced the emotional distance they felt toward their children. Similarly, Park and Sarker (2007) found that Korean parents believed heritage language schools encouraged developing a more secure identity, ensured economic opportunities, and supported relationships with family members.

Kang (2015) examined the family language policy (FLP) via a web-based survey. FLP includes three components: the family's language practices, ideology, and management (Spolsky, 2004). She analyzed the responses of 480 Korean parents with children under the age of 18 and living in the United States at the time of the survey. The parents indicated positive attitudes toward the maintenance of the heritage language. However, their actual language practice pattern contradicted their language ideologies. They did not strictly stick to the use of the Korean language at home. In addition, the self-reported management strategies demonstrated discrepancy. Despite their attachment to their heritage language, they allowed their children to use English for reading books for watching TV. Although the parents showed positive attitudes toward bilingualism,

only half of the parents enrolled their children in community-based heritage schools. When asked about enrollment in a bilingual school, if available, about 39% of parents agreed, about 37% disagreed and 23.5% did not have any opinion. This discrepancy might have been induced by the perception of parents that maintaining home language was a private matter.

Brown (2011) conducted semi-structured interviews of parents and students who successfully maintained their heritage language, Korean. The parents expressed a strong desire for their children to maintain their heritage language, manifesting a firm belief that the heritage language is the essence of their identity. The parents also forced their children to go to Korean heritage language schools despite their children's resistance and repeated protests that Korean heritage language schools did not make any difference in their maintenance of Korean. In this study, the comparison between the parents and children's interviews showed discrepancies regarding their language practices at home.

Li and Wen (2015) discussed the practices and challenges in heritage language education that East Asian groups faced in the contexts of home, community heritage language schools, and K-12 schools. Their findings were that these three different contexts alone cannot take full responsibility for heritage language education. They advised that all entities must work together to maintain the heritage language among Asian immigrant children. They also suggested collaboration among the three entities in terms of parent education, teacher training, and professional development.

Summary

With the high rate of immigration, 23 percent of students in U.S. public schools are from immigrant families (Camarota, 2017) and 21.6 percent of the U.S. population

speaks a language other than English at home (Camarota & Zeigler, 2017). Asians make up 25 percent of the immigrant population (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009), and 5.8 percent of the U.S. population (Pew Research Center, 2013).

High educational levels, emphasis on their children's education, and desire to maintain their heritage language set the Korean immigrant group apart from other Asian immigrant groups (Pew Research Center, 2013). Although many studies have described the Korean immigrants as a homogeneous group of model minorities, the younger generations are not homogeneous anymore with varying levels of education and socioeconomic status (Lew, 2004). Furthermore, in Korean immigrant society, the church functions not only as a religious institution but also as a social network. In addition, many Korean heritage schools are associated with the church. Even with a large number of heritage schools, the language shift of Korean American population is astonishing. 77 percent of children started using English at the age of five (Min, 2000).

Once the children of immigrants enter school, they would notice that their language at home is not valued as much as the language at school. Sometimes they receive the impression that for English acquisition and assimilation into the mainstream society, they need to stop developing their home language proficiency and use English only. Furthermore, the insufficient support for heritage language education contributes to language shift/loss (Fillmore, 1999). Most immigrant parents who cannot expect heritage language education from U.S. public schools turn to weekend heritage language schools, operated by immigrant communities. Even though the role of family and language use at home is one of the most important factors, home, school, and the community have to cooperate for heritage language education and maintenance (Kouritzin, 1999).

Studies have shown the advantages of bilingualism including cognitive benefits and socio-emotional benefits. Cognitive benefits ranged from the ability to differentiate speech sounds to divergent thinking and creativity. As language forms our cultural and social identity (Deaux 2000), we negotiate our identity through the language we use. Tse (1996) proposed a four-stage model of ethnic identity which forecasts the ethnic minorities' attitudes toward their heritage language and majority language.

Koreans have more heritage language schools than other Asian communities but public school-based heritage language education is not sufficient with only a limited number of Korean programs. Home support/parent support is as important as heritage language schools (Schwartz, 2008). Because Korean is usually taught in the formal setting for the first time at the university level (Lee & Shin, 2009), parents play an important role in the children's early heritage language education. Parents are often regarded as one of the biggest factors in their children's language development (De Houwer, 2007; Kang, 2013; Pak & Sarker, 2007), as they are exposed to only the languages of their parents' choice since birth. Despite Korean parents' firm belief in the interconnectedness of language and identity and their high expectation for children's heritage language maintenance, their actual practice at home was not in agreement with their high hopes (Brown, 2011; Kang, 2015; Lee, 2013). For Korean Americans, the heritage language school was not only for language education but also for social and emotional support.

Thus, with the rapid increase in the immigrant population and Asian Americans comprising a considerable part of the mainstream population, the struggles of these immigrants must not go unnoticed. Specifically in the case of Korean immigrants, many

are facing rapid heritage language loss and experiencing other detriments because of this loss (such as family communication). Despite consistent positive research findings (Ben-Zeev, 1997; Bialystok, 1991; Leopold, 1961; Bialystok, 2001) in favor of bilingual education and many cases parents' acknowledgment of the importance of heritage language maintenance and development, language shift is occurring at a startling rate. The present study attempts to examine the parental perspectives of heritage language learners and to gain an accurate understanding of why heritage language maintenance and development efforts are often unsuccessful despite awareness of its importance.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Overview

The purpose of this study was to explore the perspectives, practices, and expectations toward heritage language education of Korean American parents residing in the Bay Area. This study was intended to examine the Korean American parents' perspectives on their children's language education and how their perspectives affected the language practices of their children. This study also explored the expectations of the parents sending their children to Korean heritage language education programs on Saturdays or Sundays, sacrificing their family time for heritage language education.

In this chapter, the research design is presented, followed by data collection with a description of the research site. Then information about the participants is explained in detail. The protection of human subjects is discussed. Finally, the background of the researcher is given.

The research questions for this study were as follows and were examined through in-depth interview questions about parents' perspectives and their practices with their children in the heritage language development.

Research Questions

1. What are the language beliefs that Korean parents possess?
2. How do Korean American families describe their use of language at home?
3. What educational goals and expectations do Korean American parents have for their children's heritage language education?

Research Design

Qualitative methods were used along with a short survey to better understand the demographic information of the population. To get a general idea about the Korean-American population at the research site, a survey was distributed to all the parents at the school. With the survey, I was able to grasp the characteristics of the Korean American population of this particular school, including their level of education, use of language at home, proficiency in both Korean and English, and language practices with their children. Then in-depth interviews with volunteered parents were conducted to further explore their perspectives and practices of heritage language with their children.

Data Collection

In this qualitative study, a demographic survey and individual interviews were used. For the survey, an online survey link was sent out via email to the parents and then a printed survey of the same content was provided at the school for whom prefer the printed version. In the email sent out, an invitation for an interview was included. Eight parents contacted the researcher for a voluntary interview, but one could not be conducted because of a scheduling conflict.

Parents Survey

The researcher distributed online surveys and offline surveys in both English and Korean to the 70 parents of a Korean heritage school located in San Francisco and collected 24 responses in total. The only criterion for participation in this study was to be a parent of a child attending a Korean heritage language school.

Both the online/offline survey and interview were prefaced with an introduction stating that they might skip any questions they did not want to answer and that there would be absolutely no negative consequences for electing to not participate in the study

or skipping questions. They were also reminded that all responses would remain completely confidential and anonymous. I assured participants that I would not ask for their names and that since I number-coded the data immediately upon receipt, the participants would not be identifiable in any way.

Moreover, I mentioned that the survey was Part I of a two-part study and that they might approach me after the completion of the survey if they wished to participate in the interview. Since I was teaching at this school at the time, I was concerned that the parents of my students might feel uncomfortable participating in interviews, and if so, I would exclude them from the interviews. However, many of the parents of my students voluntarily showed their interest in my study and contacted me that they wanted to participate in the interview.

The survey consisted of 29 questions. However, some parents who participated in the survey skipped a few questions. 12 parents took the survey in English, and 12 completed the survey in Korean. All the parents who took the Korean survey said that Korean was their native language. On the other hand, in the English version of the survey, when asked about their native languages, eight chose English, two Korean, one Mandarin, and one Indonesian. 16 of the 25 participants identified that they were in their forties and six said they were in their thirties and only one was in their fifties. All the participants had at least some college as their highest level of education. Ten out of 24 participants had a bachelor's degree and seven master's degrees while four had degrees higher than a master's degree.

Initially, participants were asked to answer demographic questions about their background (e.g. age, place of birth, time of arrival in the United States, plans to return to

Korea, education, the motive for residing in the U.S.) and questions regarding their language use practices (e.g. self-rated proficiency in Korean and English, spouse's proficiency in Korean and English, ratings of children's language proficiency).

Interviews with Parents

After the survey was completed, individual interviews were conducted with seven participants. Schuman's (1982) Three-Interview Series was utilized to conduct one-on-one semi-structured interviews (Seidman, 1998). This three-step process enabled participants to reflect more deeply on their responses. In the first step, participants were asked general questions, such as "Why did you choose to send your child to Korean school?", "How important is it to you for your child to be bilingual?", "What do you think are the advantages of being able to speak Korean?"

In the next step, participants were asked to focus on the details of these experiences. For example, they were asked to reconstruct a typical day in the life of their family to better capture the language development context that the heritage language learners and parents were placed in. Some questions asked included: "Describe a typical day." "Focusing on language use, what are some situations in which you may speak Korean with your child?" "What are some situations in which you may speak English with your child?"

Finally, in the third step, parents were asked to think about their own past experiences and how they believed these experiences might have had an impact on them. Some questions asked are: "Why did you choose to send your child to this school over other schools?" "Is there anything that you would have done differently in terms of guiding your child's linguistic development?" These prompts along with the open-ended

aspect of the semi-structured interview allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the participants under study. All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed for the researcher to analyze.

Data Analysis

The researcher adopted a constructivist Grounded Theory approach (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to analyze the qualitative data and determine the emergent themes. Grounded Theory is an inductive data analysis strategy that attempts to construct a theory for which the researcher does not have any preconceived assumptions to prove or disprove. Rather, re-emerging concepts are identified, coded, and categorized until saturation is reached. The application of Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) begins with an open coding system approach.

First, after all the interviews were transcribed, the researcher highlighted words or phrases that appeared multiple times. The highlighted notions that emerged across participants were then identified and coded as a potential theme. The coded data were then organized into categories and compared with other data to formulate a theme. To ensure the accuracy of translations that were made from some of the participants' Korean responses into English, a Korean-English bilingual (an expert in the field of heritage language learning) reviewed the interview transcripts and confirmed that the translations and interpretations were accurate.

Research Site

The research was conducted at a Korean heritage language school located in San Francisco. The school was established in 1973 and is known to have the longest history of teaching Korean in the Bay Area (the San Francisco Korean School, 2019). As of

December 2018, the school had 11 teaching staff members including one Korean traditional art teacher, one music teacher, and two assistant teachers for the pre-K classes. All the teachers were native speakers of Korean.

Not all the teachers had experience teaching in U.S. schools, but all had teaching experience of some sort, such as Sunday school teachers at church. Three teachers were public school teachers in Korea and one of them had been teaching at Korean Saturday schools for more than 20 years and served as a principal at a Korean Saturday school on the East Coast. Two teachers had master's degrees in education, while two other teachers had certificates in teaching Korean to the speakers of other languages. The Korean school faculty was required to take seminars twice a year, which were offered by the National Association for Korean Schools to ensure that the teaching staff had access to teaching resources and were up to date on Korean culture and perspectives. Moreover, the school provided mini seminars for the less experienced teachers at the school.

Approximately 70 heritage language learners were enrolled for the academic year of 2018- 2019. There were six different classes based on the children's age, from three-year-olds to 9th graders, and language proficiency. The class for the youngest students (three-year-olds) was Pororo-ban (Pororo is a cartoon character that is popular among the kids in Korea and ban means class). Mugungwha-ban (Mugungwha is the national flower of South Korea) was for four-year-olds and Sejongdaewang-ban (Sejongdaewang is the great King Sejong who invented Korean characters) was for five-year-olds. Taegeuk-ban (Taegeuk is the symbol in the middle of the South Korean flag) was for six and seven-year-olds and Geobookseon-ban (Geobookseon is the turtle ship that was used in a battle with Japan hundreds of years ago) had eight-year-olds to 10-year-olds. The

Hunminjeongeum-ban (Hunminjeongeum is the first document that described the Korean characters and languages) was for the oldest students ranging from fourth graders to eighth-graders.

When the school accepted applications for heritage school enrollment, the students were assigned to classes depending on their age. Then, each teacher decided if there were students who needed to be assigned to an upper-level class or lower-level class depending on proficiency. At the end of the year, teachers assessed the students and decided if the student needed to remain in the same class or need to be assigned to an upper-level class.

Unlike most of the other Korean heritage language schools, which were affiliated with local Korean churches, the San Francisco Korean school was not affiliated with any type of religion. The goal of the school was to help students learn the Korean language and culture. The classes were held every Saturday from 9:30 am to 12:30 pm. There were four 40-minute class periods with five to ten minutes of break between each class period. The lessons included lectures or activities to improve reading, writing, listening, and speaking skills in Korean. Korean traditional art class was offered to the students to help with learning Korean culture.

The Korean School was renting a building from St. Michael's Korean Catholic Church in the city of San Francisco only on Saturdays. Even though the classes were held on the premises of St. Michael's Korean Catholic Church, as previously mentioned, the school was not affiliated with St. Michael's Korean Catholic Church. The curriculum and the school regulations were not affected by religious beliefs. The Korean School was using eight classrooms and one office in a two-story building. The classrooms were slightly different from each other in their sizes and equipment. Overall, the school

provided necessary teaching equipment for teachers. When the school had an event for the students and their families, the school got permission from St. Michael's Korean Catholic Church to use the assembly hall for the day.

Participants

The participants were the parents of current students of the Korean heritage school. I was able to recruit seven parents who agreed to be interviewed voluntarily. According to the principal, most parents tended to be of a higher socioeconomic status, with the majority having a college education and over half having professional degrees. At the time, all heritage language students had at least one parent of Korean heritage, while the parents might or might not speak the Korean language at home regularly. The students attended private or public elementary schools and middle schools on weekdays and they attended the Korean heritage school only on Saturdays. The participants of this study had at least one child attending a Korean heritage school. Their children were in different classes according to their age or Korean language proficiency.

Protection of Human Subjects

First, I secured verbal consent from the heritage language school where the data were collected and then obtained written consent on August 6, 2018. I received permission from the USF Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects to conduct this research on August 17, 2018. The principal of the school notified parents about the study once I was ready to collect data. After the principal circulated emails and handouts to the parents regarding the study, I approached the parents both via email and in-person to give more information about the study. After consent had been obtained, the online survey link was sent out to the parents via email, and a paper form of

the survey was distributed at the same time so that they could choose one form or the other based on their preferences. A consent form was the first part of the survey.

Background of the Researcher

The researcher was born and raised in South Korea and then moved to the United States for her graduate study. While working on her Master's degree in TESOL (Teaching English to the Speakers of Other Languages), she got interested in bilingual education in the United States. Then she had a chance to work as an assistant teacher in an elementary school in New York. While working, she encountered many children of immigrants and noticed many of them were not able to communicate with their grandparents or/and their parents in their heritage language. Upon witnessing the language shift of immigrant children, heritage language development and maintenance of immigrant families became her focus of academic interest. During the time of her doctoral degree in International and Multicultural Education, she had an opportunity to volunteer at a Korean immersion program in an elementary school. Then she started teaching at a Korean heritage school and realized that there are more than 50 schools in just the Bay Area. Her experience in a Korean immersion program and a Korean heritage school made her wonder about parental perspectives and practices of the Korean language.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

This study examined the beliefs, practices, and expectations of Korean American parents living in the Bay Area about their children's heritage language education. The first part of this chapter depicts the demographics of the Korean American parents at the Korean school based on the survey data. The second part presents the perspectives of the participants based on the interviews conducted.

Overview

The purpose of this study was to understand the Korean American parents' beliefs and expectations for educating their children in their heritage language and to learn how much they practiced their heritage language at home. With the survey findings, the researcher was able to grasp the demographics of the Korean American parents in this study. With the interview findings, the researcher was able to better understand the beliefs, practices, and expectations of Korean American parents.

Survey Findings

Results from the quantitative study are elaborated below in tables and descriptions in this section. Twenty-four parents participated in the demographic survey which was provided in English and Korean. Twelve chose to answer in Korean, and 12 answered in English. They were directed to skip any questions that they did not wish to answer.

For the place of birth, thirteen answered Korea, while eight said they were born in the United States. Two were born in Taiwan and Indonesia respectively. For their native language, fourteen chose Korean while eight chose English and two said Mandarin and Indonesian respectively. As for their age, six were in their thirties, 16 in their forties, and one in their fifties. When being asked about years spent in an English-speaking country,

five chose fewer than five years, three chose 10 to 15 years, and 13 chose over 20 years. Thus 16 out of 2 participants lived in an English-speaking country for over 10 years.

The same question was asked about being in Korea; nine answered fewer than five years, three said 5-15 years, 10 chose over 20 years and one answered “only for vacation”. For the highest degree or level of education completed, one answered “some college,” one chose “community college,” 10 responded “Bachelor’s degree,” seven selected “Master’s degree” and four selected “beyond Master’s degree.”

Table 1

Language Proficiency

| | Very well | Well | Not well | Not at all |
|----------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <u>English</u> | | | | |
| Listening | 13 | 9 | 2 | 0 |
| Speaking | 13 | 9 | 2 | 0 |
| Reading | 14 | 8 | 2 | 0 |
| Writing | 13 | 9 | 2 | 0 |
| <u>Korean</u> | | | | |
| Listening | 11 | 8 | 4 | 1 |
| Speaking | 10 | 5 | 8 | 1 |
| Reading | 11 | 3 | 8 | 2 |
| Writing | 8 | 7 | 7 | 2 |

Table 1 illustrates the level of language proficiency that the participants rated themselves. Most of them rated their English proficiency “very well” or “well” and only

two chose “not well” for all four skills. On the other hand, for the Korean language, more people rated their language proficiency at a low level.

The frequency of language use is shown in Table 2 below. It was interesting to see that fourteen answered that they always used Korean with their parents, while only five said they always used Korean with their children. Even though many parents used the Korean language for their parents, they chose to use English for their children.

Table 2

Frequency of Language Use

| | Always | Often | Occasionally | Never |
|----------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|
| <u>English</u> | | | | |
| Spouse | 14 | 4 | 1 | 4 |
| Children | 7 | 9 | 5 | 3 |
| Parents | 5 | 2 | 3 | 14 |
| Relatives | 4 | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Friends | 10 | 6 | 6 | 2 |
| <u>Korean</u> | | | | |
| Spouse | 6 | 3 | 1 | 14 |
| Children | 5 | 7 | 9 | 3 |
| Parents | 14 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Relatives | 8 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| Friends | 3 | 7 | 4 | 10 |

For the place of birth of their children, 20 participants responded that their children were born in the United States, while only three were born in Korea. For the first

language that their child was exposed to at birth, seven chose Korean and 14 English, with two answering Mandarin and Indonesian respectively. When asked if there were changes in their children’s language use over time, 11 said yes, and the other 11 said no.

For Korean practice at home, the survey asked about the number of hours spent on Korean language learning outside of Korean school per week. Fifteen out of 22 answered in less than one hour. Five answered one to two hours while two responded three to four hours per week were spent Korean learning. Most of the children did not seem to spend any extra hours outside of Korean school which was only three hours a week on Saturdays. As for the books that they own for their children, eight answered they have fewer than 10 books in Korean while 21 said they have more than 30 books in English at home.

Table 3

Number of books at home

| | Fewer than 10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | More than 30 |
|---------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Korean | 8 | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| English | 0 | 0 | 1 | 21 |

The participants were asked about activities home that they engage in to help their children learn Korean at home and multiple answers were allowed. Nineteen out of 24 answered they spoke to their children in Korean, and 14 said they encourage their children to watch Korean movies or TV programs in Korean. Only three answered that they hired a Korean tutor, and only two responded that they attend religious events for Korean language education. Other responses included “spent summer vacation in Korea and sent the children to public schools in Korea” and “Korean-speaking nanny in infancy,

full-time Korean immersion daycare until kindergarten, Korean language summer camp, only allowed to watch TV/Videos in Korean.”

Table 4

Activities done at home for Korean language education

| | Number |
|---|---------------|
| Teach children Korean at home | 11 |
| Hire a Korean tutor | 3 |
| Speak to them in Korean | 19 |
| Attend religious events | 2 |
| Offer supplementary Korean materials at home | 13 |
| Encourage watching Korean movies or TV programs | 14 |
| Other | 3 |

As for the holiday celebrations, 12 answered they celebrated Korean holidays and 11 that they did not celebrate Korean holidays; yet 22 out of 23 said they celebrated American holidays. Unless celebrated at a Korean school or Korean church, half of the parents reported that they did not celebrate Korean holidays.

Regarding the heritage language expectations of their children, 19 said listening was important and 18 said speaking was important. Overall, most parents thought all four modalities were important or somewhat important; however, one parent said listening and speaking were not so important, while three parents said reading and writing were not so important or not important at all.

Regarding the heritage language expectations of their children, 19 said listening was important and 18 said speaking was important. Overall, most parents thought all four

modalities were important or somewhat important; however, one parent said listening and speaking were not so important, while three parents said reading and writing were not so important or not important at all.

Table 5

Language expectations of their children in each modality

| | Important | Somewhat important | Not so important | Not important at all |
|-----------|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Listening | 19 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| Speaking | 18 | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| Reading | 16 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Writing | 16 | 4 | 2 | 1 |

When being asked about the reasons why they wanted their children to learn the Korean language, as shown in Table 6, most parents wanted their children to understand and maintain Korean cultural heritage and to communicate with parents and/or relatives or other Korean speakers. Only seven chose “have better job opportunities.” It seemed like most parents wanted their children to learn Korean to learn more about Korean culture and have a Korean connection. Other responses included, “be more accepted by Koreans and Korean American communities,” and “as I cannot communicate what I want to say well enough in English, I want my children to learn Korean so that we can communicate and understand each other’s feelings more easily. That is why I want my children to learn Korean and to speak well.”

“내가 하고 싶은 말과 나의 마음을 내가 영어로 전달하지 못하니 내 자녀가 한국어를 배워서 서로 의사소통할 수 있고 서로의 감정전달을 쉽게 만들기 위해서 내 자녀가 한국어를 잘 하고 배우기를 원합니다.”

Table 6

Reasons why I want my children to learn Korean

| | Number |
|--|---------------|
| Have better job opportunities | 7 |
| Have better communication with parents and relatives | 18 |
| Understand Korean cultural heritage | 21 |
| Maintain Korean cultural heritage | 20 |
| Communicate with other Korean speakers | 21 |

For the reasons why the participants enrolled their children at a Korean school, most chose “to maintain their Korean identity.” In a similar connotation, 19 chose “know and preserve Korean values, traditions, and practices,” and 18 chose “learn the values and principles of Korean culture,” as shown in Table 7. Other responses included “to be more frequently exposed to Korean language use”, “for my children to learn Korean language reading and writing.” and “preserve Korean values, traditions, and practices,” and 18 chose “learn the values and principles of Korean culture,” as shown in Table 7. Other responses included “to be more frequently exposed to Korean language use” and “for my children to learn Korean language reading and writing.”

Table 7*Reasons why I enrolled my children in a Korean school*

| | Number |
|--|---------------|
| Learn the values and principles of Korean culture | 18 |
| Know and preserve Korean values, traditions, and practices | 19 |
| Stay connected to the Korean community in the United States | 7 |
| Maintain their Korean identity | 22 |
| Make new friends with Korean children who share the same values and traditions | 15 |
| Other | |

Summary

Twenty-four parents participated in the survey, and it helped the researcher to understand this specific group of Korean American parents. A bit over 50 % of the parents (13 out of 24) were born in Korea and fourteen chose Korean as their mother tongue. 91% (22 out of 24) of them were in their thirties or forties and the majority (13 out of 24) lived in the English-speaking country for over 20 years. Twenty-one out of 24 held a bachelor's degree or higher. Most of them rated their English proficiency as very well or well while about half of them rated their Korean proficiency as not well or not at all. Regarding language use with spouses, children, parents, relatives, and friends, there was no specific trend revealed. For the activities done for their children's Korean language education, the top three choices for the parents were, 1) speaking to their children in Korean 2) encouraging their children to watch Korean movies or TV programs, and 3) offering supplementary Korean materials at home. For holiday

celebrations, 12 out of 24 answered they celebrated Korean holidays while 22 out of 24 answered they celebrated the United States holiday.

About the heritage language expectation, 19 said listening was important and 18 said speaking was important. Interestingly, one parent said all the modalities were not so important. The top three reasons that the parents chose for the heritage language education were: 1) understand Korean cultural heritage 2) communicate with other Korean speakers 3) maintain Korean cultural heritage. For the top three reasons for enrollment in the Korean language school, parents chose: 1) maintain their Korean identity, 2) know and preserve Korean values, traditions, and practices 3) learn the values and principles of Korean culture.

Profiles of Participants

Table 8 provides basic demographic information on the seven study participants. Pseudonyms are used to protect their privacy.

During the interviews, I found that each participant was highly educated; six of them had jobs before their child was born. Three of them continued working after their first child was born. At the time of the study, only one was working full time and the rest were stay-at-home mothers. In the following profiles, I provided background information on each participant.

Table 8

Study Participant Profiles

| Participant | Reasons for Coming to the United States | Years in the United States | The first language of Spouses | Languages Used at Home |
|--------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Jiyoung | Husband's study | 2.5 years | Korean | Korean |

| | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Soobin | Job | 10-20 years | English | Korean, English |
| Areum | Marriage | 10-20 years | English, Korean | Korean, English |
| Garam | Marriage | 10-20 years | Korean | Korean |
| Sooyoun | Marriage | 10-20 years | Korean, English | Korean, English |
| Michelle | Born in the US | Born in the US | NA | Korean, English |
| Sunjung | Family immigration | Over 20 years | English, Polish | Korean, English |

Jiyoung, 30s, Former Teacher in Korea

Jiyoung was one of the first parents to contact the researcher and show her interest in the research. The interview took place at her home. The researcher has known her as a colleague at the Korean school, but since we never had the chance to speak in private, it was a great opportunity for the researcher to learn about her and her family.

Jiyoung was born and raised in Korea. As she previously studied in the United States for a year and worked as an English teacher in Korea, she is comfortable using English. Her husband is also good at English as he spent his middle school and high school days in the United States. When Jiyoung's husband was accepted into a Master's program in Business Administration, the family relocated to the United States. Their initial plan was to stay here only for two years until he completed the program. Therefore, Jiyoung used English only at home in the beginning, as she wanted her child to acquire English as much as possible and as fast as possible.

Then she noticed that her child's Korean proficiency level was dropping significantly and that her child preferred to use English even at home within six months. So Jiyoung now worries about her child's Korean proficiency as they plan to go back to

Korea in a few years. For that reason, she switched to using English at home from Korean; however, her child is now refusing to use Korean as she claims it confuses her. Since the family plans to go back to Korea within three years, the parents want their children to be able to use Korean in academic school settings in Korea so that they can adapt easily to Korean school.

Soobin, 30s, Hotelier

When the researcher was speaking with the principal about the study, Soobin happened to be present. Upon listening to our conversation, she jumped in and said she would be happy to be interviewed. The researcher met Soobin at a café near their home. She was passionate about Korean language education, and we talked about heritage language education for over an hour, even after the interview ended.

Soobin studied in Switzerland after college. Since she worked in Canada and the United States, she is proficient in English. Soobin's husband is American and does not understand Korean at all, except for simple phrases such as “이 닦아” (brush your teeth) or “밥 먹어” (eat your food). Since her child was born, Soobin communicated with her child in Korean and her husband in English. However, Soobin emphasized that because her child is Korean, her child needs to be good at Korean. So Soobin hired a Korean nanny for her child and made her child talk to their relatives in Korea frequently over the phone. She also visits their families and relatives in Korea every summer so that her child can keep in touch with them and hone her Korean language skills.

Areum, 40s, Former Teacher in Korea

Areum is a single mother with a tight schedule. However, she volunteered to be interviewed and invited me to meet at a café. We were able to have the interview on an afternoon in November 2019, while her child was in choir practice.

Areum was born and raised in Korea. She lived her whole life in Korea but came to the United States for marriage, while her husband came for graduate study. At school, he did not have anyone with whom he could speak Korean, and after school, he got a job where he did not have anyone to speak Korean with again. Thus, he stopped using Korean completely, and English became his primary language since then. As the preferred language of Areum's husband was English and her child would be living in the United States, Areum did not use Korean to her child until her child was two years old. Areum visited Korea with her child when her child was around two years old. At that time, her child picked up many Korean words and became conversant in Korean over a few weeks. Then Areum started using Korean with her child.

Garam, 40s, Stay-at-home Mom

Garam was happy to participate in the study because she wanted to share many of her thoughts about Korean language education. The researcher has known her for four years as a Korean school teacher but did not have any chance to speak in private. Over lunch, at Garam's house, she shared many of her personal stories and much about her life. After lunch, the interview lasted about an hour.

Garam was born, raised, and continued to live in Korea until she got married. Her husband came to the United States after graduating high school. He went to college in the United States and had many Korean American friends. During his college days, he saw

many of his Korean American friends who never learned Korean as second-generation immigrants and then suffered from an identity crisis. Thus, he made up his mind that he would make his future children speak Korean and have a strong Korean identity. He firmly believed that the Korean language is important for their children's identity and made sure that his wife, Garam, was on the same page with him. Among the interviewees, Garam's husband was the only one who had strong opinions on teaching the Korean language.

Sooyoun, 30s, Part-time Student

Sooyoun invited the researcher to a church, where her husband was the pastor, for the interview. After the interview, her husband gave a short tour of the church.

Sooyoun's husband came to the United States for graduate school. Afterward, he started working in a community where he was the only Korean, so he switched his primary language to English. Then he got married. Sooyoun was born and raised in Korea, and she came to the United States upon their marriage. After marriage, they continued to live in an environment where they were the only Korean family. For the first child, they tried using Korean. However, their second child refused to speak both languages because she claimed it was confusing. Then the second child chose to speak English only.

Michelle, 40s, Doctor

Michelle was the only second-generation immigrant among the interviewees. She invited the researcher to her office, where the interview was conducted for a little over one hour. The researcher has known her for almost four years, but this was her first time sharing her personal stories. Michelle is a respected pediatrician and youth advocate

working to improve the health condition of families and children. She was the only one whom the researcher interviewed in English as she preferred English because of her limited proficiency in Korean. Even with her limited Korean proficiency, she has been trying hard to help her children to maintain the Korean language.

Michelle's parents immigrated to the U.S. in the 1960s and she and her siblings were born on the East Coast of the United States. She grew up in a place where there were no other Koreans at all in the community. She was spoken to in Korean by her parents for two years from birth but then they decided to use English only at home because their nanny could not communicate with the children in Korean. She has not used Korean with her parents ever since. As she grew up in a small town where there are not so many Asians and was confronted with many incidents of racial discrimination.

Growing up we got asked, "Are you black or white?" And my mom told us a story about how when my brother and I started school, we come home crying because they called us Chinese. And then she tried to comfort my brother saying you know that's because they don't know about Korea and they only know about China and Japan. And my brother said to her "It's the way they say it" and he was really upset.

Being enclosed by non-Asians did not help her to establish a firm Korean identity. Instead, she aspired to be assimilated into mainstream society so that she could be unnoticed that she was different.

However, as she didn't want her children to feel the same way as she felt before and she hoped that her children to have a strong Korean identity, she was trying everything she could do on her end to help her children to learn Korean. When she was

working with youth in the juvenile hall around the Thanksgiving a few years ago, she asked them how they felt about American holidays and they responded

They just looked at us and they would go “Wait till Chinese New Year! Then we will be having our own feast!” And their sense of who they were was so different. So different. And I wanted my children to have that sense of themselves like not just being someone who wasn’t white or who wasn’t black or was foreign. But have just a strong sense of who he was and where he comes from and what it means to be Korean-American or Asian American here. And he really has that. I mean he really has this strong sense of Korean identity and what it means to be Korean. And I think, or Korean American. And that’s part of his identity. And so I think he knows all this stuff about Korean culture. So I feel like he feels very connected and he doesn’t have the same sense of isolation that my brother and sister and I did in North Carolina. So that was a big part of it.

Because her parents stopped using Korean, she lost opportunities to speak Korean and did not have access to other members of the Korean community. Because she does not speak Korean fluently, she hired a Korean nanny and sent her children to a Korean daycare so that her children could be exposed to the Korean language. She was doing whatever she could do to help her children to learn the Korean language and maintain their Korean identity.

Sunjung, 40s, Stay-at-home Mom

Sunjung invited the researcher to a restaurant where they had lunch together. Over lunch, she shared her concerns about her growing children and how she would be able to

help her children to use the Korean language. Then we moved to a nearby café and started the interview.

Sunjung immigrated to the United States with her whole family when she was a high school student. During her high school years, she did not have many friends who spoke Korean and her family became the only people with whom she used Korean. Then she went to college and lived in the dorm where there was almost no one who speaks Korean; she used Korean only when she was talking to her family over the phone. As she used English almost all the time, she became more comfortable using English and did not have a chance to use Korean in her daily life. Her husband is a second-generation immigrant from Poland.

When her first child was born, Sunjung recalled that she used Korean with her child, while her husband used English. Then Sunjung noticed that because of miscommunication, her children were receiving mixed signals from their parents and got confused. Therefore, she stopped using Korean at home unless she was on the phone with her parents. Then one day, she watched a tragic accident happen in Korea and she started watching all the news related to the accident. Afterward, she joined a Bay Area support meeting for the parents of the victims (high school students) of the accident. Because of that, she started using Korean more than before and became deeply involved with the support meeting. Since that time, she has continued her Korean language use since then.

Overview of Interviews

All seven mothers were willing to participate in the interviews as they saw this as an opportunity for them to express their own opinions on heritage language learning and teaching. Three invited the researcher to their own home or church to show how they

actually use Korean books and/or videos to educate their children. While the above description of the seven participants does not capture the full spectrum of diversity in the Bay Area's Korean American community, the participants varied in their work experience, Korean and English proficiencies, language use with a spouse, as well as language practices within the home. Thus, studying the perspectives of the seven participants provides an in-depth look at the language beliefs, practices, and goals of several subgroups within the Korean-American community.

Notwithstanding the diverse responses among participants, common themes emerged. From the transcribed interviews, the researcher was able to identify words, phrases, or concepts that were expressed by the participants. The most prevalent common emergent themes were: 1) Importance of the Parental Role, 2) Maintaining Korean Language and Ethnic Identity, 3) Limited Exposure to the Korean Language, 4) Positive Feelings towards the Korean Culture and Language, 5) No Strict Family Language Policy, 6) No High Expectations for Heritage Language Learning, and 7) Diminishing Expectations with the Start of Schooling.

Themes

Importance of the Parental Role

During the interviews, all the participants perceived the parental role as being the most important factor in their children's heritage language learning. All the participants repeatedly affirmed that it is up to the parents and their surrounding community that the children learn their heritage language. For example, when being asked about who plays the biggest role in learning and teaching heritage language, Soobin replied that it is the

parents since they were the ones making educational decisions for their children including which school and/or classes to attend.

가장 제가 봤을 때 중요한 역할을 하는 건 부모님이고 왜냐면 부모님이 애 학교 보내봐요. 아무리 한국학교 3-4 년을 다녀도 입 뺄것도 못하는 애들도 있잖아요. 그거는 아무 소용 없는 거 같아요. 가장 중요한 건 부모님이고 그 다음에는 이제 커뮤니티에서 어떻게 하고 주정부에서 얼마나 또 보조를 해주고.

In my opinion, parents play the most important role here. Why? Let's say you have sent your children to a Korean school for 3-4 years. Still, there are some children who do not speak a word of Korean. That is useless. The most important factor is of course the parents and then maybe the community and maybe from the state...

On the same note, Jiyoung agreed that the parents were the sole important factor in heritage language education as they would decide everything for their children's education. Michelle also pointed out that if the parents were not invested in heritage language learning, there was no point in teaching the language to the children.

Sooyoun stated that the immigrants who use the heritage language should have the will to preserve their culture and language as the "Americans" would not do it for the immigrants. She added that she had witnessed that many immigrant children whose mothers read many Korean books and did language-related activities ultimately had greater heritage language competency.

그건 아마 그 모국어를 쓰는 사람들이 자기 문화에 대한 계승에 대한 의지가 있으면 그 사람들끼리 만들어야 하는 거지. 미국 사람들이 한국어를 해주는 게 아니잖아요. 그런 거는 우리가 만들어야지.

It's probably something that people who speak their native language have to create among themselves if they have the will to inherit their culture. I don't think Americans will speak Korean for us. We have to make things happen.

Maintaining Korean Language and Ethnic Identity

Another common theme among participants was the idea that the Korean language was the key to solidifying their ethnic identity. In accordance with Tse(2001)'s finding that language was the most salient marker of group membership, participants believed that proficiency in the Korean language would grant them membership into the Korean community and give them a sense of affiliation. In addition, the participants expected their children to speak Korean as they identified their children as "Koreans." Soobin stated that her child needed to learn Korean as she was a Korean. She added her child would root for Korean teams in sports games as she identified herself as Korean.

얘는 반은 한국 사람이잖아요. 한국사람이니까... 자기도 알아요. 그래서 얘는 한국국기가, 태극기가 텔레비에 나온다 경기 해가지고 나오면 저 사람이 이겨야 한데. 자기도 한국사람이니까 저 사람도 한국 사람이니까 이겨야 한다고. 그런 식으로 해가지고 그게 되게 강해요. 자체가 자기가 한국사람이라는 그게.

She's half Korean, isn't she? Since she is a Korean... She knows it herself. So if the Korean flag, the Taegeukgi, was on TV, she says that person should win.

Because she is Korean and that person is also Korean. He should win. She has this strong Korean identity. She strongly believes that she is a Korean.

Sooyoun made similar comments regarding identity. She stated the roots of her children were undeniably Korean as her parents were Korean. Therefore she expected them to speak Korean.

자기 근본은, 엄마 아빠가 한국 사람이니까, Korean American 인거는 확실하잖아요. 그래서 어느 정도는 읽고 쓰고를 안 하면 말이라도 좀 하고
Their roots are, their parents are Korean, so they are pretty sure that they are Korean American. So if they don't read or write to some extent in Korean, at least they could speak.

Sunjung explained that she wanted her children to learn the Korean language as they were Koreans. She stated that to be exact, her children are Korean-Polish American; however, she claimed that her children would have a strong sense of belonging if they could speak the Korean language.

이유는 자기가 아무래도 한국사람이고, 한국에 커즌도 있고 이모도 있고, 할머니도 계시고, 어 그런 거죠. 뭐. 정체성 이런거? 애는 반반이긴 하지만. 자기가 어디에 소속감? 이런 것도 있고. 이제 한국계 미국인, 폴란드계 미국인, 뭐 이런 자기 아이덴티티도 좀 생기고, 그 다음에 한국 문화에 대해서 어떤 자신감을 가지고 자랑스러워할 수 있는 그런 거를 좀 가르쳐 주고 싶어서...

The reason is that he is a Korean and they have cousins, aunts, and grandmother... Hm...something like identity? Well, my kids are half and half

(meaning they are half Korean and half Polish). There will be some sense of belonging? They will develop an identity of Korean-American or Polish-American. Then I want them to learn something about Korean culture that they could be proud of...

Garam also described an incident about Korean Americans being criticized for not being able to speak the Korean language even though they are Koreans.

한국말 못하면 아유 한국사람인데 왜 그것도 못 알아듣냐? 너 그것도 몰라? 막 그런걸 보니까 정체성이 진짜 중요하구나.

If they cannot speak Korean, people would say “don’t you understand that even if you are a Korean? You don’t even know what it means?” Upon hearing those stories, I thought the identity is important.

Garam’s story resonated with that of Michelle, who also grew up in the United States speaking English only. Garam also felt disconnected from the Korean community because she was not able to speak the language. She believed that it would be difficult for her child to be accepted into the Korean community if they did not speak the language. She assumed that the Korean language would play a key role for her child to have a sense of belonging with the Korean community.

I didn’t want my kid to grow up so disconnected from where he came from. So that was really important to me. I think that language really matters. To have that sense, um to be connected to the Korean community in the US...I think that also matters...I thought it would be very difficult for us to be accepted in the Korean American community if he doesn’t speak Korean. And so you know language makes up for a lot...But if he speaks Korean, that

would help him so much to be accepted for a family to be accepted and included. That was also part of what I was thinking too...And so I thought that the language is really important...having that connection.

One of the most important goals that parents had for their children was to retain their Korean identity. Michelle vividly recounted her experiences and struggles with identity and how it was important how her son needed to understand and accept his identity:

So we grew up sort of not feeling a lot of positive identity about being Asian. You know really wishing that we were white. That we could pass for white. And I think hoping that if you assimilate enough, that nobody will notice that you are not white. That no one will notice that you are actually Asian or Korean. And so that's not a very good way to grow up to want to be something different than what you are. I always wanted to have blonde Barbie dolls and just like to blend in. It's very different from San Francisco, now. And I didn't want my child to feel like that.

Limited Exposure to the Korean Language

Korean is a heritage language that is not supported in the larger mainstream community. As a result, despite parental efforts to teach their children Korean, exposure to the Korean language seemed to be limited to a handful of sources, including TV, books, occasional trips to Korea, and communication with family members. All the participants stated that their children did not have sufficient opportunities to actually practice using the Korean language outside their home or Korean school classrooms.

In Sooyoun's case, since their family was the only Koreans where they lived before moving to the Bay Area, her children did not have any chances to use the Korean language outside the home. Even after moving to the Bay Area, Sooyoun felt that her children lacked ample opportunity to speak Korean. She added that since she did not watch much Korean TV at home or had any relatives visiting them, her children had no natural settings to practice the Korean language.

저희가 이렇게 미국 문화권에서 사니까 저희는 친구가 별로 없어요. 한국 사람들이. 그리고 만날 기회가 없으니까. 교류가 없어요. 애들이 한국어를 접할 기회가 많지 않아요. 저희 애들은. 그게 조금은 안 느는 거 같아요. 저희 애들은. 그리고 제가 집에서 티비를 보거나 이런 스타일이 아니거든요. 티비를 이렇게 틀어놓거나 방송을 엄마들이 보는 경우는 그래도 애들이 한국문화를 접하잖아요. 친척도 오고. 그런데 저희집은 그런게 없어요. 그래서 애들이 한국말을 접하고 한국 문화를 접할 기회가 거의 없어요.

As we live in an environment of American culture, we don't have many friends, I mean Korean friends. As we don't have any chances to meet anyone, there are no communications in Korean. For the kids, there aren't so many chances to be exposed to the Korean language. For my children, As I don't watch TV in Korean at home so they don't have any chances. When moms watch Korean programs at home, the kids are naturally exposed to some Korean culture at least. But for my family, there isn't anything like that. So my children rarely have a chance to come across the Korean language or culture of any sort.

On the other hand, Soobin exposed her child to the Korean language by hiring a Korean-speaking nanny. Both the mother and nanny were using the Korean language with her child. Even though she had more than 200 Korean books and videos at home, she still felt that her child needed to be exposed to a natural setting where the Korean language would be used. Consequently, she video-called her parents, sister, and/or cousins in Korea so that her child could practice Korean every day. However, when speaking about difficulties in teaching her child Korean, she pointed out that the insufficient exposure to the Korean language in a natural setting made it harder for her child to use the language. With this limited exposure, her child tended to use Korean less; so she worried her child's Korean language skills might be getting worse.

한국어를 쓰게 하는 환경이 너무 제한되어 있는게 너무 힘들어요. 그 언어를 계속 쓸 수 있는 환경을 만들어줘야 하는데, 그게 없으면은 그게 안 쓰다 보면 점점 못하게 되는 거예요....

The most challenging thing is that the environment where the Korean language is used is so limited. I have to create an environment where my kid should use the Korean language. If not, my kid will not be using any Korean then eventually they will not be able to speak any Korean.

Areum also stated that she had many Korean books at home, but still, she felt her child needed more chances to speak Korean. Even though she brought her child to the Korean-speaking church, her child would give only short answers to adults when being greeted and used English exclusively with their peers. She was worried that due to this limited exposure to the Korean language, her child would not have any actual chance to speak the language.

아무래도 노출빈도가 적으니까. 이제 한국 가정이니까 소리는 들어서
 그렇지만 정말 말할 기회가 없으니까. 그런 노출빈도가 오피셜리
 노출빈도가 별로 없어서 그게 좀 아쉽기는 해요.

Well..as the frequency of exposure to the Korean language is very low... As it is a
 Korean family, my kid would hear the Korean language without paying attention
 but they never have a chance to speak the language. It's a shame that my kid
 doesn't have that much chance to be exposed to the Korean language.

Sunjung expressed the same worry that her children did not have any
 opportunities to speak in Korean.

Positive Feelings toward Korean Culture and Language

Many parents also stressed the importance of their children having positive
 feelings toward the Korean culture and language so that they might eventually wish to
 learn on their own in the future. When asked about the reasons for teaching the Korean
 language to their children, many answered that they wanted their children to have a
 positive impression of Korean culture and language. All the participants expressed their
 wish that their children would want to learn more about Korea, Korean culture, and/or the
 Korean language if they were exposed to Korean culture and had positive experiences as
 children.

Sunjung said that she sent her children to the Korean school because she wanted
 her children to be proud of the Korean culture and identity even though they did not have
 a perfect command of the Korean language.

한국 문화에 대해서 어떤 자신감을 가지고 자랑스러워 할 수 있는 그런
 거를 좀 가르쳐 주고 싶어서

I want to teach them something that they could take pride in or be proud of the Korean culture.

Jiyoung wanted her children to be able to share the culture of their parents' country and to be bicultural so that they could feel comfortable with the Korean culture, food, and songs. Then she hoped that someday, her children would want to know more about Korea and they would learn on their own.

그래도 부모랑, 이런 모든 문화나 이런 것들을 공유하면서 컸으면 좋겠다는 생각이 들더라구요. 문화적으로도 이제 한국문화가 익숙하고 한국음식이 익숙하고 한국노래가 익숙하고 이런 친구들이 있더라구요. 저희는 그렇게 키우는 게 목표라서.

I thought that I wish my children could share the culture or something like that of their parents. Some kids are familiar with Korean culture and Korean food even though they were born and raised in the United States. My goal is to raise my children like one of them.

Areum wished for her child to keep learning Korean so that she would know about Korean culture and have familiarity with the culture when she grew up.

한 번이라도 접하면 다음에 지가 어른돼서 철이 들었을 때 아 이런 게 있었지 어 이렇더라 그래도 그런 경험이라도 있으면 좋지 않을까 하는 생각에서 하는데..

If they are exposed to this type of culture at least once, when they grow up they will remember, "Well there were these things.." I think having that experience in childhood would benefit them in any way...

Sooyoun wanted to bring her children to the Korean school so that they could be exposed to the Korean culture. She believed that once they found the Korean culture interesting that then they might be interested in learning the Korean language. She wanted the Korean school not only to be a place for her children to be taught the Korean language but also to be a fun place for them to learn Korean culture.

한국 문화 좋다. 한국 사람 좋다. 그냥 좋은 이미지. 내가 이렇게 와서 한국 문화도 배우고. 네, 그런.. 이런 좋은 감정? 이런 게 생기면 나중에라도 결정을 할 수가 있잖아요.

I like Korean culture. I like Korean people. Just have good vibes. If they learn Korean culture and have positive feelings toward it. Then they can decide later (to study Korean)

Sooyoun visited Korea with her children several times so that they could have enjoyable experiences in Korea. For her children, Korea was a place that they found interesting and looked forward to visiting again. In addition to having a stronger Korean identity, Sunjung expected her children to have pride in being Korean by learning the Korean language and experiencing the Korean culture.

정말 좋은 문화에 대한 이런, 그런 걸 열어 주면 애들이 나중에 선택을 할 수 있을 거 같아가지고. 그래서 보여주고. 기회되면 한국 가서 재미있는 문화, 한국가서 한국 사람들이 사는 걸 보여주고, 좀 저희는, 저희는 그런 편이거든요...한국음식, 한국 어디 이렇게 보는 거, 한국민속촌, 박물관, 되게 좋아해요. 재미있는 곳, 가고 싶은 곳이에요...문화에 노출해준다 보면 기본적인 큰 픽쳐는 이건데 문화가 좋다보면 배우고 싶어하지 않을까.

이게 가장 기본으로 있는데. 그 마음이 생기지 않아도. 재미있는 곳?
 배우니까 좋다.

If I show them things related to culture, they might be able to make choices later in their lives (something related to Korea). If possible, we go to Korea and show my children the fun and interesting Korean culture and how they live. My children love Korean food, sightseeing in Korea, Korean folk village, and Korean museum. For them, Korea is a fun place and a place that they really want to visit....So if I expose them to Korean culture that they like, then they might want to learn Korean. To be honest, that is what I really want. But well, even though they don't really want to learn Korean, at least I want them to see Korea as an interesting place.

No Strict Family Language Policy

Although most families believed that heritage language learning was important and they attempted to provide opportunities to practice, rules for Korean language use were not strictly enforced at home. Except for Garam, all the participants admitted that they did not have a strict family language policy.

When asked about Korean language use at home, Jiyoung answered she always used Korean at home. She allowed her children to watch Netflix shows only in the Korean language. However, she did not force her children to speak in Korean. Even though she used only Korean to her children, her children would reply in English half of the time. She added she would not punish her children for not using the Korean language and she would not praise them when they did, either. In other words, she did not make rules for using language at home.

늘 한국어로 얘기하는데, 음, 거의 대부분은 한국어로 생활하고 한국어로 하는 편인데...저는 무조건 답은 한국어로 하고 이제 한국어를 조금 더 쓰기 위해서 유도를 하구요. 이 티비 보여주는 것도 넷플릭스로 만화를 보여주는데, 다 한국말로 바꿔놨어요...백프로 한국어로 하지만 그래도 첫째는 저한테 얘기하는게 반은 한국어 반은 영어이긴 해요.

I always talk to them in Korean. ...for most parts, I use Korean only. I tried to make them use more Korean whenever possible. For example, I let them watch cartoons on Netflix but they are allowed to watch only in Korean. I use Korean 100% but my first child would speak to me half the time in Korean and half the time in English.

Areum and Soobin both stated that they would not force their children to answer in Korean even though they used only Korean in communication with them. Moreover, when Soobin spoke to her child, she only used Korean, but her child replied in English.

Sunjung said she would mix up Korean and English when speaking to her children. Whenever she felt like “I need to use Korean,” then she would use Korean. However, if the conversation carried on, the children would not be able to answer in Korean, and eventually, the conversation would end up in English.

When being asked about language use at home, Sooyoun described that she used Korean only with her husband but she used English with her children. In the beginning, she spoke to her children in Korean for years. However, her second child asked her to stop using Korean as it confused her. So she simply stopped using it not to confuse her daughter. Sooyoun explained that she did not want to force her children to speak Korean at home as she did not want them to have negative feelings about using the Korean

language. She worried her children would not want to learn Korean anymore if she forced them to use the Korean language against their will. Sooyoun added, “저희는 룰이 없어요. 한국어 써라 한국말만 해야 한다. 그 룰이 없어요. There are no language rules at our house. We simply don’t have Korean only rules”. So, she just let her children make their own choice regarding their language use.

그렇게 억지로 안 하고 싶어요. 하면 좋은 거고..말이라는 게 생활로 배우는 거잖아요. 싫게 하고 싶지는 않아요. 그냥 기회가 되면 한국 사람을 만나게 해주고 기회가 되면 한국을 갈 기회를 만들어 주고. 기회를 주고 싶은 거지.

I really don’t want to force them. If they speak Korean, it would be nice. But the language, you need to learn by using it in your daily life. I don’t want them to hate using Korean by forcing them. I just want them to have a chance to use the Korean language naturally if they happen to meet Korean people. I don’t want to force them, I just want to give them (possible) opportunities to use the Korean language if there are any.

Garam was the only one who had strict rules about using the Korean language; she used only Korean all the time with her children. Whenever the children spoke to her in English, she pretended that she did not understand so they switched back to Korean. However, she found that this practice was becoming more difficult as her children spoke in English to each other when they were alone.

No High Expectations for Heritage Language Learning

In general, expectations for heritage language learning were not high. When being asked about expectations about their children's language proficiency, their answers varied, but most of them had relatively low expectations. Sooyoun and Areum were at two extreme ends regarding expectations, and all the other parents were in between. Sooyoun stated that she did not have any expectations about her child being proficient in Korean.

On the other hand, Areum wanted her child to go to Korea as an exchange student during high school or college education. She also hoped for her child eventually to live in Korea and function as a Korean. Her expectations were high and she wished her child to speak the Korean language at the level of a simultaneous interpreter.

Most of the other participants replied that they would be satisfied with their child's Korean proficiency being at a conversant level, particularly with family members. Soobin said she mostly wanted her child not to lose the Korean language so she could communicate with herself and other relatives in Korean throughout her life. She also wanted her child to be able to get by without any difficulties if traveling in Korea.

계속 한국말을 잊어버리지 않고 계속 해가지고 컸을 때도 한국말로 의사소통하는데 전혀 문제가 없고 이제 읽고 쓸 수 있는, 애가 논문을 읽고 쓰라는 게 아니고 그냥 보통 한국을 갔을 적에 생활할 때 문제가 없는.. 그렇게. 물론 읽고 쓰는 거는 보통 사람 지 나이 또래에 비해서 떨어지겠지만, 그래도 읽고 쓸 수 있고 말하고 듣는데 불편함 없이. 생활에 불편함 없는 정도로...

I wish them to keep using Korean so that they don't lose Korean. When they grow up, I want them to be able to communicate in Korean. I want them to read and write. I am not talking about reading or writing dissertations. If they visit Korea, I want them to be able to live as Koreans. Of course, the language skill might not be at the level of their age, but I want them not to have any difficulties in speaking or listening. To a degree that they don't feel any inconveniences.

According to Sunjung, while she did not expect her children to read or write yet but she did want them to just speak the language. She hoped for her children to be able to communicate with their grandparents or relatives in Korean. If not, she always would have to be there to interpret both sides so that they would understand each other. One time her children started speaking in Korean with her grandparents, making them so happy; and that was one main reason that she wanted her children to keep learning Korean.

Like Soobin and Sunjung, Michelle also expressed her wish that her children would be able to communicate with their relatives in Korea. Especially because she could not speak the language, the language barrier hindered her from being deeply connected to her relatives despite her emotional connection. She wanted her children to have that connection through having language competency. Sooyoun expressed that she did not have any expectations for her children in learning Korean; she simply wanted her children to have positive feelings for Korea and to be Korean.

Diminishing Korean Language Use with the Start of Schooling

Another common theme that emerged was that despite the beliefs, efforts, and hopes regarding heritage language, the Korean parents' expectations as well as

motivations, seemed to diminish after their children started school. Even though all the participants were still sending their children to Korean schools and trying to provide resources to practice the Korean language, they seemed to recognize the reality that their children stopped using the Korean language once they started attending schools.

Soobin brought up her frustration with her child forgetting Korean words and vocabulary once she started Kindergarten and began learning English. Even though she tried so hard, teaching Korean was not as effective as before since her child spent most of the time speaking English at school.

학교 때문에. 너무 급속도로 달라졌어요. 학교를 다니면서. 영어 쓰는게. 처음에 세 살 프리스쿨 갈 때까지도 영어를 잘 못했어요. 할 줄은 아는데 한국말처럼 편하지 않았어요...진짜 킨더가든 가면서부터 영어가 급속도로, 조금이 아니예요. 완전히. 왜냐면 하루종일 쓰는게 많으니까. 그러니까 그게 너무 확연히 보이는 거예요. 그런데 보니까 애가 영어 쓰는 속도가 너무 빨리 늘어나니까 그게 안 되겠는 거예요. 진짜 그건 너무 확연하게 보이는 거예요. 아 집에서 내가 아무리 그걸 가르치려고 해도 쓰고 읽는 걸, 이제 학교를 들어가서 영어를 쓰고 읽는게 되니까는 한국말도 가르치자 했는데 너무 안 되는 거예요. 집에서 가르치니까

Because of school, everything changed so rapidly. With the school, she started using English...in the beginning, when she was three until she went to preschool, she could not use English well enough. She could use it but she did not feel comfortable as she did with Korean. Once she started kindergarten, I could see so clearly that her English improved so rapidly. I felt like I should do something for

her Korean. Even though I tried to teach her Korean at home... As she started learning English at school, I thought I could not keep up with the speed of her acquiring English.

Sunjung expressed the same frustration; she wanted her children to be bilingual and used Korean a great deal with her children before schooling. However, with the start of schooling and the dominant language being English, she almost gave up. Garam's story also reflected the rapid language shift that she experienced.

우리 애가 킨더가든을 들어갈 때까지도 헬로밖에 못했어요. 제가 완전 끼고 있어가지고. 그랬던 애가 갑자기 킨더가든 6 개월 지나니까 방언이 터지듯이 영어를 좌라라라. 처음에는 약간 걱정했어요. 영어를 헬로밖에 못 해가지고 어떻게 하지 큰일났다 그랬는데 걱정할 일이 아니었어. 알고 봤더니. 그래 가지고 완전 영어를 하면서.

Hello was the only thing that my child was able to speak in English until he started kindergarten. Because I took care of him full time, I did not send him anywhere such as daycare. Then after six months in kindergarten, he spoke only in English. At the beginning of kindergarten, I was worried a bit as hello was the only word he knew. Then I realized that it was nothing to worry about. He switched to English.

Jiyoung witnessed this same trend. Even though it had been only two and half years that their family lived in the United States, her child started losing Korean vocabulary only after a few months right after she started schooling. She confessed that her child's reading level in English was much higher than in Korean.

Summary of Findings

This study explored the Korean American parents' perspectives, practices, and expectations in their children's heritage language education. Seven themes emerged from the interviews: 1) the importance of the parental role in heritage language education, 2) maintaining the Korean language and ethnic identity, 3) limited exposure to the Korean language, 4) positive feelings towards the Korean culture and language, 5) no strict family language policy, 6) no high expectations for heritage language learning, and 7) diminishing Korean language use with the start of schooling. These emergent themes helped the researcher to better understand the Korean American parents' attitudes toward heritage language education and their practices.

All the participants agreed that the parental role was the most important aspect of heritage language education since the parents were usually the sole decision-makers for their children's education. Many parents also believed that the Korean language would provide their children with a sense of belonging to the Korean community. They believed that if their children could speak the language, they would be easily accepted as Koreans. For these reasons, the parents wanted their children to learn the Korean language.

However, the parents complained that many sources were lacking for their children to practice the Korean language. Outside their home and the Korean school, their children had almost no place where they could use Korean. In addition, it turned out that the parents did not have a strict family language policy. Except for one exception, all the parents did not force their children to speak the Korean language. On the same note, the parents did not have high expectations for their children's heritage language learning. Mostly, they wanted their children to be able to communicate with their relatives in Korea. Parents' expectations diminished once their children started schooling since then

the dominant language became English. The parents also hoped for their children to have positive feelings toward the Korean culture and language so that they could one day learn Korean on their own in the future.

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

Summary

This study investigated the Korean American parents' perspectives, practices, and expectations in their children's heritage language education. The study called attention to seven themes that emerged from the participants' interviews: 1) the importance of the parental role in heritage language education, 2) maintaining the Korean language and ethnic identity, 3) limited exposure to the Korean language, 4) positive feelings towards the Korean culture and language, 5) no strict family language policy, 6) no high expectations for heritage language learning, and 7) diminishing the Korean language use with the start of schooling. These seven themes helped the researcher to better interpret the Korean American parents' attitudes toward heritage language education and their practices.

Discussion

The research questions that guided this study are revisited in this section and answered by incorporating the findings from the study and comparing them to the literature presented in Chapter 2.

The research questions used in this study were:

1. What are the language beliefs that Korean parents possess?
2. How do Korean American families describe their use of language at home?
3. What educational goals and expectations do Korean American parents have for their children's heritage language education?

The Importance of Parental Role in Heritage Language Education

The first research question for this study was “What are the language beliefs that Korean parents possess?” Many researchers affirmed that the parents are the most important factors in their children’s bilingual development (De Houwer, 2007; Kang, 2013; Pak & Sarker, 2007). During the interviews, all the participants identified the parental role as the utmost important variable in their children’s heritage language education. Previous studies (Fillmore, 2000; Kouritizin, 1999; Lao, 2004; Park & Sarker, 2007) also suggested that parents were one of the strongest factors in their children’s heritage language maintenance.

All the parents agreed that parents were playing the most critical role in teaching the heritage language to their children because they were the ones who made all the decisions for their children’s education. Similarly, Lee and Shin (2009) claimed that the parent’s role is crucial in their children’s heritage language education especially in the early stage, as Korean is usually formally introduced at the university level in the United States. One parent even said that it would be ineffectual if parents were not imbued in their children’s heritage language education. The participants in the study viewed heritage language education as the job that should be done by the parents and one of the participants, Sooyoun said that as “Americans” would not do it for the immigrants, heritage language education is up to the people who speak the language.

As De Houwer (2007) found out in his study, raising bilingual children relies heavily on the parents. Parents tend to choose which language they would use with their children depending on their language beliefs and attitudes. These choices and interactions

that parents make would affect the children's language development. Parents believed that they were the ones responsible for their children's Korean language proficiency.

Maintaining the Korean Language and Ethnic Identity

Without a doubt, parents expressed that maintaining the Korean language was an essential part of strengthening ethnic identity. This aligns with Deaux's (2000) statement that the language we use shapes our cultural and social identity. Other previous studies (Fillmore, 2000; Kouritzin, 1999; Lao, 2004; Park & Sarker, 2007) also supported the view that many parents regarded heritage language maintenance as a way to maintain their cultural identity. Participants in Park and Sarker's (2007) study also stated that "their children should maintain the heritage language to keep their identity as Koreans" (p.228) when they were asked about the reasons for wanting children to maintain the Korean language.

Even though all the participants were Korean American, none of them called their children "Korean Americans" but they called them "Koreans." Their ethnic identity was strongly associated with their heritage language regardless of their heritage language competence. Participants stated that their children should be able to speak the Korean language because they are "Koreans" and that would enable them to be part of the Korean community. Lee (2013) shared similar stories about parents' belief that their children should speak Korean because they were Koreans. In the same way, Duff (2007) pointed out that people negotiate their membership in specific groups through language and identify with them.

One of the participants, Michelle believed that the Korean language would play a key role for their children in being accepted into the Korean community. Kang (2013)

claimed that Koreans perceive the Korean language as an “identity marker” and Lee (2013) also maintained that the Korean language was regarded as a factor in establishing their child’s ethnic identity by the parents. In Brown’s (2011) study, parents believed that the heritage language is the core of their identity, and they strongly wished their children to maintain the heritage language. It is also reflected in Lee’s (2013) study in which she maintained that “Korean immigrant parents’ beliefs towards the importance of retaining and maintaining their heritage language and their actual practices with their child on a daily basis can influence their child’s positive cultural identity as well as heritage language maintenance.” (p.1587)

No Strict Family Language Policy

The second research question that guided this study was “How do Korean American families describe their use of language at home?” All the participants, who happened to be mothers, claimed that they tried to speak in Korean to their children. However, fathers varied in their language use at home. Even Michelle, who did not have a good command of Korean, said she kept on speaking simple commands such as “오] 닦아”, brush your teeth, “밥 먹어”, eat your meal” in Korean to her children.

However, when being asked if there were any family language policies, six out of seven answered that they did not have a language policy at home. Only Garam stated that she had a strong language policy at home. She said she and her husband used Korean only for her children and expected the same from them. Most of the time her children used Korean at home, but her children sometimes answered back in English then she pretended that she did not hear or did not understand so they needed to switch to Korean.

This trend was also perceived in Lee's (2013) study. In her study, even though parents believed that their children needed to maintain their heritage language, they did not actually practice or use the Korean language with them at home. Nevertheless, they let their children speak the language of their choice, mostly English.

It was interesting that all the parents in my study firmly believed that the parental role was the most important factor in heritage language education but many of them did not have strict language rules for their children. As Shin (2005) explained, Korean parents do not put much effort at home into the maintenance of heritage language for their children by saying "parents who want more Korean spoken at home did not necessarily teach or read to their children in Korean." (p.14) Kang (2015) also noticed the discrepancy between the parents' language ideologies and their actual language practice. Many parents forced their children to attend Korean heritage school usually against their will because they wanted their children to maintain the Korean language, but they did not force them to use the language at home (Kang, 2015). As Schwartz (2008) pointed out, parental support, in which the heritage language is used in a meaningful way, is as important as heritage school enrollment for heritage language maintenance and development.

Limited Exposure to the Korean Language

All the parents in this study complained about not being able to have their children exposed to the Korean language in a natural setting outside the home. Aside from home and the Korean school on Saturdays, there existed almost no exposure to the Korean language for most of the participants' children. In the same way, Lu and Koda's

(2011) claimed that in their study on Chinese immigrant families, the parents also expressed that they felt language exposure was quite limited. The parents in

Most of them had books or media of some sort in Korean but they felt their children did not have ample chance to speak the Korean language in the community. For example, Soobin hired a Korean-speaking nanny for more exposure and video called their relatives in Korea so that her child could be put in a more natural setting to practice the Korean language. Areum also brought her child to a Korean-speaking church, but her child used English with her peers.

As some parents felt that they could not provide enough exposure to their children, they chose to go to Korea. Soobin and Sunjung, who still had family members in Korea, visited them during summer vacation and tried to expose their children to the Korean language. And Sunjung even sent their children to an elementary school in Korea during their summer visit.

This finding corroborated with Qiong's (2016) study where she mentioned that "the lack of Chinese language resources in the United States largely limits the Chinese literacy activities in the Chinese immigrants' families" (p.176). The same limitation was outlined in Shin (2005): "Without systematic support for Korean maintenance, many of these children have, in turn, become fantastically monolingual in English, unable to communicate even at basic levels with their mostly Korean-speaking parents" (p.151).

No High Expectations for Heritage Language Learning

The third research question was "What educational goals and expectations do Korean American parents have for their children's heritage language education?" Surprisingly, many of the parents showed low expectations in their interviews. Most of

them stated they would want their children to hold a conversation with their family or relatives in Korean. Even though they send their children to Korean heritage school on Saturdays, they saw the school as a place to interact with other heritage learners and experience the Korean culture than to learn the Korean language. Chung (2012) also stated that the Korean American parents sent their children with the goal of exposing their children to the heritage language and culture rather so that their children would not lose their interest in their heritage culture.

Positive Feelings towards the Korean Culture and Language

As for the reasons why, they wanted their children to learn the Korean language, many parents answered that they simply wished their children to have positive impressions of Korea-related things; the Korean language and the Korean culture. Findings from this study align with Chung's (2012) study which claimed that the heritage language educational goal of Korean American parents was exposure to the heritage language and culture so that their children could continue to have interests in learning the heritage language and culture. In addition, most Korean American parents felt that the Korean school provided not only language education but also social and emotional support and a sense of community, and this corroborated previous studies. Parker and Sarker (2007) presented that Korean parents regarded heritage language schools as a place where their children could develop a more solid ethnic identity and Kim (2011) found out that mothers viewed heritage language schools as a place where their children could seek social and emotional support that the mainstream American schools would not provide. Participants in Lee's (2013) study also stated that parents send their children to

Korean language school because they appreciated the chances that their children would make friends with other Korean children rather than just learning the Korean language.

Diminishing Korean Language Use with the Start of Schooling

Although all the participants sent their children to the heritage school for years, they all agreed that their children's use of the heritage language diminished as they got older. This decrease was more apparent once their children were in the school system where the medium of language was English. With their children's language shift, the parents' expectations decreased at the same time.

Fillmore's (2000) study also stated that the language loss of immigrant children usually began with their schooling. Similarly, Portes and Hao (1998, 2004) also asserted that heritage language loss of immigrant children generally began with formal education, usually kindergarten. This was reflected in Shin and Milroy (1999), as they stated second-generation Korean Americans switched to English once they started schooling. This finding agreed with Qiong's (2106) study in which the participants answered that the use of English increased while the use of Chinese decreased significantly after the children went to school. Min (2000) also maintained that by the age of five, 77% of Korean Americans reported speaking English only to their parents.

This study explored the Korean American parental perspectives, practices, and expectations toward heritage language education. The parents were well aware of the importance of the parental role in heritage language education. However, their actual practices were not in line with their beliefs. Six out of seven participants said that they did not have a strict family language policy and did not force their children to use the Korean language. However, they complained about limited exposure to the Korean

language outside their home when they were not exposed at home either. It was interesting that they did not have high expectations for their children in heritage language learning, but they just hoped their children keep positive feelings towards the Korean culture and language so that someday their children wish to learn Korean.

Recommendations

The purpose of this study was to explore the perspectives, practices, and expectations towards heritage language and the heritage language education of Korean American parents in the Bay Area. Based on the findings of this study, I make recommendations in terms of future research, parents, and policy.

Recommendations for Future Research

First, all the participants of this study were Korean American parents who sent their children to Korean heritage school on weekends. This implied that they were already interested in the heritage language education of their children to varying degrees. To better understand the perspectives, practices, and expectations towards heritage language and the heritage language education of Korean American parents, follow-up research needs to be done with Korean American parents regardless of their children's attendance at Korean heritage schools. To compare and contrast the perspectives, practices, and expectations of Korean American parents who do not send their children to heritage language schools would be interesting.

Second, this study focused only on the parents residing in the Bay Area where the general education level is higher than in other parts of the United States. As discussed in Chapter IV, 21 (87%) held a bachelor's degree or higher among 24 survey respondents, which does not represent the Korean American population of the United States, 67% of

whom holds a bachelor's degree or higher (Pew, 2021) Studies of parents from general demographics of the Korean American population would be more helpful to understand the perspectives, practices, and expectations of parents.

Third, since this study limited the participants to only Korean American parents, it would be interesting to compare parental perspectives, practices, and expectations of other immigrant parents. How their parental perspectives, practices, and expectations differ and how it is displayed in their heritage language education might look different.

Fourth, this study was conducted on a small scale at a specific heritage language school. Conducting a similar study but on a larger scale would allow more generalizability of this study's findings.

Recommendations for Parents

Multiple studies (De Houwer, 2007; Kang, 2013; Pak & Sarker, 2007) listed that one of the most significant components in children's heritage language education was the parents. This also came up repeatedly in the participants' narratives in my study. Even though the parents were aware of the importance of heritage language use at home for their children's heritage language education, many of them did not set a strict family language policy. Rather, they would allow their children to choose the language that they would like to use and mostly the children chose English once they started public education.

For many parents, while it is never easy to raise children in two languages, it would be easier if they set stricter rules for family language policy. If they could set aside more time and effort to help maintain their children's heritage language, they would see benefits for heritage language education. Having a common hobby among family

members could be a good start. Rather than forcing their children to use heritage languages, enjoying the experience of doing something together while using the heritage language would help their children naturally acquire the language.

Recommendations for Educators

According to Looney and Lusin's (2019) study, enrollments for the study of the Korean language in higher education went from 12,256 in 2013 to 13,936 in 2016 resulting in a 13.7% increase. When compared to the enrollment of 26 in 1958, this indicated an increase of 53,500% with the highest percentage change in enrollments among all languages other than English (Looney & Lusin, 2019). With the keen interest in K-pop and K-culture, the number of people who want to learn the Korean language is increasing and it is well reflected in the above study.

Despite the large Korean population in the United States, Korean is taught as a foreign language in only 189 primary or secondary schools in the United States according to the website of the Foundation for Korean Language and Culture in the USA (2022). As of 2020, there were 705 Korean heritage language schools with 41,496 students which are funded by the Korean government (Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the USA, 2020). Far more heritage schools than primary or secondary schools are teaching the Korean language in the United States. According to Lee and Shin (2008), "the majority of Korean community schools are operated by Korean Christian churches and are staffed by volunteers from the community" (p.161).

"Only when bilingualism and heritage language proficiency are appreciated and respected by mainstream culture will heritage language development prevail and not require special efforts to maintain" (Shin, 2005. p.161). Putting more value on the

students' heritage language in mainstream education will be the first step to empowering heritage language learners. Having more support from mainstream education in teaching the heritage language will be undoubtedly helpful. As Shin (2005) stated, "one practical way to support the maintenance of Korean would be to integrate it more centrally into the regular school curriculum" (p.153).

Since language acquisition does not necessarily happen only inside the classroom, heritage language learning also does not need to stay inside the classroom. In class, if students have fun, they probably will learn more and better. If educators could incorporate heritage language education with activities that the children enjoy doing, they could enhance learning. If children were recommended to engage in something they like to do while using the heritage languages, chances are they would probably do it and learn the language at the same time. For example, participating in a Korean soccer club, a Korean baseball club or a Korean drawing club could be a good start.

Reflections of the Researcher

All the parents in this study sacrificed their weekend hours to send their children to Korean language school. As a result, I naturally assumed that their expectations would be high and that they would practice the Korean language at home in every possible way. After reviewing the survey and interviews, I was a bit surprised. Even though the parents believed that the maintenance of the Korean language was the crucial part of preserving their ethnic identity, most of them had no strict family language policy and low expectations for their children's heritage language education. They wanted their children to learn the Korean language up to the point where they could have a positive feeling toward the Korean culture or language. Although the parents witnessed their children

used less Korean as they got older, they did not change their family language policy. The parents seemed to want their children to learn the Korean language, but they did not want to force them in the process. Mostly, they wanted their children to be able to use Korean up to the level that they could be accepted into Korean society. So I wondered what created this discrepancy.

It seems as though when the Korean participants' children began their schooling, they started to feel different from their mainstream peers. Then they first became aware that they used different languages, ate different food, and had a different culture. Many children felt pressured to assimilate into the "mainstream" of American life. It seems like since the parents already knew that their children were pressured to be assimilated, they did not want to push their children hard in heritage language learning. Rather, they preferred to let their children make their own choices about which languages to use, wishing that their children would want to learn the heritage language.

When the parents identified the parental role as the most important factor in heritage language education, I presumed that they were talking about how they used or practiced the Korean language with their children in their daily lives. However, through the interviews, I was able to perceive that they interpreted the parental role more as providing opportunities or creating an environment for their children to use the Korean language rather than practicing with them at home. The parents wished for more chances for their children to use the heritage language outside their home even when they were not forcing them to use the language at home. The parents did not want their children to end up hating the Korean language and their parents from being forced to use it. Rather

they wanted to provide a natural setting where their children should use the language in more fun and interactive ways.

I was surprised when the four out of the seven participants told me that they applied for the Korean immersion school in San Francisco but failed to get in. One parent said she even applied three times for her first child and was planning to apply for her second child as well. One parent even said that the Korean parents would make a joke about getting into the program being like winning the lottery. Many of them expressed that they were willing to transfer their children if they could find an open spot for a Korean immersion program. Another surprising fact that I found out during my interviews that none of the children's school offered an after-school Korean language program. All the parents said they were willing to send their children to any type of Korean program if provided.

While Northern California has 50 Korean heritage schools while only one Korean immersion program exists. Before this study, I had presumed that this was due to a lack of demand from the Korean parents. However, after I found out that this was not the case and the Korean parents wanted their children to participate in a Korean immersion program, now I began to wonder why more are not being offered. Clearly, our education system needs to do more to offer more Korean immersion programs and after-school programs.

Furthermore, I found it interesting to notice that all the participants in the study were mothers, and that not one father participated in the interview. Although the "parental" role was regarded as one of the most important factors in heritage language education, it seemed as if this was assigned the "maternal" role, reflecting the Korean

culture in a way. Koreans believe that mothers are usually the ones who are responsible for their children's education and think mothers should be the teachers-at-home. At the Korean school, generally, the drop-offs and pick-ups were the jobs of the mothers. Naturally, heritage language education was in the hand of the mothers as well.

Conclusion

This study allowed the researcher to better understand the Korean American parents' perspectives, practices, and expectations towards the heritage language and heritage language education. While teaching at the Korean school for three years, the researcher did not have opportunities to talk with the parents about heritage language education unless they were about school-related or homework-related issues. However, this study enabled the researcher to listen to the parents talk about what they thought about heritage language education, why they sent their children to the Korean school every Saturday even sacrificing their weekends, and how they practiced the Korean language at home with their children.

While conducting the interviews with each participant, the researcher was able to see how enthusiastic the parents were about their children's heritage language education and how much they wanted to talk about the issues that they had. The researcher wanted to provide a safe place for the parents to share their personal stories and gratefully they were willing to share their stories and their perspectives regarding the Korean language education. Thanks to seven parents who gladly volunteered to participate in this study and shared their daily lives involving the Korean language practice, and their thoughts and expectations, the researcher was able to perceive the discrepancy among the perspectives, expectations, and actual practices.

Although this inconsistency was discussed in previous research (Lee, 2013; Shin, 2005; Kang, 2015), the underlying cause was never explored. In this study, however, the researcher, through the interviews with the parents uncovered the reason: the parents did not force their children to use only the Korean language at home because they did not want their children to end up hating the Korean language and culture. They were afraid that their children would lose interest in the Korean language and culture if forced to learn it, and that was the last thing that the parents wanted. They sent their children to Korean schools so that they could be exposed to the Korean language and culture. In this way, they believed that their children could gain a bit of interest in their heritage language and culture when they grew up and became adults. They thought having positive feelings towards the Korean language and culture at a young age would eventually lead their children to want to learn the Korean language someday because they are “Korean.” Therefore, this study contributes to a gap in the existing literature on heritage language learning.

Despite the positive perspective toward heritage language and the understanding that the parental role is of the utmost importance in maintaining the language, it was not reflected in the parents’ actual language practices at home. Parents’ positive perspective is not sufficient in maintaining children’s heritage language. As Shin (2005) maintained “without systematic and persistent effort to maintain Korean at the family and community level, the majority of the children are likely eventually to lose Korean” (p.151). Korean American parents as well as the Korean American community and its surrounding community should all work together to maintain the Korean heritage language and culture.

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APENDIECES**Survey Questions**

<Language of parents>

What is your first language?

English

Korean

Other (please specify)

How well do you do the following?

Not at all, not well, well, very well

Understand spoken English

Speak English

Read English

Write English

How well do you do the following?

Not at all, not well, ok, well, very well

Understand spoken Korean

Speak Korean

Read Korean

Write Korean

How often do you use Korean with?

Never, occasionally, often, always, NA

Your spouse/partner

Your child

Your parents

Other relatives

Your friends

How often do you use English with

Never, occasionally, often, always, NA

Your spouse/partner

Your child

Your parents

Other relatives

Your friends

<Language practice and use of your children>

How many children do you have?

Where were your children born?

In Korea

In the US

If others, please specify

What is your children's first language?

Korean

English

Other

Were there any changes in their first language use after they started schooling?

Yes

No

I speak _____ to my children

English, Mostly English with some Korean, Equal mix of Korean and English, Mostly Korean with some English, Korean, Other

My partner speaks _____ to my children

English, Mostly English with some Korean, Equal mix of Korean and English, Mostly Korean with some English, Korean, Other

My children speak _____ to me.

English, Mostly English with some Korean, Equal mix of Korean and English, Mostly Korean with some English, Korean, Other

My children speak _____ to my partner.

English, Mostly English with some Korean, Equal mix of Korean and English, Mostly Korean with some English, Korean, Other

My children speak _____ to their siblings.

English, Mostly English with some Korean, Equal mix of Korean and English, Mostly Korean with some English, Korean, Other

Does your children learn Korean at school? (Not Korean school)

Yes No

Do you encourage your children to use Korean at home?

Yes No

How many hours per week do your children spend on Korean learning at home beside Korean school?

Seldom

half an hour

one hour

two hours

more than two hours

How many books your children have at home?

English: Less than 10, 10-19, 20-29, 30-39, more than 40

Korean: Less than 10, 10-19, 20-29, 30-39, more than 40

Do you do the following things to improve your child's Korean language development?

Yes No

I offer supplementary Korean academic materials at home (Korean books, CDs)

I offer supplementary Korean materials on the internet (Youtube, Korean websites)

I encourage my child to watch Korean movies or TV programs.

What do you do to make sure that your children learn Korean?

(choose all that apply)

Teach them Korean at home

Hire a Korean tutor

Send them to a school that offers Korean

Speak to them in Korean

Attend religious events in Korean

Other

Not applicable

How long has your child been in a Korean school (in total, if attended other schools before)?

Less than a year 1 year 2 years 3 years 4 years 5 years

How many of your children are enrolled in Korean school?

Do you celebrate Korean holidays?

Yse No

Do you celebrate US holidays?

Yse No

PARENTAL ATTITUDES/EXPECTATIONS

I want my child to learn Korean because learning Korean will help my children

(choose all that apply)

Have better job opportunities

Have better communication with parents and relatives

Understand Korean cultural heritage

Maintain Korean cultural heritage

Communicate with other Korean speakers

Other

How important was each of the following

Not important, somewhat important, important, very important, NA

I want my child to be comfortable relating to his/her heritage

I want my child to be able to speak, read, and write in two or more languages

My child's learning Korean will bring economic benefits to him/her in the future. (getting a better job, having more opportunities)

I expect my child to be able to understand when being spoken to in Korean.

Strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

I expect my child to be able to speak Korean.

Strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

I expect my child to be able to read Korean.

Strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

I expect my child to be able to write Korean.

Strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

Having my child to learn Korean is very important to me

Strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, strongly disagree

I chose to enroll my child in a Korean school to ensure that my child will

Learn the values and principles of Korean culture

Know and preserve Korean values, traditions and practices

Stay connected to the Korean community in the US

Maintain the Korean identity

Make new friends with Korean children who share the same values and traditions

How satisfied are you with your child's Korean language development?

Very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, very dissatisfied

Understanding of spoken Korean

Speaking in Korean

Reading in Korean

Writing in Korean

If San Francisco public school were to offer Korean as a foreign language course, would you choose to enroll your child to one of these public schools? Yes, No

<Background information of parents>

Please choose your age range

Under 30

30-39

40-49

50-59

over 60

Where were you born?

In Korea

In the U.S.

If other, please specify ()

Years spent in English speaking country

Years spent in Korea

My spouse has stayed in the U.S. for _____ years

What do you do?

What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

Less than high school

High school

Some college

Community college

Bachelor's degree

Master's degree

Beyond Master's degree

Thank you for completing this survey. Your support will be valuable to help better understand Korean parental attitudes and perspectives of heritage language education. It

would be really appreciated if you could leave your email address and/or phone number for personal interview.

If you have any questions regarding this research, feel free to contact

yunhee.choi.5@gmail.com

Interview Questions

Age

Marital status?

Highest degree

What do you do?

Where were you born?

When did you come to the US?

How many children do you have?

Where were your children born?

What is your first language?

What is your proficiency in your first language in reading, writing, speaking, and listening?

Do you speak any other languages? If yes explain

Which language do you prefer to use?

With whom?

In what context?

Would you say more Korean or more English?

Would you describe how well you and your children use the languages?

Do they like using Korean language?

Can your children read or write in Korean?

Do you think it is important for your children to speak, read and write in Korean? Why and why not?

Do you intend to raise your child to be a bilingual child who is able to read and write in both English and Korean? Why and why not?

Are you confident in raising your child to be a bilingual who can read and write in both English and Korean? Why and why not?

How important is it for you that your children know Korean in its spoken and/or written form?

What do you expect?

What do you do help your children learn Korean?

What practices work and what practices do not work so well?

In your opinion, who should be involved in the effort of heritage language maintenance for children of immigrants?

In your opinion, who/what social factors have a major positive influence on your children's learning of Korean?

And negative influence?

Do/did any schooling experiences of your child or any school related factors influence your children's Korean language proficiency and use?

Do/ did you experience any challenges/unexpected moments raising children in the US?

What are your experiences with children's schooling?

Is there anything else relevant to the topic that we have not talked about?