Summer 2011

Language socialization in two languages, schoolings, and cultures: a descriptive qualitative case study of Korean immigrant children

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LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN TWO LANGUAGES, SCHOOLINGS, AND CULTURES: A DESCRIPTIVE QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF KOREAN IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

by

Seon-Hye No

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Teaching and Learning
(Language, Literacy, and Culture) in
the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

July 2011

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Kathryn F. Whitmore

ABSTRACT

This is a descriptive qualitative study that explored Korean and English learning for Korean transnational immigrant children living in the United States. The study design included qualitative methods. Observations of five children in a Korean language school offered information about how they were taught Korean to retain their heritage language and culture. Additional observations of two of the children in their respective local public schools offered descriptions of their experiences learning English and U.S. public school culture. Interviews with the three teachers in these classrooms, as well as with three of the children's mothers, added background information and extended the observations. A thematic analysis process led to further understanding about the differences in the three classroom learning environments and described the ways instruction was delivered, the ways the individual children demonstrated their language learning, and the cultural context in each setting. The study found that the Korean language school and English speaking elementary schools were essential for the Korean immigrant children to improve their language proficiency in two languages as well as to learn different cultural and educational expectations.

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The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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has been approved by the Examining Committee
for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
degree in Teaching and Learning (Language, Literacy,
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To Baadah-Rebekah Han (한 바다)

She has been telling me that one must love in order to be loved,
and obtain esteem through the acts of respecting others.
I gave birth to her and she imbued me the courage to live.
I learned through her how to treat young children and educate them
with proper admiration and judiciously exercising authority.
Baadah-Rebekah has been the inspiration of this study.

In the child's development, imitation and instruction play a major role. They bring out the specifically human qualities of the mind and lead the child to new developmental levels. In learning to speak, as in learning school subjects, imitation is indispensable. What the child can do in cooperation today he can do alone tomorrow.

Lev Vygotsky, *Thought and Language*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to my academic advisor, Dr. Kathryn F. Whitmore. She has been with me throughout this project. She encouraged me when I was discouraged. She believed in me so that I could keep going. She guided me when I was lost. I learned from her that teaching is a professional work that requires caring with sharing. I also learned that she devoted herself in doing research which she does really care about. I thank her for respecting my decision to move to Seoul in 2010. She has been helping me to finish this project from the other side of the world, literally.

I became acquainted with Dr. Linda G. Fielding which preparing for my doctoral candidate comprehensive examination. My weekly visits to her office turned out to be a well-rewarded intellectual compensation to me. I thank her for taking interest and asking questions about this project especially. She helped me to recognize varied degrees of reading comprehension of children from linguistically diverse backgrounds. She also helped me to illustrate findings of this study more systematically. Dr. Carolyn Colvin helped me better understand the American public education system. She was very supportive when I told her that I had expanded my research scope to the public school classroom. Her review on "historical and contemporary Korean immigrants in the U.S." has been developed and placed in the first part of this dissertation. She pushed me to think more vigorous and precise ways to establish my research positionality. Dr. Bonnie S. Sunstein helped me pave the path of conducting qualitative research. Taking two qualitative seminars from her, I became interested in qualitative study in language and literacy education. Her great sense of humor helped me become comfortable and relaxed during my coursework days at College of Education in Iowa. I appreciate her great

devotion in writing, and admire her writing skills. Dr. Mary Trachsel is from rhetoric department and she became my writing mentor to form this project early in my doctoral program. She keenly listened to my interests in this study and read some early drafts for me. I thank for her time and interests in the summer of 2007. Her meticulous feedback helped me greatly to develop this dissertation.

Though I cannot disclose the participants of this study, I would like to pay my deepest gratitude to them. The Korean immigrant children, classroom teachers, and mothers were all invaluable contributors to this study.

ABSTRACT

This is a descriptive qualitative study that explored Korean and English learning for Korean transnational immigrant children living in the United States. The study design included qualitative methods. Observations of five children in a Korean language school offered information about how they were taught Korean to retain their heritage language and culture. Additional observations of two of the children in their respective local public schools offered descriptions of their experiences learning English and U.S. public school culture. Interviews with the three teachers in these classrooms, as well as with three of the children's mothers, added background information and extended the observations. A thematic analysis process led to further understanding about the differences in the three classroom learning environments and described the ways instruction was delivered, the ways the individual children demonstrated their language learning, and the cultural context in each setting. The study found that the Korean language school and English speaking elementary schools were essential for the Korean immigrant children to improve their language proficiency in two languages as well as to learn different cultural and educational expectations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS OF KOREAN CHILDREN'S EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Overview

The world is a global village (Crystal, 2003), and contact and communication with people across diverse cultural and linguistic settings is a frequent occurrence for many. English is a dominant language on the Internet, the most important language for scholarly and marketable publications, and the major way to communicate in world commerce. English is a strong communication tool throughout the world. Nonetheless, bilingual language theorists share the stance that bilingualism, as opposed to English monolingualism, is an asset in the United States, and that maintaining one's heritage[1] language along with English is good for personal revenue (Cho, 2000; Cummins, 1981, 1992; Krashen, Tse & McQuillan, 1998; Grosjean, 1982, 1998; McKay & Wong, 2000; Shin, 2005; Tse, 1998, 2000; Valdés, 1995, 2005; Wong-Fillmore, 1991, 2000).

Data from the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI) in 2007 indicated that study abroad increased nearly 20 times between the years 2000 and 2006 for students in elementary school (Song, 2010). This social trend of learning English in English speaking countries resulted from a government-led educational policy that, beginning in the third grade, all children in elementary school must learn English language in their regular school curriculum.

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[1] I refer to Korean language as the children's heritage or first language (L1). Heritage language learning and second language acquisition studies (Kondo-Brown, 2003, 2005; Lynch, 2003; Valdés, 2005) suggest that heritage language is not necessarily the same as first language. The children in this study are in their early schooling grades (Grade1-3) and their oral proficiency is considered near native speakers of Korean so the terms heritage language and first language are interchangeable.

In addition, the South Korean government mandate that children learn English in third grade has caused families to take early trips to learn English overseas. The standard perception is the younger the better for learning English, particularly to improve young English learners' accents. Many lay people believe that learners' pronunciation is a good indication of native-like proficiency. Also, the critical period hypothesis in learning English as a second language that has held widespread attention in the second language acquisition field (Hakuta, Bialystok, & Wiley, 2003; Johnson & Newport, 1989; Snow & Hoefnagel-Hohle, 1978), is a prevalent theory among Korean second language learners who take it as the absolute deadline for acquiring native-like proficiency in English.

Against this backdrop, this descriptive study centers on five bilingual Korean immigrant children who learn Korean as a heritage language and English as a second language in different classroom settings in the U.S. The children interacted with peers, teachers, and school administrators in their American public elementary schools and at a Korean Saturday heritage language school. I was interested in studying the young Korean children's language learning experiences in their varied classroom communities.

The term "new immigrants" accounts for the Koreans who came after the Immigration Act passed in 1965. The term "Korean immigrants" in this study is applicable to Korean parents and their children, whether they plan to stay temporarily in the U.S. as sojourners or intend to live permanently in the U.S. as legal residents. Immigrant children are those who are both foreign-born and American-born, but have immigrant parents (Fong, 2004). I refer to transnational immigrants as those who live in a country for a limited period time. They may later choose whether to live in their temporary country or to return to the country of their origin. So, the Korean children,

participants in this study, are members of transnational immigrant families who live in-between the two countries, using at least two different languages.

At the door of the new millennium, Wong-Fillmore (2000) raised awareness of immigrant children and their struggle to maintain their home languages in America. Her inquiries were "How and why do (immigrant) children give up and lose their primary languages (L1) as they learn English? What is involved, and what role are the schools playing in the process?" (p. 207). I believe many of the conditions depicted in her writing (e.g., strong English language ideology and its impact on social assimilation in the United States) have been altered or transformed because of the increasing partnership between educators and immigrant parents thus far to help immigrant children bridge cultural and linguistic gaps in their schooling. But we still need to know more about the role that the social world of the school plays in the children's language socialization process.

What does schooling mean for Korean children and their parents living in the U.S.? Why do Korean parents immigrate to America? Is there any cultural continuity between school and home so that parents and teachers can consistently reinforce described behaviors of children in the same way? What differences exist between the ways children are socialized at home and at school? How can immigrant children learn to read and write as well as speak in two languages? Why do they even need to learn the two languages? Why do they have to be bilingual children? After all, isn't one language sufficient to maintain a good and satisfying life for them in the U.S.? These questions prompted me to initiate this research.

To help us understand the participants of this study, this chapter discusses the historical and contemporary contexts of Korean immigration to the U.S. and the language socialization common to Korean transnational children who are learning two languages. Then I introduce Korean experiences in education relevant to the schooling of young Korean immigrant children. I conclude the chapter with the research questions that guided the study.

Korean Immigration in U.S. Historical and Contemporary Contexts

Within the past three decades, the Korean population in the U.S. increased more than ten times, from less than one hundred thousand in 1970 to more than 1.2 million in 2000 (Han, 2007; Min,1996; Shin, 2005; Zhou &Kim,2006). The 2000 Census reported nearly 78 percent of Koreans in the U.S. were foreign born (Min, 2000; Reeves & Bennett, 2004; Song, 2010; Yu, et al., 2002; Xie & Goyette, 2004). Koreans who arrived after the Immigration Act of 1965, primarily in major cities, gradually became a nation-wide immigrant community defined by their reliance on "a deep commitment to shared values, a unique culture, and autonomous institutions, within which the members of a purported community can live most of their lives" (Kim, 1981, p. 305).

One explanation for Korean immigration is the rapid industrialization that occurred in Seoul, the capital of South Korea. These changes meant Seoul became one of the most populated cities in the world. Korean middle class parents from Seoul responded by immigrating to America so that their children could have a good education and a better life. Alba and Nee (2003) described striking patterns for Korean immigrants after the Immigrant Act. As a result of rapid industrialization in the country, the capital city of Korea, Seoul, became one of the most populated cities in the world. Korean

middle class parents from Seoul embraced a new challenge by immigrating to America so that their children could have a good education and a better life. Thus, Korean immigrants who held professional jobs in Korea and experienced the county's rapid social change came to the United States as a married family to settle in as immigrants. Though most of these parents held high school diplomas or higher degrees, their limited proficiency in English prevented them from acquiring jobs in the mainstream society. Usually their savings had sufficient financial capital to open small businesses. Although Korean immigrant entrepreneurs may "rely heavily on the ethnic economy for their livelihood, the aim of assimilating into American life is evident in the choice of residence in the more affluent suburban neighborhoods and in the rapid acculturation of the second generation and its high educational attainment" (Alba & Nee, 2003, p.205).

The social, economic and political circumstances in South Korea gradually affected the shape of the immigrant population and dynamics in the Korean immigrant community in the United States. By 1993, the number of U.S. Korean immigrants dropped to about 18,000, about half of the number in 1987 (Min, 1996). The returning immigrants was caused by the historical events occurred in South Korea as well as in the United States. In 1988, the Seoul Olympic Games made Korean immigrants take pride in their heritage. In addition, the end of military dictatorship in 1987 brought back to Korea some of the immigrants who had originally fled because of their dissatisfaction with the Korean government. In the American history, LA riots in 1992 affected many Korean businesses in Korean Town in Los Angeles. The subsiding numbers of the Korean immigrants turned drastically because of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) Crisis in South Korea occurred in 1997 and South Korean government declared the globalization

policy in 1995, noting important international changes for the future. In addition, the (IMF) Crisis resulted in massive job losses in 1997 in South Korea. Most people who lost their jobs in the midst of the IMF crisis in South Korea were not capable of communicating proficiently in English. The social, economic, and political circumstances in South Korea have gradually affected the shape of the immigrant population and dynamics in the Korean immigrant community in the United States.

Although it may not be adequate to imply that the globalization trend is the only major factor related to the language socialization of current immigrants, it is an important emerging theme as I study Korean immigrants. Thus, globalization policy of South Korea is a major factor that prompts current Korean immigrants to view English language acquisition as a form of economic capital in the global market. Along with this emphasis on English learning, Korean is also considered important to retain. Korean is the language of group solidarity for the Korean community. Thus, both English and Korean are important communicative tools for Korean immigrants. In effect, English expands the immigrants' possibilities globally and in America, and Korean glues them together within the Korean immigrant community.

Breton (2003) argues that immigration means having to move from one social milieu to a new one. It requires transformations in identity, social relations, cultural habits, linguistic capabilities, and institutional knowledge and skills. Breton says that social capital within the ethnic immigrant community is relatively weak at the time of their arrival. Most of the newcomers expect to find the assistance they need to settle into the society at large, not only in more restricted ethnic communities. However, Korean immigrants maintain close relationships with others in their ethnic community. The

Korean immigrant community assists and advises newcomers to efficiently establish social opportunities. The Korean community believes that close ties provide better opportunities to achieve social, educational, and economic mobility (Djajić, 2003). Koreans also believe that a strong ethnic solidarity reinforces parental authority, which may be weakened by language differences within a family (Park, 2003). Thus the Korean immigrant community provides an interpersonal network and organization.

A common characteristic of Korean immigrant communities is a strong social institution derived from sharing information and social resources (Zhou & Kim, 2006), even when community members are not necessarily close geographically. In his analysis of the Korean immigrant community, Min (1999) claims that Koreans share a sense of belonging, an ethnic identity and Korean language. For new Korean immigrants, the Korean ethnic community can serve as a 'buffer zone' for new participants as they prepare for full engagement with the U.S. mainstream society.

The main reason for many recent immigrants' move to the U.S. is the education of their children. The Korean second generation is often described as a "model minority" who try to emulate their white middle class peers (Lee, 1994, 2001). Although Korean students are sometimes accused of "acting White" in order to emulate their peers in school, the myth of the "model minority theory" has been challenged by some scholars (Lew, 2006; Kim & Yeh, 2002). Lew (2006) argues that young Korean Americans are far from a homogeneous group and that factors such as class, economic condition, and choice of schools influence Korean immigrant students' academic achievement. To Lew's argument, I add the proposition that Korean immigrant children should receive systematic and continual school experiences in both Korean and English so that their dual

language development can contribute to dual social identity formation, which will enable them to continue their bilingual/bicultural development.

Language Socialization for Korean Immigrants

At first, like other new immigrants, Korean immigrants want to live like Americans. Language plays a major role in Korean immigrants' adaptation to a new environment in America. They place a great deal of emphasis on learning English as a part of adjusting to their new life. The overall concept of language socialization must be considered before delineating the Korean language experience in America.

The young children who were the informants in this study were not passive participants in their language socialization; they truly were "active" language learners. Being members of socially constructed communities, they experienced "language-mediated interaction" within a society. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) call this the acquisition of implicit knowledge of social norms and belief systems. Socialization is a process by which human beings learn from other members of a society. A newcomer is expected to actively adopt the behavior patterns of the surrounding culture. Thus, language socialization here refers to the process through which immigrant children become members of the society by learning and using languages where the languages belong.

Language socialization for Korean immigrant families involves children continuing to learn their heritage language and learning English as a second language, and parents learning functional English. Koreans pass down their previous educational experiences and their educational expectations to their children, in hopes of maintaining their heritage language among members of young generation. The language socialization

of Korean immigrants calls for constructing a new shared belief system in which two languages are used on a daily basis.

A Pattern of Korean Language Socialization

Drawing on Alba and Nee (2003) and other sociologists (Fong, 2004; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001) who studied the ethnic assimilation movement, I suggest that three patterns of linguistic and cultural development characterize Korean immigration in a historical context: assimilation, accommodation, and retention. Assimilation, which was a prominent pattern in the 1970s, is the social and cultural process of becoming familiar with social and cultural norms of the main society. Many of the immigrants in this era entered as families; the parents needed to acquire functional English, and the young children acquired English rapidly in school. However, many Korean children who came to America in the 1970s and 1980s grew up to be English only speakers with limited capacity for understanding Korean (Choy, 1979; Min, 2000).

After this period, the economic, social, and political conditions in both America and South Korea were responsible for a gradual reduction in the number of Korean immigrants in America. I refer to this period as "accommodated language socialization." Accommodation means the newcomers are to satisfy their needs, to be content with life, or even to reshuffle their lives in a new country. During this period, many Koreans returned to Korea permanently and therefore relinquished their American Dream (Min, 1996, p.30). Research in this era showed that Korean immigrants realized the importance of dual language and heritage language education, so children were likely to maintain Korean and English (Lee, 2002; Tse, 2000).

The current movement of socialization is continuously affected by the social conditions of South Korea and the U.S. It can be characterized as transnational. Since the immigrant's social status is in-between the two countries, the new immigrants are required to retain English as well as Korean for preparing to settle in either place in the future. Retention implies that Koreans are now more consciously aware of maintaining their heritage culture and language as they learn English. English is the powerful global language, especially in communication and commerce. Contemporary Korean immigrants, affected by the fever of globalization, aim to learn English in English speaking countries. Current Korean transnational immigrant children aim to retain both languages (Park, 2008; Shin, 2005; Song, 2010). My definition of retention refers to a conscious awareness of maintaining the home country's culture and language.

There exists a pattern in Korean immigrants' language socialization in America. This pattern is closely related to social and cultural factors both of the homeland, South Korea, as well as of the new country, the United States. These three patterns naturally overlap and sometimes coexist. Though divided into three phases, this pattern developed continually, as shown in Figure 1.1. The model is comprised of assimilation, accommodation, and heritage language retention paralleling English language-learning in the globalization era. Figure 1.1 describes Koreans' socialization in language and culture as related to their language practice patterns, influential factors that affect the pattern, and distinctive characteristics of the pattern. These factors are important for understanding the backgrounds of the Korean children in this study.

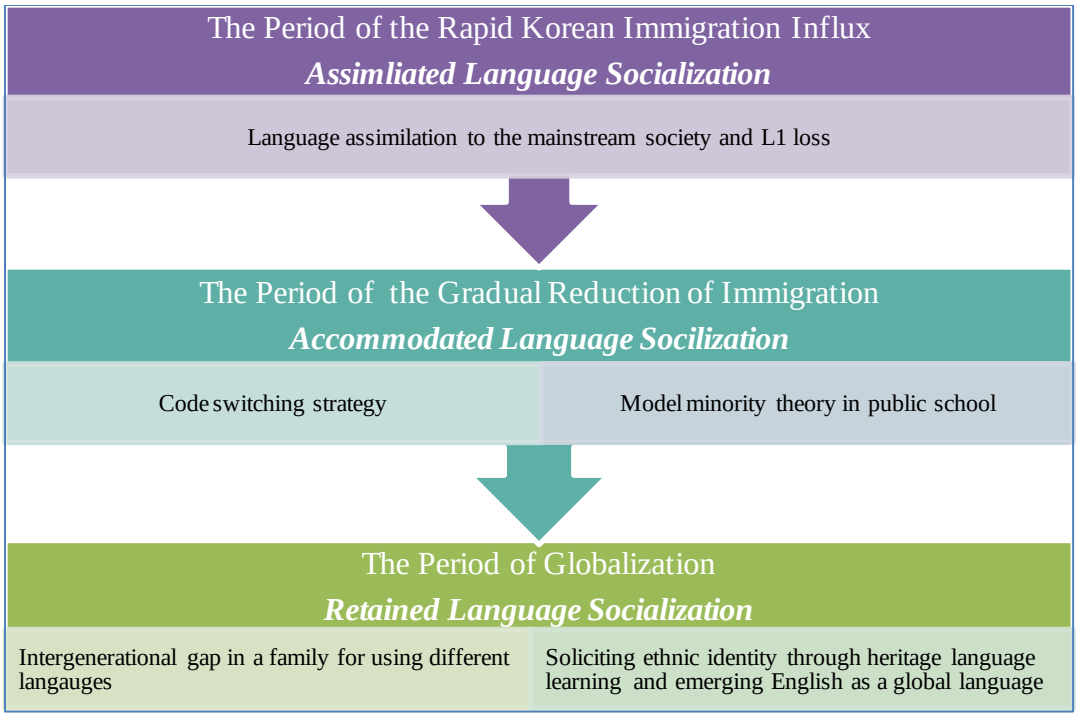

Figure 1.1. Language and Cultural Socialization of Korean Immigrants
New Trend of Transnational Immigrants

Transnational Immigrants

Recent Korean immigration to the U.S. could be called 'transnational.' The children are either born or came to the U.S. in their early ages. They are living in-between two countries and with two languages. Transnational children are exposed to a bilingual language learning environment: Korean language at Korean school and home, and English language at school and in other surroundings.

The five children in this study are all members of transnational families. The most recent arrival from South Korea was Minsu. His family planned to live in America for three years until his father finished his graduate program. Minsu's mother, Sujin wanted to take advantage of opportunities to learn English, but realized that her progress in learning English was not as fast as she expected. She said their lives in the English

speaking country did not guarantee that she would improve her English automatically. She told me in an interview (01/23/10), "I had this expectation that if I am in a country where English is everywhere you go, you would easily pick up the language. But, in fact, I feel that I could hear English less than before, which makes me somewhat disappointed." But contrary to her situation, Sujin believed that Minsu was exposed sufficiently to English in the public school. She expressed joy that she and her husband shared when they found that it took only several weeks for Minsu to make English sentences like "What is this?" or "Name please."

On the other hand, Yumi's family had lived in America for seven years at the time of data collection. Yumi, who had not visited South Korea after leaving the country, spoke fluent Korean and English. Yumi's parents considered where they would live in the near future. The couple felt that their job situation could lead them to live either in America or in South Korea. Yumi's mother said, "Perhaps Korea is better for us and for me to get a job" (Interview with Yumi's mother, 11/05/09).

Junho's family was not sure when they would return to South Korea. Junho's mother was at home with two young children while her husband completed a graduate program. At the time of his graduation, Junho's mother was considering going to graduate school. The family had lived for five years in the U.S., but she said she might stay for three more years while her husband returned to South Korea. However, she confirmed that Junho's family would eventually settle in South Korea.

These three families had different circumstances: Minsu's family had just arrived in the U.S. and Yumi's family was thinking about leaving. Junho's family might live separately temporarily. All three mothers showed great interest in retaining Korean for

their children and confirmed that Korean was the main tool for communicating with their children at home. Thus, the transnational families of the children in this dissertation can be characterized as living fluidly between countries, imagining possible multiple trips between countries, and experiencing unpredicted dislocations and intermittent homecomings (Yeoh et al, 2005). The fluid life style the families have chosen undoubtedly affects the children's learning Korean and English languages. The language socialization of Korean transnational immigrants is influenced by the social and political conditions of both countries.

Education and Korean Immigration

Living in the U.S., where English is the main language and Korean can be used only at home or in limited social settings, the five Korean immigrant children who were participants in this study underwent different acculturation and language learning experiences as compared to their monolingual peers. Much of their parents' zeal for education carried over to affect their immigrant life in America. Like parents of many nationalities, Korean parents often say to their children, as they send them to school, "Study hard and listen to the teacher!" (Park, 1999). However, Korean children may experience different expectations from their U.S. teachers who encourage them to develop and share their own ideas and expect them to make independent decisions in their schoolwork and lives.

I am acquainted with many Korean immigrant parents who have questions related to their children's language development in English and Korean language retention. Parents who have recently come to the U.S. are eager to know the most efficient ways their children can acquire English as a second language. Parents whose children were

born in the country also show concern about maintaining their home language, as their young children rapidly acquire English in schools or daycare settings. Some Korean parents who have lived in the U.S. for an extended time are concerned that they can no longer have meaningful communication with their children because they cannot understand the language their children speak. Likewise they are not pleased when their children cannot understand Korean well enough to engage in purposeful and stimulating conversation through which feelings and ideas can be effectively conveyed.

The comments and concerns I have heard from Korean parents are echoed in studies of Korean immigrants (Cho, 2000; Jo, 2007; Jo, 1999; Kim, 2002; Kim, 1993; Lew, 2006; Min, 1998; Park, 2003; Park, 2008; Shin, 2005; Song, 2010). Although most Korean children understand the Korean language in the manner in which their parents use it at home, "only a small proportion of second-generation Korean children has achieved a high level of proficiency in the language" (Min, 1998, p.201). As they grow up, Korean immigrant children hear and speak Korean in their homes and communities in varying degrees on different occasions. Many of these young children become overwhelmingly dominant English speakers once their schooling begins (Lee & Shin, 2008; Shin &Milroy, 1999; Wong Fillmore, 1991). According to Min's (2000) study, 77 percent of the second generation of Korean Americans speaks to their parents predominantly in English after age five.

From 2006 to 2009, I was a teacher at the School of Korean Language where I conducted this study. In my Korean language class, my students seemed to enjoy learning Korean. But I also saw struggles as I taught them how to read, write, and speak properly. The children's oral and literacy proficiency in Korean and English varied. At

times, I sensed that there were limits to expanding their abilities in their Korean heritage language. I wanted to know why the children did not develop Korean language skills better and more smoothly. I felt, on analysis of a pilot study in my classroom, that no matter how much we enjoyed our class together, my students seemed slow in learning Korean as compared to children learning Koreans in South Korea .

One of my former students at the school once declared to the class, "You can't go to Korea if [you] can speak only in English!" Since then, I carefully looked at what he said and made academic guesses about what he meant by these words. Bilingual scholars argue that formal schooling for bilingual/immigrant children often results in a rapid loss of the first language while learning the second (Cummins, 1978, 1989, 1993; Grojean, 1998; Krashen, Tse, & McQuillan, 1998; Lambert, 1977; Shin, 2005; Wong-Fillmore, 1991). I paid attention to this child's Korean language performance, as well as his parents' interests in his language learning and development. To me, he seemed equally fluent in all language skills (both oral and written in Korean and English). He was five years old and had just started kindergarten.

According to Grojean (1998), bilinguals are those who use two or more languages in their everyday lives (p.132) and are influenced by the "complementary principle," which means they usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Grojean suggested that bilinguals are seldom equally fluent in all language skills in two languages. Their fluency may depend on how often they use and need a language. Thus, their competence in two languages is affected by the language environment.

Korean children entering U.S. public schools may encounter problems as they adjust to new classroom cultures. In Korean homes, children are likely to be instructed by their Korean-speaking family members that they need to show proper respect, deference, and a sense of hierarchy by using proper linguistic politeness. In these ways, the children are socialized into the collectivistic and hierarchical value orientations of Korean culture in their Korean speaking home settings. These values may not correspond to the ways of interacting that are valued in English speaking school settings (Park & King, 2003), especially the individualistic and equality-focused school culture in their U.S. classrooms.

I designed this study because I wanted to know what influences young Korean immigrant children's language learning and language retention, and how language learners learn their languages in different, socially embedded language learning settings. All five Korean children participated in two different types of language learning communities – U.S. public elementary school classrooms and a Korean language classroom in a Saturday heritage language school. The children interacted with their families and peers, responded to the teachers and school administrators, and developed their language skills.

Research Questions

1. How do five Korean immigrant children practice their language learning in a Korean language classroom? What are the salient features or characteristics of language learning performances in the Korean classroom?

2. How do two Korean children learn English in their American public school classroom? What are distinctive features or characteristics of language learning in their English speaking classrooms?

Organization of the Chapters

In this chapter, I introduced the role of the current globalization movement on language learning for Korean children living in the U.S. I described the historical and contemporary context for language socialization that is common for Korean immigrants to make a point of how the current trend of transnational immigration has evolved. The children of this study belong to a transnational immigrant group. Based on this discussion, I delineated the research questions that guided this study.

In chapter two, I present the theoretical context for this study. First, I present a review of literature about Korean language development for children. Then, I provide a theoretical frame for the research that suggests that language develops as part of culture and identity, particularly in classrooms that are characterized as communities of practice.

In chapter three, I explain the qualitative methodology I chose and describe the classroom lives of five Korean children's language learning and development. I first introduce the research sites and participants. I explain the methods of data collection, which were field observations and interviews. Finally, I describe my position as a researcher and data analysis procedures.

Chapter four provides a description of the Korean immigrant children learning Korean at the Korean language school. The teacher's philosophy is discussed in the context of how she performed, and thus contributed to, the Korean way of learning in the classroom. Mastering the Korean alphabet and Korean letter practice are described to

show how the children learned Korean. Learning politeness in Korean honorific expressions and the role of rote-memorization in testing are considered significant Korean cultural practices in the classroom. An example of a missed "teachable moment" (Hyun, 2002) in the children's learning about Korean history is discussed.

In chapter five, I present English learning in two U.S. public school classrooms. The goal of Haeri's first and second grade class, revealed through the teacher's interview and the language arts classroom practice, was for all children to become independent learners in the classroom. Center time and emphasis on being an expert were distinctive features of class instruction. Minsu learned English in a pull-out English Language Learning (ELL) classroom, so I discuss Korean parents' attitudes toward the ELL program, and the teacher's philosophy and goals. Minsu was able to switch the two languages during the class time and had opportunities to communicate with limited words in English. The ELL class can be characterized as a "learning by doing" (Dewey,1897, 1902) project that enables the students to expand their English expression. Cultural contexts of language learning of the classes are also described.

In chapter six, I explain the findings of this study with a presentation of the key patterns I identified in relation with teaching and learning in the three classrooms. I compare the three teachers' teaching philosophies and goals and methods of delivering classroom instruction, and distinguish the characteristics of language learning in the three classrooms. I conclude that these language learning experiences in the classroom settings may be valuable to Korean immigrant children for developing their two languages. I identify some implications and provide suggestions to educators and Korean transnational immigrant parents.

CHAPTER II
LEARNING LANGUAGE IN CLASSROOM COMMUNITIES

In this chapter I present the theoretical background for the study of the Korean children's language socialization. First, I provide a review of studies about Korean immigrant children's language learning and indicate how my study fits into the research literature. I then describe the theories that ground my study.

Recent Studies in Korean Children's Language Learning

Acquisition of Korean Characters and Literacy

A review of recent literature shows that one part of the studies on Korean immigrant children's language learning concerns Korean letter recognition and literacy acquisition (Cho, 2009; Choo, 2006; Sohn, 2006; Wang, Park, & Lee, 2006; Yi, 2005). For example, Cho (2009) studied syllabic and letter knowledge learning of the Korean alphabet, Hangul, among young Korean children, and Yi (2005) focused on the English-Korean biliteracy practice of secondary school aged Korean youth in both school and out-of-school settings.

Among these recently published studies on Korean character learning and (bi)literacy acquisition, I found that in particular young children's early development of phonological processing and recognition of syllable structure in Korean is important. Cho and Chen (1999) examined the role of phonological and orthographic activation of Korean readers' semantic processing of Hangul, Korean letters. The authors argued that Hangul is an alphabetic system in which symbols/letters[2] are made to correspond to the elementary units in speech, phonemes. However, Hangul also has been affected by

[2] Symbol and letter in the studies on Korean alphabet are found to be interchangeable.

Chinese letters called Hanja, in which orthographies are followed by a logographic principle, i.e., symbols/letters directly decode meaning. Alphabetic Hangul favors the phonologically mediated route, but logographic Hanja takes a direct route to word recognition. The different orthographic system of Hanja recognition, therefore, is one component of skilled reading in Korean. The children in my study had not yet learned Chinese characters specifically, and will need more Hanja as their Korean proficiency increases.

Simpson and Kang (2004) did not consider phonological information a critical factor, but stressed the important role of the syllable in processing Hangul letters. Differentiating two paths of activation of word processing in reading, lexical or grapheme-phoneme conversion (GPC), they argued that high-frequency words in Korean tend to be recognized more rapidly than low-frequency words if the route taken is the lexical route. This happens because in the lexical route, Korean speakers tend to see the orthographic input as the whole word form. However, if the speakers take the GPC path, no effect of frequency in word-level recognition occurs for processing Korean words. This study implies that the Korean children in this study might find it easy to process using the lexical route but could experience difficulty with the GPC path.

Wang, Park, and Lee (2006) investigated phonological and orthographic relationships between Korean and English language. They tested 45 Korean immigrant children in first through third grade who speak Korean at home with their first-generation immigrant parents and are enrolled in Korean language school as well as their public school. On the analysis on the children's reading test results, they found that Korean and English languages are not correlated in phonological skills based. They confirmed

Korean and English did not closely relate to each other, even though both use alphabetic characters. In other words, Korean orthographic skill did not predict English word reading, and orthographic transfer in learning to read two different orthographies was limited. Although they could not find any significant linguistic transfer in phonological and orthographic skills among Korean-English bilitercy students, they suggested that syllable-level recognition skills are indeed critical for successful Korean reading. Thus, knowing Korean syllable structure is an important factor in phonological awareness and orthographic skill processing in Korean. This argument is found in the study of Cho and McBride-Chang (2005), and is significant for understanding the children's struggle with sub-syllabic skills described in chapter four.

In a quantitative study of kindergarteners and second graders, Cho and McBride-Chang (2005) showed a parallel tendency of acquisition of Korean Hangul. They found that kindergarteners and second graders showed strong syllable and phoneme awareness, which can predict Hangul word recognition. The study underscored the unique features of "The Korean Hangul orthography, which requires children to be sensitive to both syllable-and phonemic-level linguistic and orthographic units" (p.3). The result of this study is helpful to understanding Korean children's orthographic development in Korean language classrooms.

Cho (2009) examined the role of Korean letter knowledge and consonant vowel (CV) syllable identification of kindergarteners in South Korea. Although children in Cho's study did fairly well at using CV syllable knowledge in the recognition of Hangul words, Cho emphasized that CV syllables may not be reliable cues in reading Korean for the children, since the consonant sounds of a syllable are often changed. Cho suggested

that we need to investigate more about Korean young children's decoding skills and strategies in reading phonologically in Hangul. Indeed, I found in my study that children had difficulties in reading CVC (Consonant, vowel, consonant) or CVCC (Consonant, vowel, 2 consonants) syllables in Korean. This proved to support Cho's argument about the crucial importance of recognizing CV syllables for kindergartners.

Chu (1999) presented a comparative description of Korean and English to help teachers in ELL classrooms understand Korean language and Korean immigrant students who are enrolled in the ELL program. The comparison covered four areas of linguistics: phonology, lexicon, syntax, and pragmatics. Phonological interference between the two languages often causes students difficulties in developing native-like intonation, or stress, let alone individual sound differences (e.g., /p/ and/f/; /b/and /v/; /s/ and /z/; /l/and /r/). Korean students in ELL often have difficulties dealing with consonant clusters in English because their L1 Korean uses a standard syllabic structure (e.g., CVC). Chu also provided data about syntactic comparison between Korean and English. Standard word order is the English Subject+Verb+Object (SVO) structure, but the Korean syntactic order is Subject+Object+Verb (SOV) syntactic sentence. This inversion pattern between the two languages often causes Korean students confusion and produces errors in making English sentences.

Along with grammatical differences, sociolinguistic aspects of differences are obvious in the ELL classroom. Especially Korean students who are educated in rather rigid forms of Korean honorifics often have difficulty finding a proper way to respond to teachers in the classroom. In other words, some students may not feel comfortable using a teacher's first name or using a personal pronoun such as "You" to their teacher. Korean

students may not be familiar with praising or compliment words in English such as "You look really nice today!" or "I like your hairpin!" They may only smile in response because they do not know how to respond to American culture. Chu said:

> It is because Koreans do not tend to say *Thank you* as often as Americans do, unless the degree of thankfulness is really high and deserves a verbal acknowledgement. Therefore, it would be good idea to provide a role play and help Korean students practice saying *Thank you* in these situations. In addition, Korean students need to be taught that *No, thank you* is used in a quite different situation (p.84).

Chu helped me to find logical confirmation for my hunches and insights as I observed the three classrooms.

Code Switching and Honorific Forms

The second part of a recent review of studies of Korean immigrant children's language learning and development concerns a code-switching strategy and honorific formulation process. Whereas code-switching is known as a useful strategy of Korean children who have just started their English learning, the honorific form is considered difficult pragmatic knowledge to master among Korean language learners.

Shin (2002) conducted a participant observation in the role of a teacher's assistant in a first grade public school classroom where 12 Korean bilingual children used English as the language of instruction and learning. During her fieldwork in the classroom, she tape recorded three classroom activities: storytelling, math involving counting numbers, and play in which children did various educational games such as board games, wooden blocks, and jigsaw puzzles. She collected spontaneous discourse data that contained code-switching or language mixing of Korean and English in these class activities. Shin found that code-switching occurred in a small proportion of the

entire discourse collected (only about 3% of the total utterances). In fact, the Korean American classroom teacher told the children to speak English in the classroom. However, she noticed that Korean language proficiency was related to the frequency of code-switching (e.g., students with low proficiency in English but high proficiency in Korean proved to be frequent code-switchers). Shin (2002) reported that overwhelmingly English nouns (69.3%) were used in the Korean sentences as a code-switching strategy, followed in frequency by verbs, numerals, and color terms. Only small percent (2%) of English adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions were used in the context of Korean sentences when the children performed code-switching between Korean and English. Shin's report helped me to understand that in classrooms where the teacher explicitly asks students not to speak Korean procedures can greatly reduce code-switching activities.

Another research study focusing on code-switching patterns was conducted by Chung (2006). In this study, Chung collected conversational data from members of a Korean immigrant family in a naturalistic setting. She argued that the code-switching strategy is, in fact, useful and effective to deliver complex communication between generations of the family. She suggested two findings. First, code-switching is a strategy to lower language barriers among family members. In particular, a sixth grade daughter in Chung's study shifted into English words in her Korean dialogue with her father to compensate for her lack of Korean words. Second, Korean children tend to mix two languages to consolidate Korean cultural identity. The action of switching into Korean language, Chung argued, is to emphasize group solidarity or ethnic identity. For example, she frequently detected an honorific suffix (*nim*) in the Korean family dialogue she analyzed. It indicates respect to those in authoritative positions such as teachers or

pastors in the Korean immigrant community. Thus, Chung believed that by appropriating the proper honorific suffix (a cultural marker) while shifting codes, the young Korean immigrant children could develop a Korean cultural sense of self.

Korean honorific forms need to be taken into consideration in order to understand children's Korean learning process. Honorifics, discernable patterns of politeness in language use, provide clear and important evidence of social hierarchy, social harmony, and the nature of the social being (Brown & Levinston, 1987). Children's speech acts, particularly acquisition of politeness strategies and children's use of 'indirect speech acts'[3] provide an interesting "theory of politeness" in the field of child language acquisition (Brown & Levinston, 1987). Honorific strategies, reflecting evidence of complex interpersonal relationships in a society, often develop over years. In their study, Brown and Levinston (1987, p. 37) found that young Japanese children took years to learn their full system of subject/object honorifics. The children gradually demonstrated the ability to use several degrees of politeness, such as tone of voice, sentence-final particles, and preference for agreement in their language. These elements of politeness in Japanese are relatively similar to those in Korean. Also, the languages are similar in that honorific forms in both closely related to cultural beliefs about the role 'face' plays in the language socialization process. Brown and Levinston (1987) argued that the acquisition of linguistic politeness correlates with the growth of skill in handling social interactions.

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[3] The indirect speech act happens when interlocutors (speakers and listeners) in a conversation can understand illocutionary force (such as asserting, promising, inquiring, ordering, etc.) without any difficulties.

The Korean honorific system reflects its complicated social structure built upon Confucian influences. Speakers need to consider the social relationships among themselves, their listeners, the subject, and the context of the conversation (Jo, 2001; Kim 1997). Lee and Shin (2008) argue in their study of Korean heritage language learners that Korean immigrant children may use more simplified honorific forms than their peers who speak Korean as their first language learners.

Community and Identity of Korean Students

Studies of Korean students' sense of community and identity (Cho, 2000; Cho & Shin, 2008; Jeon, 2005, 2008; Jo, 1999; Jo, 2001, 2002; Lee, 1994, 2002; Lew, 2006; Kim, 1993; Kim, 2002) have identified Korean immigrant children as a language minority group[4], and have shared an assumption that the development of Korean as a heritage language may affect children's school achievement, community involvement, and identity formation. To elaborate more, Cho (2000) was interested to see what motivates Korean children to interact and build social networks while using their Korean heritage language. From the sociological perspective, Jo (1999) described how the Korean immigrant community enhances families' educations and upward social mobility. In the same vein, Cho and Shin (2008) conducted a case study of four newly arrived immigrant Korean families with school-aged children. The authors focused on aspects of these new immigrants' survival, adjustment, and acculturation of the relationship between heritage language learning and ethnic identity. Jeon (2005) theorized that Korean immigrant families' language ideologies affect children's ethnic identity construction,

[4] Language minority group cannot be solely referred to the Korean immigrants. However there are some unique characteristics as the group learns their heritage language, Korean. Scholars who studied Korean immigrants as a language minority group have sought out to these characteristics.

which in turn directly affects their development of biliteracy. Lee (1994) suggested that stereotypes of Korean secondary school aged students as high achieving may not accurately represent all Korean students because the students' economic and social backgrounds vary. The Korean immigrant community is not homogenous in nature (Lew, 2006; Song, 2010). In reality, there exist varied groups of students in terms of their school achievement and their career choices (Lew, 2006; Kim, 1993). In addition, Korean students' academic performance should be attributed in part to the role of parental involvement (Lee, 1994).

Compared to the relatively large number of studies investigating Korean immigrant students' Korean heritage language learning and their acculturation process, public classroom research about young Korean immigrants' language learning is less available. One recent ethnographic study concerned recent arrivals of Korean children from the perspective of Korean born teacher-educators (Chung & Choi, 2008). Shin (2005) explored the dual language[5] process among Korean children developing two languages. She followed a group of Korean immigrant children in their public school classrooms. Presenting examples of code-switching in the classroom, she claimed that code switching should be valued as part of developing bilingualism. Lew (2006) interviewed Korean adolescents and showed that academic achievement among Korean students varied according to their social class and economic conditions. Although the

[5] It is typical that dual language refers to educational settings where bilingual students receive instruction in both English and in this case, Korean. However, it is not so, in real situation. I believe Shin, as I also agree, adopts the term, dual language process, infers the language learning and instruction happening beyond classroom terrain. What she meant in her book (2005) is that Korean children in her study appropriate two languages in order to precede dual language development in and out of the classroom. So, in this context, dual language learning implies bilingual development of the Korean immigrant children.

two conditions are closely associated, there are likely many complex issues affecting Korean immigrant children's school performances.

Concentrating on power-relationships between Korean as a first language and English as a second language, Park (2008) studied Korean immigrant children in his Korean language-learning classroom at a Korean language school. He inquired about how language, identity, and power were represented in the children's utterances and verbal transactions. He concluded that Korean children struggled to form identities as language minority children. He argued that Korean parents are ambitions to raise bilingual children, but his analysis of the reflective-dialectical view of identity formation may have overlooked the nature of the children's language socialization and their bi-cultural formation occurring beyond the Korean language classroom.

Thus far, the reviews of research on Korean immigrants' language learning and classroom studies has confirmed only a small number of research studies (e.g., Chung & Choi, 2008; Shin, 2005) of the language learning of young Korean immigrant children in American public school classrooms. The current study compares two different school settings where Korean bilingual children learn and develop their two languages. Overall, reviewing what has been established in the research on Korean children's language learning helped me to frame my study about the development of young Korean immigrant children's language learning in the classrooms.

Language and Classroom Learning

Any community can be considered a communication system: members share common experience, build social solidarity, make decisions, give orders, and the like. Unlike other communities, school requires students to develop oral and written language

to enhance their academic knowledge. Spoken language is a particularly important medium "by which much teaching takes place, and in which students demonstrate to the teacher much of what they have learned" (Cazden, 2001, p. 2). Through classroom interaction, language serves to develop students' cognitive skills and social relationships. And, language learning in the classroom is one, but a significant aspect of socially situated learning.

Classrooms are social settings. According to socially situated learning theory, all learning in classrooms occurs when learners voluntarily participate in the learning activity. Rather than emphasizing learners' cognitive abilities in the learning process, social scientists Lave and Wenger (1991) say that learning is situated within everyday practices. Learning does not occur "as if it were some independently reifiable process that just happened to be located somewhere" (p.35). Instead, they conceive of learning as "an integral part of generative social practice in the lived–in world" (p.35) in what they call "communities of practice." Classrooms can be considered communities of practice where language learning occurs as part of social participation. In socially constructed learning theories, mediation by co-participants (other members of learning/social communities) is important.

To theorized classroom as socially situated language learning setting, I found that Lave and Wenger (1991) theorized the process of the transformation from individual learner to participate in social world is useful. The direction to become flexible learners, they suggested, should be 1) to become apprentices (becoming keen observers in the classroom), 2) to locate properly in situated learning (getting familiar to the classroom environment such as properly speaking manner, classroom culture, etc.), 3) to flexibly

explore legitimate peripheral participation (getting more actively participate or engage class learning activities).

Legitimate peripheral participation may explain the engagement in community practices of most participants who may have varied degrees of familiarity with such practices. This theory is one explanation of the Korean children's language socialization. First many Korean children enter the classroom as keen observers to gain membership (as apprentices) in the classroom community. Then, they are able to situate themselves in the classroom environment as peripheral participants to learn to speak and behave properly to follow the classroom culture and norm. Gradually, as peripheral apprentices, the children learn their knowledge and language skills by emulating the model of the teacher. Once their situated learning progress develops further, they may transform from "quintessentially legitimate peripheral participants" (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p.32) to central participants. The key to this theoretical view is whether the children are able to move from peripheral learning toward the central learning engagement.

Activating Knowledge in Classrooms

Language learning is not an end per se, but an integral aspect of participating in a community's activities. How children think and reason relies in part upon how they effectively use language as one of the meditational learning tools in their classroom community. Halliday (1993) emphasized that "language is the essential condition of knowing, the process by which experience *becomes* knowledge" (p.94; italicized in original). Dewey explained in his work, *Democracy and Education* (1924), that active and personal learning experiences are necessary to acquire knowledge. All kinds of social institutions can contribute and improve learning experiences. Of course, the social

setting alone does not make learning occur. The relationship between individuals and classroom learning environments is mutually constitutive (Lee & Smagorinsky, 2005; Wells, 2005). During what socially based learning theorists call the act of mediation (Vygotsky, 1978), children use signs and symbols to communicate with other members of social learning communities. Certainly language is not the only meditational tool. There are varied media such as drawing, gestures, and so on, but verbal language is the privileged tool for gaining major opportunities for learning (Wells, 1986, p.50).

Children participate and carry their histories (personal information or viewpoint) into a community of practice. Multiple layers and strands of histories brought by each participant to the classroom can be "engraved in its artifacts, rules and conventions" (Engeström, 2001, p.136), which, in a classroom, are the worksheets, spoken rules, implied expectations, and so on. When a child undertakes the process of negotiation with others in class, he/she slowly but steadily gains a sense of what works for developing further upgraded learning levels.

While observing the Korean immigrant children, I perceived that their language learning actually unfolds beyond the time of the particular class instruction or activities. Explaining this recurrent tendency in the children's language learning, Vygotsky says: "Development, as often happens, proceeds here not in a circle but in a spiral, passing through the same point at each new revolution while advancing to a higher level" (1978, p.56). Thinking arithmetically, it is easy to assume a circular pattern of children's development, but this implies minimal development since their learning comes back to where it started. If the shape is a spiral, however, the point does not need to be exactly where it started, but instead it moves a bit higher to a new learning point from which to

initiate another step in the development of learning. This concept of a spiral development pattern enabled me to conceptualize how the Korean children in my study continuously advanced their levels of language proficiency.

The possibility of enacting learning in the classroom also depends on how a teacher builds up social relationships and the communicative system. While at school, a child makes meaning during active experiences. As Wells (1986) observes, learning "must be constructed by children for themselves, through the process of building on what they already know and gradually elaborate the framework within which they know it" (p.89). Here, Wells perceives that children enact meaning-making based on their previous knowledge and experiences. Cazden's *Classroom Discourse* (2001) is also useful in explaining the complexity of children's language practices. She acknowledged that children must use their previous knowledge in order to understand what the teacher teaches them in the classroom. Some of this pre-conditioning foundation that helps students gain expertise in classroom learning may be lacking in the Korean immigrant children, particularly when they don't know sufficient English and are unfamiliar with the school culture. These children may have difficulty figuring out such classroom norms as "who can talk, about what, with whom, and when" (Lee & Smagorinsky, 2005, p.6).

Identity Formation of the Korean Immigrant Children

Language learning and formulation of social identity cannot be separated from the social environments in which they occur. The social community can be the critical factor in shaping this linguistic identity. Language, more than a simple communication method, is a critical medium that enables individual or group identities to settle into the culture. Language reveals the identity of an individual through his/her own voice.

Further, this individual voice is a mode of personal language identity (Wertsch, 1991). Thus, I considered who the children were, and how they interpreted what they did from their own voices and perspectives.

The concept of identity came from cultural theorist Stuart Hall who described identity as a key concept, *under eraser*, which refers to "an idea which cannot be thought in old way, but without which certain key questions cannot be thought at all" (1996, p.2). Hall stressed the contemporary notion of identity that always on-going-process taking place inside of the representation. In this context, I would consider that identity, or even the process of identification, is indeed the 'shady' entity of linguistic or discourse representation. Widdicombe explained well identity is embedded within other social activity (1998, p.191). He perceived that identity is ready to use to be realized with other tools of communication. Widdicombe's emphasis on representing one's self as well as social self, the identity is important to understand this study.

Hall argued that the nature of identity can never be unified but increasingly fragmented and fractured as a society become more advanced. It is the social and historical and collective changes in view of self (social identity) that brought about the fundamental changes of the people who lives in the era of globalization and instigated to mass movement of people. Constructed within, not surface of discourse, he continuingly argued that identity should be understood as a result in "specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices" (p.4). Therefore, it cannot be "all inclusive sameness, seamless, without internal differentiation" (p.4). Hall's notion of identity helped me to illustrate the formation of the Korean children's identity and its' relation to language socialization.

As the Korean children participate in ongoing learning activity in the classroom with the mutually constitutive relationship between an individual student and the classroom, the identification is proceeded to the transformation of an individual student's identity and his/her ways of participating through class activities with other children (Wells, 2005). However, the identity formation is not always preceded quite easily to a direction that empowered them. Sometimes, the children may have negative educative experience with others, which may also be able to contribute their identity formation. Therefore, the negative disposition of withdrawing from class involvement and resisting the offer from others in the classroom, as well as positive trait in learning activities can be an important means of identity formation (Gutierrez &Stone, 2005; Wells, 2005).

Identity in Practice

Wenger too perceived that identity is not just self-image, but can be realized under the meaningful negotiation between participative experience and reificative projections, of which layers were built upon interweavingly. And, the process of identity formation was referred as *identity in practice* (Wenger, 1998, p.193). It is not an object (learning outcome), but a constant becoming, which is always evolving (p.153-154). Wenger articulated how the process should be treated and what the relation between identity and action in the social setting. He said, "The process of identity formation can remain largely transparent because our identities can develop by being engaged in action without being themselves the focus of attention" (p.193). Wenger explains dual identity formation as the mutuality of giving and taking process, which can boost a community of practice with great energy. However, the process can also be a lack of mutuality that can create

marginality. Thus, the dual nature of identity, mutuality and marginality in identification, could deeply affect our existence of life and becomes one's own identity (p.193).

Identity in practice within a learning community can be an experience of tension between the familiar and the unfamiliar (Wenger, 1999, p.193). Thus, identity formation must be negotiated between the new-comers and the old-comers. Although the encounter of the two groups is always complex, together they perform identity in practice. Thus, the social identity can be a work in progress, create successive forms of participation, incorporate the past, and the future in the experience of the present, and involve negotiation between the two groups. The particulars of the children's case are that they are exposed to varied social sites in order to learn two languages. Thus, the interplays between cultures and selves-in-practice become increasingly complex, due to their bilingual learning situations. This awareness leads me to consider the Korean children's dual frames of references in learning the two languages.

Nexus of Global and Local Membership

According to Wenger's notion of identity in practice, my participants were not only pursuing the outcome of classroom learning, but were trying to "figure out how their engagement fit in the broader scheme of things" (1999, p.162). In this context, the children's identity in practice is always between the local and the global. Wenger's notion of *nexus in identity* formation means networking across multiple communities. The Korean children may have felt uneasy about the drastic changes they experienced in their public schools. Their identity in practice was challenged because of unfamiliar discourse and cultural expectations at the school. According to Wenger, however, such tension is actually a productive part of finding ways to make our various forms of

membership coexist. Whether resolved successfully or an ongoing struggle, according to Wenger, this tension is the core of the very concept of identity. In this study, there is constant interplay between local and global communities of practice, which greatly impacts the Korean children's identity formation.

For the nexus of global and local membership of Korean transnational children's two language learning, the concept of 'glocality' may be worth mentioning. Sociologist Robertson (1995) argues that globalization without consideration of locality is insufficient to account for the social phenomenon that has impacted the world as a whole. This is so because the idea of global culture is actually constituted by the very "interconnectedness" of many locally grown cultures. Robertson's theory of globalization (with relation to glocality) applies to Korean immigrants' dual language learning and bicultural development. Both languages that the children learn in their classrooms interact with each other in linguistic, cognitive, and social development. The children seem to learn under what circumstances, within what boundaries of time and space, the global language, English fits with the local, home language, Korean. What seems important is that the experience of learning the two languages in the two classrooms enables them to promote intercultural communication.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

I conducted this study in Elmwood City where the five participating Korean-English bilingual children lived with their transnational families[6]. My desire to understand the children's early language learning and their bilingual development grew out of my first experiences teaching in the Korean Language and Culture School where I later conducted this study. All five children who were enrolled in the Mu-Gung-Wha[7] class in the fall 2009 semester were invited to participate in this study, and every child and their parents agreed. Four children were first graders and one child was a third grade student. The children were capable of speaking in two languages, although one child had recently arrived from South Korea and did not speak much English at the beginning of this research. In the qualitative research tradition, the essential core activity of "doing research" is not to accumulate information *about* people but to learn *from* people (Spradley, 1980). As a qualitative researcher, I considered myself a student who wanted to learn from my participants.

Designing A Descriptive Case Study

Educational researchers frequently use interdisciplinary techniques for data collection and analysis. In the *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2005), Denzin and Lincoln introduced the term "bricoleur" to explain the nature of qualitative research. It implies that qualitative researchers borrow techniques from many different disciplines as

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6 The name of the city, schools, teachers, students, and mothers in this study are all pseudonyms.

7 The name of the class comes after the national flower of South Korea, Mu-Kung-Hwa.

part of their "interpretive experience" (p.5). Just as a skilled quilt maker stitches, fixes, and mends all sorts of cloth to produce one beautiful quilt, so do qualitative researchers interpret the meanings of people through the processes of gathering data, editing their writing, and putting together slices of participants' realities into the final work. A researcher's bricolage is a "pieced-together set of representations that is fitted to the specifics of a complex situation" (p.4).

Qualitative researchers must also know their limitations in the field. We cannot comprehend everything about participants or social events; rather, what we come to understand is a fragment of participants' lives. To make research more trustworthy and convincing, researchers must conduct rigorous studies based on empirical evidence from the time of prompting research questions to crafting the final report (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005).

The nature of qualitative study is to search for meaning when a certain group of people in a particular social setting display how they make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world (Merriam, 1998). I was particularly interested in the descriptive nature of a qualitative design because it allowed me to gather rich, high quality data in my chosen field in order to write a report with thick descriptions of events, utterances, and samples (Merriam, 1998).

A descriptive qualitative study closely investigates social phenomena in a naturalistic setting; therefore researchers describe pivotal moments as thickly as possible based upon their observations and communication with participants. The task of undertaking qualitative research is to describe participants' stories and to creatively and imaginatively spin a thread of a story to make the project extraordinarily thick (Geertz,

1973). Out of the thickly described data, then, readers can search for meaning in a "web of significance" (p.5) that is intricately embedded in human behavior of social activities. My research questions emerged in *how* the five Korean children *learn and develop* English and Korean in different educational settings. My focus was on how the Korean children learned and behaved in two different schools.

Research Sites

The primary sites for data gathering were three classrooms: the Korean language classroom, a first and second grade combined classroom at Tulip Elementary, and an English Language Learning (ELL) classroom at Broadway Elementary. I also observed the children on the playgrounds, in the cafeterias, and at the gym.

The three schools are located in Elmwood City, a college town located in Mid-West region with approximately 62,000 residents. The local community school district enrolls about 11,000 students from kindergarten through 12th grade and puts great emphasis on academic performance. Studies about Korean immigrant children in America have been conducted mostly in the large metropolitan cities where many Koreans settle (Lew, 2006; Min, 2000; Shin, 2005). The community where this study was conducted is relatively small with a highly educated population in close proximity to a Research University. More than half of the population (55.9% of residents in the city) holds a bachelor degree or higher, so it is assumed that the city's greatest asset is its well-educated human resources. The city's university student population supplements the part-time labor force and it is not uncommon to encounter them in educational settings serving as teacher's helpers, work-study students at daycare facilities, summer camp leaders, and the like.

The racial composition for the city is overwhelmingly White European-American (87.33%). The Asian population that includes Koreans was 5.64% at the time of the 2000 Census. The Koreans in the city are mostly graduate or undergraduate students and their families. Some post-graduate professionals from South Korea bring their families to make short visits to the city for their research in various departments. Most of the graduate student families stay between five and eight years until they finish their schooling. The children who are participants in this study are the children of graduate students and post-graduates.

Korean Language School

According to the former head teacher, the Korean Language School was established in 1994. Since then, it has continuously served the Korean immigrant community by teaching Korean language classes and introducing Korean culture to Korean immigrant children. The school is comprised of six classes separated by the students' ages and their Korean language proficiency. The number of classes varies each semester, depending on the numbers of students enrolled. The total student enrollment during the fall, 2009, was thirty one children.

Language classes meet on Saturdays for 135 minutes (2.15 hours) from 10:00 am to12:15 pm. The class day is divided into three lessons with two recess times. The first two lessons are 45 minutes and the last class is activity-focused on music and traditional Korean dancing, taught on alternative weeks for 30 minutes. Each semester the school holds special events for the children, including a sports game event, a talent show, and especially at the end of the school year in June, the closing celebration ceremony. At these occasions, parents are invited to enjoy the events and to celebrate the students'

achievement. The financial resources to run the school come from tuition paid by parents and a subsidy of support from the Korean Consulate in Chicago, Illinois. In addition, a government-led textbook publishing company in South Korea supplies cost-free textbooks to Korean schools in the United States. Students in the Moo-Gung-Wha class study the first grade Korean language arts textbook, which is divided into two sections of reading and listening, writing and speaking.

The school cannot afford to own a building, but a local Korean church allows it to use their facilities, including utilities and furniture. This indicates the church generally supports young Korean children's education in the Korean language, but the church does not have any authority over the school management, class curricula, or school policy. Teacher recruitment is conducted as needed to fill vacancies. There were seven teachers (including one head teacher) at the time of my observation. The school principal often stays in South Korea because of his business. Thus, most of the school management and curriculum decisions are made by the head teacher and other teachers at a teachers' meeting once or twice a month.

I observed one Korean classroom for seven weeks on Saturdays (10/10/09-12/05/09). The classroom was a small seminar room without windows. Biblical passages were posted on two walls. There was a big portable table that was easily folded, and several metal folding chairs. The teacher brought a white board from another room at the beginning of each class. The five Korean children and one female classroom teacher studied reading, writing, and oral presentation in Korean. The seats were not assigned by the teacher, but students tended to occupy the same seat every week. I had a

designated chair in the corner of the room that I called a researcher seat. Figure 3.1 is a diagram of the Korean classroom.

I audio-taped the entire class five times, and took field notes as I sat in the classroom. During the two additional weeks of my observation period, the children and teachers engaged in whole school activities, so I took observational field notes to see how the children interacted with other children from different classes. I transcribed the recordings in Korean as soon after my observations as I could. I translated some parts of my predominately Korean classroom observational notes and recordings into English. (Some part of the classroom observational notes and some parts of the interview recordings were already in English). As I became aware of the significant categories in data analysis, I determined which sections of data were relevant and therefore necessary to translate into English.

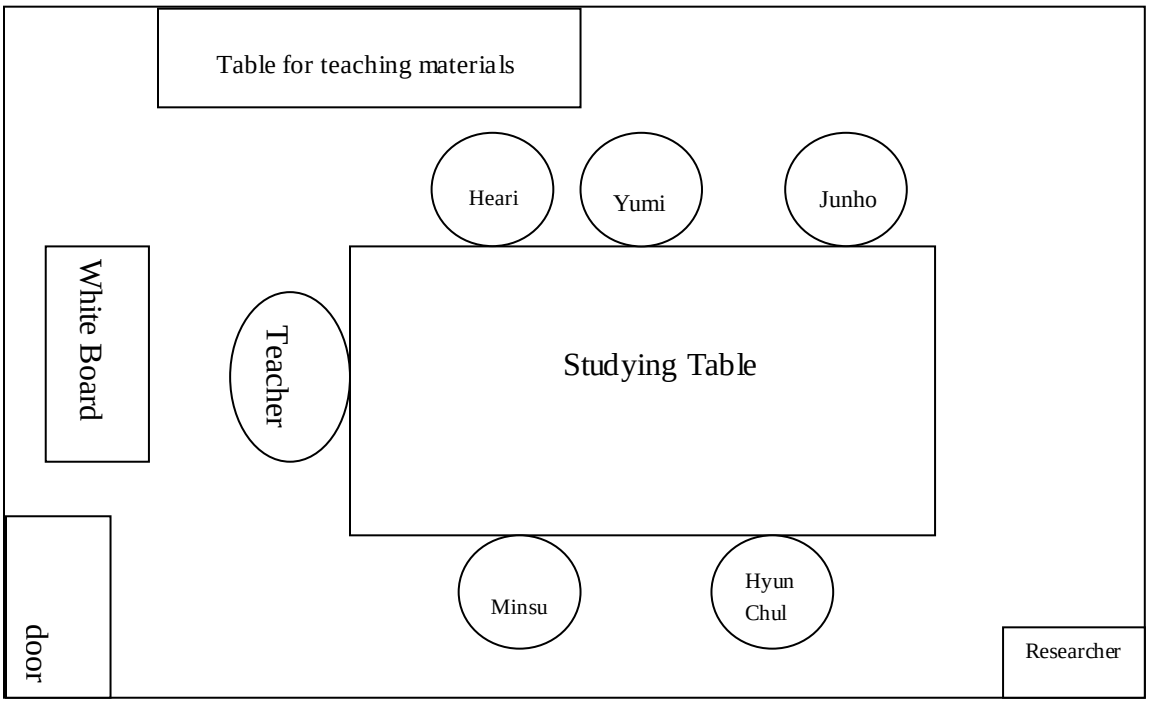


Figure 3.1 Map of the Korean School Classroom

Local Public Schools

At first I visited three classrooms located in two local public elementary schools: two regular elementary classrooms and one ELL classroom. Haeri attended first grade at Tulip Elementary for first grade, and Minsu was a first grade student at Broadway Elementary and attended a pull-out ELL program. I observed Language Arts instruction in Heari's regular classroom every week. After three observations in Minsu's regular math and physical education classes, I decided to focus on his ELL classroom.

Tulip Elementary School

The following is an excerpt from my field notes on November 11, 2009. It was my fifth trip to Tulip Elementary School for the Heari's class observation.

> At 9:03am, I entered the main office to sign in. I heard someone say, "Hi!" behind me; it was the principal at Tulip Elementary. She and I had made a brief acquaintance to discuss permission for my classroom observations. The atmosphere of the building was very friendly. Everyone I met in the building smiled and said, "Hello!" to me. It was easy to start conversations…. When I observed Heari's first and second grade classroom, the children had a "buddy activity" with upper 5th graders. The 5th grade teacher and I had a conversation about how her students are pleased to help the lower grade students. She expressed her pride as she watched her students take an initiative to help the first and second graders to learn. She said, "This is learning partnership that the two classes are working together. Not only are the lower graders, but also my students too are actually getting a great learning experience in this."
> (Tulip Classroom Observation # 5, Nov. 11, 2009)

Tulip Elementary School opened in 1994 and has a culturally diverse population. The building has four wings around the hub of the media center, which is electronically connected to every classroom. Classrooms are sizeable enough for large-group and small-group instruction. A portion of the walls between individual classrooms is flexible so that instructional areas can be expanded to accommodate collaborative teaching and learning. A separate multi-purpose room with its own entrance and independent locking

system allows the facility to serve as a community center even when school is not in session.

According to the school's mission statement, diversity is viewed as a strong learning catalyst in the multi-age setting of the classroom where the range of age, individual learning abilities, and expertise is appreciated in a diverse educational setting. The school emphasizes learning through "hands-on" experiences as a means of introducing children more challenging tasks of knowledge and understanding at Tulip. The statement highlights *how to learn* as much as *what to learn* to promote critical thinking skills such as analysis, synthesis, comparison, and evaluation.

Tulip's multi-age classrooms are organized into four teams: Team 1 (5-6 year-old children), Team 2 (6-8 year-old children), Team 3 (8-10 year- old students), and Team 4 (10-12 year- old students). The school regards the classroom teacher as a leader and considers parents as partners in educating a child. The school staff believes that creating a partnership with parents strengthens the children's educational environment.

Tulip Elementary emphasizes an integrated curriculum across subject matter. According to the Tulip school website, the foremost important educational goal for everyone in the school is to be proficient in oral and written English. However, acquiring English is understood to occur together with math skills, arts, music, social skills, and so on. Tulip Elementary values social experiences as a medium for budge disciplines. Children are to relate what they learned at school to their lives at home and other communities. Eight themes are emphasized according to this educational tenet: The life cycle; The use of symbols; Membership in groups; A sense of time and space; Response

to the aesthetic; Connections to nature; Producing and consuming; Living with purpose; Measuring results.

I observed Heari's language arts class almost every Wednesday for three months. I did not audio record the class, but I took field notes. I emphasized to the teacher that my focus was to see Heari's language learning experiences and cultural behavior as a bilingual and bicultural child. The Language arts classroom where I observed had twenty-three children. The teacher and students had easy access to the media center from their classroom at the back of the building and sometimes used the school library during class time. When a student needed to recharge batteries for an audio-recorder, with permission from the teacher, she went to the media center to get them right away. If the teacher wanted a book for reading out loud, she could get it immediately from the library.

On my first day of observation on 10/14/09, I encountered an unexpected scene. The teacher sat on a chair surrounded by all twenty three children, and they were discussing Language Arts. The students were all attentive to the teacher but some of them were lying on their tummies and some sat on a sofa. Two floor lamps illuminated the whole classroom. The students' worksheets were in baskets on the top of a shelf located on the opposite side of the sofa. The classroom has its own sink with running water for the students to wash their hands. Three sides of the classroom had built-in cabinets where the children put their personal things and where all the school supplies were kept.

Figure 3.2 is a map of Heari's classroom. The room was divided into three major parts: the reading area, the work station area, and the book club area. In the reading area, there were books on two shelves so that the children could help themselves at "read to

self" time and a sofa to sit on while reading. There were six tables for work station activities where students did group and individual work. There was a big contoured shape table at the book club area. The teacher and usually several children sat there to discuss books. On her right side, several students took turns doing math games at a computer, and the teacher monitored how much time they spent on the computer.

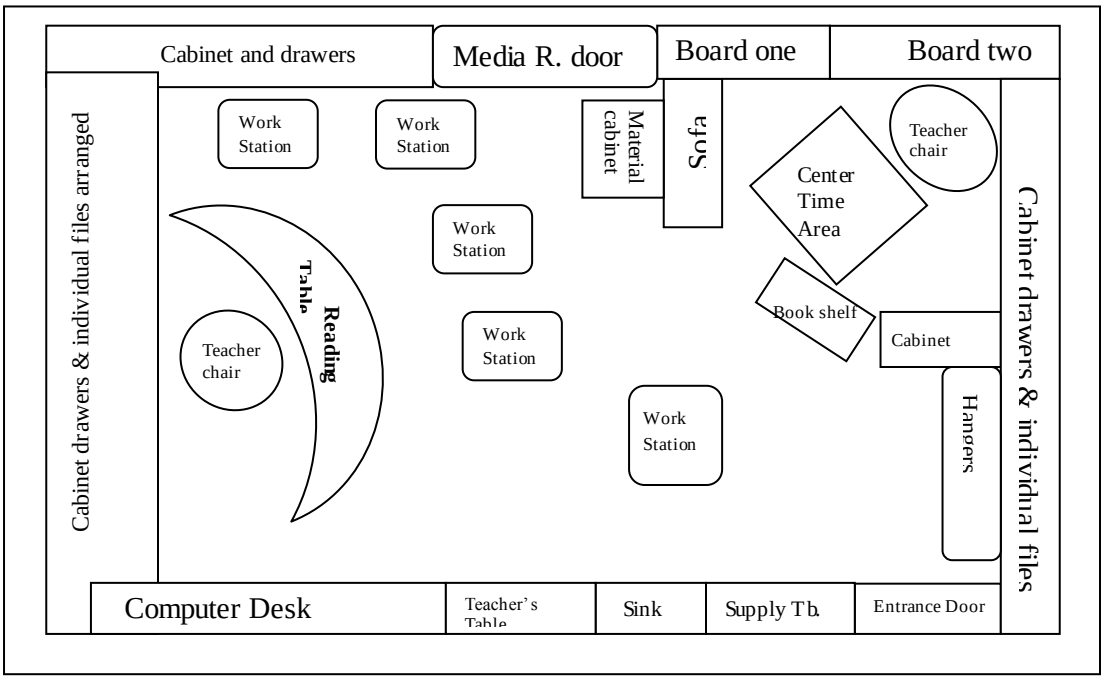


Figure 3.2 Map of Tulip Elementary Classroom

Broadway Elementary School

Minsu attended Broadway Elementary School, located on the west side of the city. The enrolled students came from different parts of the world: from Africa, to Western Europe, to South America, to Asia, including South Korea. The population served by the school was not only ethnically diverse but socioeconomically diverse. The

school was one of several elementary schools in the district providing ELL instruction for non-native English speaking students.

Opening the door of the building, I noticed many signs and banners celebrating reading and writing in English. In addition to the ELL program, the school incorporates programs like resource room support, Reading Recovery, and Title I reading support to enhance the literacy skills of the students. Minsu's class was a first grade classroom, but students in higher grades are in multi-age classrooms. The school consists of four units: Kindergarten, Unit A consisting of 1st and 2nd grades, Unit B consisting of 3rd and 4th grades, and Unit C consisting of 5th and 6th grades. In various school areas such as the playground, gym, and lunch serving area, it was easy to spot volunteers, senior citizens, parents, and student teachers, who spend time in the building as community support for students' learning and academic achievement.

The school song reflects the mission and obejective of Broadway elementary school. Here is an excerpt from its lyrics:

> Runnin' the road to a good education,
> Runnin' the road to a better nation,
> There's work to do so don't stand still,
> Come lead the charge up *Broadway* Hill!

The ELL classroom at Broadway, as presented in Figure 3.3, was quite sizable. It was divided into four major areas. At the center, the teacher's chair occupied a wide open space covered with a rug. Children sat on the rug to look up at the teacher who frequently read aloud to them. On the right side of the classroom was a big contour-shaped table with several chairs around it. Behind them, there was a 4' x 4' size white board. At the far side from the entrance door, next to the window, there were sets of chairs and desks where students practiced assigned work. One last spot was a reading

area with two cozy sofas on a rug surrounded by books and pictures of children of different ethnic backgrounds wearing their traditional costumes.

The walls were covered with class materials, and pictures from children all over the world. Most of the things placed in the classroom were labeled with English words. Not only in the ELL classroom, but elsewhere in the Broadway building, walls held signs of "Expectations." In the classroom one sign said, "ELL expectations: Learning at the carpets, desks, and tables."

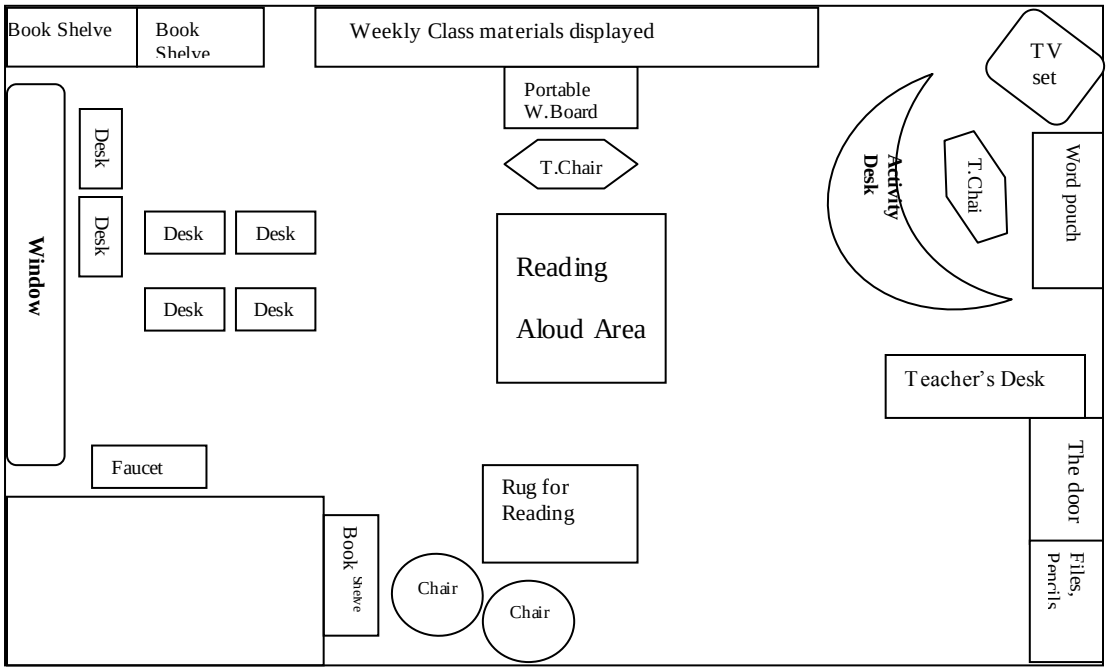


Figure 3.3 Map of Broadway ELL Classroom

Participants

In qualitative studies, participants are selected purposefully, not randomly (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 1988; Seidman, 2006). The five children selected for this study were central to its design and what I learned from them influenced

my decisions about how to observe and whom to interview as secondary participants, including three mothers and three of the children's teachers.

Five Korean Children

I observed the five children in their Korean language classroom and talked with them in and out of class to understand their learning behavior and tendencies. They were not the same age group, their Korean proficiency varied, and they were enrolled at different public elementary schools. I chose the highest level of language proficiency class at the school because they were school aged children who performed Korean reading and writing relatively well compared to other levels. Further, I had taught three of the children in the previous semester. Table 3.1 is an overview of the children's backgrounds.

On my first observation day in the Korean school, the teacher introduced me, and I explained to the children that I was interested in learning from then. I told the children I wanted to see how they were doing in Korean language learning. I emphasized that the focal point of my Korean classroom observation was to see their interaction with peers and their communication with their teachers.

I chose two children to observe further in public school, Haeri and Minsu. I watched them talk and study with other English speaking children, and talk with teachers and school administrators. I observed them running around and yelling to their playmates on their school playgrounds, and chatting with classmates while waiting in line for lunch in the school cafeteria.

The data sources I complied for these five children were based on classroom transcripts, in-classroom observational notes and observational reflections and memos,

group interview transcript, informal interview transcripts, classroom materials that students studied during the class.

Table 3.1 The Five Korean Children's Background Information

	Yumi	Hyunchul	Heari	Junho	Minsu
Age	8	6	6	6	6
Grade	3	1	1	1	1
Birth Place	S. Korea	S. Korea	United States	S. Korea	S. Korea
Sibling	Younger Brother	Younger Brother	Younger Brother	Younger Sister	Younger Brother
Language spoken with sibling	English	English	English and Korean	English and Korean	Korean
Language spoken at home	English and Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean
Length of staying in the US[8]	Approx. 7 years	Approx. 4 years	Approx. 6 years	Approx. 3years[9]	Approx. 2 months
Name at school	English	English	English	Korean	Korean

Minsu

Minsu became a first grader at Broadway Elementary in August, 2009. The first day of school was rather hectic not only for Minsu but also for his family. They had just arrived from South Korea since Minsu's father, a veteran special education teacher in a city in the southern Korean peninsula, began his graduate program. On the first day of my Korean language class observation (10/10/09), Minsu talked to the teacher about a

8 The length of staying in the US was at the time of data collection in 2009.

9 Junho's initial arrival was about 2 years of age. But he went back to South Korea because of his mother was expecting a baby. Thus, I counted his staying in the US after he re-entered US in 2007

given homework assignment. Minsu's family was confused about the different academic years. The teacher used the second semester years according to South Korean practice and Minsu's father thought that Minsu needed another textbook for the spring semester according to the American academic year. As a new transnational family from a different cultural and educational system, Minsu's family experienced confusion frequently. And, many times, the confusion was because of their lack of understanding English, said Minsu's mother.

Education and, to be specific, English education is necessary for young children like Minsu in South Korea. Traditionally Korean education has been highly uniform and centralized (Kim, 2002). Education is perceived as the top priority for "rising in the world" in Korean society (Cho & Shin, 2008), and there has always been an underlying idea of educating the country's next generations. Recently this educational fever has motivated English language learning with the rapidly globalizing society. In this socio-cultural context, Minsu's parents decided to come to the U.S. not only for his father's higher education but also for the children's education. The parents believed if Minsu and his younger brother lived in an English speaking region when they were young, they would develop English skills that would carry advantages into their futures (01/23/10, Interview with Minsu's mother).

At Broadway Elementary, Minsu was assigned to an ELL classroom to learn English as a second language. After about two months, he was able to speak one- or two-word sentences (e.g., "What?" "Yummy!" "Teacher!" "No, No, No!"" "A leaf?") (ELL classroom field note # 3, 10/30/09). Minsu had not been exposed to English prior to living in America, except for some vocabulary taught at his kindergarten.

Minsu was usually read to for his reading in English; however, at home most of the time he read Korean books on his own. Sometimes, he read them to his mom or his little brother. He preferred to read Korean books and commented to his parents that he didn't enjoy reading in English because English books were still beyond his comprehension (Interview with Minsu's mother, 01/23/10). Unlike his somewhat compliant attitude at his public school, Minsu took full charge of engaging learning activities in the Korean language school and loved to take initiative. In the Korean classroom he didn't need be silent and could express well in Korean what he knew. Perhaps this is where his confidence, appearing in sometimes overly confident and rather strange behavior, sprang up.

Heari

Haeri attended the Korean language school for three years. She spoke Korean fluently. Her command of Korean honorific expression was excellent, and I caught only a few mistakes in her Korean. Considering the fact that she only visited South Korea for short periods of time in each trip, Heari's Korean reservoir was sufficient to communicate with other native Korean speakers. She loved to participate in the Korean classroom activities. She always made sure that she understood her homework assignment and usually wrote it down in her note book.

Compared to a relatively moderate academic achievement evaluation from her public elementary school teacher (Tulip teacher interview, 12/16/09), Haeri displayed keen interest in learning Korean and took initiative to understand words and expressions using Korean language. For example, when the teacher asked the class to volunteer to make a presentation, she was the one who raised her hand to go first. According to my

first observation note (Korean classroom field note # 1, 10/10/09), when the teacher told Haeri not to use an English word, she swiftly changed to a Korean word. Her ability to code-switch reflected her flexibility in using the two languages at hand. Heari's Korean language skills and abilities were superior to the other Korean children in the classroom. Even the native speaker of Korean, Minsu, spoke Korean with expressions that were somewhat less articulate than Heari's.

At Tulip Elementary, I found that Haeri was a rather quiet girl in her classroom. Though pleasant in her attitude toward her classmates, teachers and volunteers, she showed a less passionate attitude toward learning than I saw in the Korean classroom. Following is a part of the interview with her classroom teacher:

> I've noticed a lot. Since she… because she doesn't come to me a lot, but I also know that things she doesn't really understand but she's found a way to look busy, I kind of notice and I thought, OK, what's going on! I did try her to bring a little more confidence, 'cause I wasn't sure with … Do you speak English at home, you know, what do you do?
> (Mary, The classroom teacher, interview, 12/16/09)

In her English school, Haeri was called Ella. I decided to use her Korean name, Haeri except when describing specific observations when she was referred to as Ella by her English school teacher or classmates. Haeri often relied on her peers to privately figure out what was going on in the class. Her teacher reported that she would not come to her for help to figure out the class activities or her requests to the class. These performances contrasted strongly to her performances in the Korean classroom. During the Language Arts class, I watched her bring out books from bookshelves located in the center of the classroom and flip over pages and pages of books. Rather than pay attention to the pages in written words, she looked at the pictures to comprehend. I asked Haeri which subject

she liked best and she said math and science. She told me these subjects do not require a lot of English, and she felt she was good at them.

Junho

Junho was a six-year old boy born in South Korea. He had lived in the U.S. for about three years with his family (His initial entrance to the US was at the age of two, but went back to South Korea). He told me he tutored his little sister in English because the family hardly spoke in English at home, and he thought she needed to have someone like him to learn English (Group interview with the children,12/05/09).

Junho had attended the Korean language school for three years since he came to the city from Seoul, South Korea. His mother said that Junho had "mastered" his Korean letters in preschool and could read basic words in Korean before he came to the U.S. Korean children usually begin learning to read Hangul in kindergarten before they begin elementary school education (Cho & McBride-Chang, 2005; Park, 2005; Taylor & Taylor, 1995). By the age of 5 or so, Korean children can usually read letter names and sounds as well as combine consonants with vowels. Junho was able to read Consonant+Vowel (CV) structures in his Korean preschool and then moved to the U.S. Though diligently attending Korean language school for three years, he was moderate in his Korean language development. In the Korean class, Junho was constantly asked to be sure he understood Consonant+Vowel+Consonant (CVC) words in Korean. Sometimes he showed his frustration by kicking the table with his foot or making noise. When this then happened his Korean teacher warned him that such behaviors would distract the whole class from their studying.

Junho's mother told me that he did not know any English words or letters before entering kindergarten. She reported that at home he liked to read books and do assigned homework from the Korean School on his own. At the time of my study, Junho regularly read books both in Korean and in English at home; his favorite books were based on action-figure characters such as Iron Man, Spider Man, Bat Man, and so on (Interview with Junho's mother, 11/09/09).

For first grade, Junho transferred to a school located about 3.5 miles from his home. Riding a school bus to his new school was an exciting thing for him. He made a friend on the bus ride who became a "best buddy" at school. They rode on the swing set at recess and had a swing competition to see who was better. He was carefree in nature and liked to laugh and often struck the table or chairs with his foot during class just for fun, but he was also quick-witted and had a keen understanding of what went on around him. For example, at the beginning of the group interview, I explained the purpose and procedures of my research. I told them I would most likely transcribe every word that I recorded in the digital recorder on the table. Then, I asked, "Why do you think that is important to me?" and Junho responded immediately, "So that you can remember!" (Group interview with the children, 12/05/09)

Hyunchul

Hyunchul was another first grader who attended the Korean language school on Saturdays. He declared to the class that "영어는 너무 너무 너무 너무 쉬워요 [English is soooooooooooh easy!]" (Korean classroom observation #1, 10/10/09). He was very proud of himself that he was advanced in math and science at his elementary school. Even though he had just started first grade in August, 2009, he said proudly that he had

already excelled in first grade math and moved to learn second grade math (however, I did not have an opportunity to confirm his remark with his parents). He also informed me that he knew how to manipulate basic algebra, including addition, subtraction, division, and multiplication. Hyunchul loved to read science books and aspired to become a scientist. He was the one child who differentiated between the Korean School and his public elementary school, referring to the latter as English School.

Yumi

Yumi was eight years old and a third grader who liked to collect "High School Musical stuff" and tried to hide it from her little brother who shared a room with her. She was the oldest student in the Korean classroom. In the Korean language classroom, she hardly spoke or raised her hand for questions. When she presented her writing to the class, her voice was soft and low.

Yumi came to the U.S. when she was a toddler, and at the time of my data collection, she had lived in America for seven years. Like Junho, Yumi transferred to a new school during the year of data collection. Yumi and Junho's previous school had not met No Child Left Behind (NCLB) adequate yearly progress(AYP) requirements. The NCLB act, the latest federal legislation for school reform in the U.S., passed in Congress in 2001 says if a school fails to meet AYP goals for two years, the school must "offer students opportunities to attend other public schools" (Karen, 2008, p.17). Based on the NCLB Act, the children's neighborhood school offered the two children transfers to other schools in the city.

Yumi has a brother who started kindergarten at the same school she attended. At home, they usually spoke English with each other. At her previous school, she had some

Korean friends that she played with at recess and studied with in her classroom. Though she didn't know anyone at the new school, it did not take long for Yumi to make a friend. She told me that she met a girl in her new school named Samantha, and soon they became best friends, exchanging rings as tokens of their friendship.

Research with Five Korean Immigrant Children

선생님: 자, 저기 뒤에 선생님이 한 분 더 앉아 계시지요? 오늘부터앞으로 6 번동안 여러분의 수업시간에 어떻게 공부하나 보러오신 선생님이예요. 그래서 앞으로 여러분 같이 미국에서 우리나라 글도 배우고 영어도 배우는 친구들 한테 도움이 될수 있도록 여러분이 열심히 공부하는 모습을 보여드리면 선생님이많이 도움을 받으실것 같아. 그러면 선생님 소개 한번 들어 볼까요?

연구자: 안녕하세요? 여기서 준호하고 유미, 그리고 혜리는 선생님 하고 저번에 공부했었지? 새 친구 있는데, 민수랑 현철이는 선생님이 모르지만. 선생님이 공부하는거 부모님께 설명해 드렸거든요, 그러니부모님들 다 아시고 계세요. 만약에 궁금한거 있으면 선생님한테나중에 휴식시간에 물어 보고. 선생님은 여러분이 어떻게 공부 하는 가에 관심이 많아요. 옆에서 조용히 보고 있을 테니까, 열심히 공부하세요!

모두: 예.

[Teacher: Well, at the back corner of our classroom, you see a teacher is sitting. For six weeks from now on, she will be here with us in our classroom to see how you study Korean language. So, she will get much help for her study about children like you who want to learn Korean language as well as to develop English language while living in America. Let's give her a moment to introduce herself.

Seon: Good morning! I know Juhno, Yumi, and Heari. We studied together in the past. I can see Minsu and Hyunchul who are new friends at the school and I hope to know you very well. I already had a chance to talk with your parents and explained them what the project is about. If you have any questions or are wondering about what I am doing here in the classroom, please feel free to come to me and we can chat during your recess time. I am very interested in how you learn [Korean language] in this classroom. I will be back to my seat at the corner to observe how you are studying. Study hard!

All the children: Yes.]

(Korean class observation#1, 10/10/09)

Children who are research participants are different from adult participants (Fine, 1988; Kirova & Emme, 2007). Research participation is defined as "the process of sharing decisions which affect one's life and the life of the community in which one lives" (Hart, 1992; quoted in Kirava & Emme, 2007, p.85). When I explained the purpose of the study and the procedures to the children, it seemed they understood what I was going to do with the recordings and how they could be of help by responding when I asked them questions. I made a clear statement that I had talked with their parents about the study so that they wouldn't feel uncomfortable.

However, there is an unequal power relation between all researchers and their participants. It was evident in this study because I was an adult and they were children. It seemed that the relation between them (young participants) and me (adult researcher) was slanted toward me in conversational dialogue. Just my presence in the classroom may have changed the dynamics of the site. For instance, one time the teacher left the classroom to get something at snack time. She frequently visited the main office to make copies or bring some school supplies for the children, but I was there all the time with them. I wondered if that made their conversation or behavior different.

Kirova and Emme (2007) suggested three main points of conceptualization of adult-child studies: the adult must not assume superiority as they enter the world of children they study; the adult must take seriously children's views, beliefs, and experiences in the course of the study; and the adult and the children must create together shared understanding as they carry on the study. If these recommendations are met, the researched (the children) could be empowered, and the power relationship between the

researcher and the researched could be developed into reciprocal and mutual "give and take of social interactions" (p.88).

Fine (1988) also argued that understanding what children put into words is only possible if the adult researcher can understand "a culture of childhood." She called it the "kid society" (p.34). Just like many other subcultures in society, it only can be well addressed in light of young children's uniquely situated social meanings, which are embedded within childhood cultural frames of reference but researchers often "overlook their implications when spoken by children" (p.35). Fine's point was that adult researchers must be careful not to interpret what children say and how they behave based on the researcher's own childhood experiences and perceptions, which may yield only the adult's perspective. Rather, researchers who study children must be equipped with the ability to "bracket our commonsense understandings and thereby make these neighbors (children) into strangers" (p.35) to get a sense of what it means to be a child.

Teachers

Youngson: Korean School Teacher

The Korean classroom teacher had been an elementary teacher in Korea for ten years before coming to the U.S. in the fall of 2009 for graduate study. She had taught in elementary schools located in the southern part of Seoul, South Korea. She has a short barb styled black hair and speaks clearly articulated in Korean. She majored in General Education and minored in English Education for her bachelor's degree. In her mid-30s, she came to the U.S. with her husband and two-year old daughter, and settled in an apartment complex where many Korean immigrants live at the outskirts of the city. Back home, she had worked with third, fourth, and fifth grade children in regular classroom

settings. She taught English-as-a-foreign-language exclusively for four years just before coming to the United States. Teaching English to elementary students in South Korea, Youngson wanted to deliver the message that English is a global language and knowing it well can be beneficial for their future. She encouraged them to realize that learning English can be fun. Speaking her teaching experience in English subject, Youngson emphasized, "I want my student to get motivated in (language) learning" (Interview with Youngson, 12/05/09).

Mary: Tulip Elementary School Teacher

Heari's classroom teacher held a Reading Endorsement and was working on her master's degree in Elementary Education. Mary is a Caucasian female with blond hair. She attends many professional development workshops, including recently a math mini-lesson workshop to develop her math curriculum. Previously she had worked as a lead teacher in a daycare, then was a stay-at-home mom raising her two children. She said she was always with kids, even when she taught scrapbook classes. She was hired as a part time teacher three years ago at Tulip Elementary. She worked with kindergarteners, second, fifth and six graders, and ELL students. The year of the study she became a full time teacher for first and second graders.

Angela: Broadway Elementary ELL Teacher

The ELL teacher at Broadway Elementary School, Angela, was a Caucasian female who wore jeans and shirts with running shoes. Her voice was soft and her pronunciation was clearly articulated. She held a bachelor's degree in English and a teacher certification that qualified her to teach secondary school in English. Though she had only officially taught the ELL class since September, 2009, she had volunteered in

schools and was a substitute teacher for all grade levels. She usually had 5-6 students in her morning class which met from 8:45 am to 10:15 am.

Korean Mothers

The parents of the five children were highly educated. They were all born, raised, and educated in South Korea. All the fathers had earned or were in the process of obtaining PhDs. Though varied to some extent, the parents in this study were affected by the educational atmosphere and values in South Korea as they parented their children. I selected 3 mothers for individual interviews. Considering I am a female researcher, I felt more comfortable interviewing the mothers of the children. I developed rapport with them easily. I chose to interview Sujin, the mother of Minsu, Eunyoung, Junho's mother, and Jeewon, Yumi's mother, to learn more about these children's language practices. Although they all shared commonality as the mothers of transnational households, it turned out that their lived experiences of raising the children in America were distinctively different, which made for interesting data.

Sujin: Minsu's Mother

Sujin, Minsu's mother, stayed at home with her two boys, six-year old Minsu and his four-year-old younger brother. Minsu's family had lived in the city for two months at the time of the interview and they intended to stay three years, until Minsu's father finished his graduate program. Every week Sujin took her children to the public library where they spent time in the children's book area. She borrowed books for beginning reading level 1, and also let the children choose their own books to read. She often heard Minsu say that the books they read at the library were English versions of the approximately four hundred children's books in Korean translations they had at home.

Minsu's family's collection included various genres: old Korean folk tales, world classic children's literature, science and informational books, and contemporary realistic fiction. Minsu's mom chuckled when she reviewed the list of children's literature they owned at home, because the books that her husband used for his graduate program only occupied one bookshelf, she said.

Eunyoung: Junho's Mother

Junho's mom, Eunyoung was raising two young children, six-year old Junho and his three-year-old sister, while her husband was pursuing a PhD. She had lived in the U.S. for five years but made frequent visits to South Korea, including the longest stay when she returned to give birth to her second baby. Unlike other Korean young mothers who eagerly want to have babies in the U.S. to obtain American citizenship (Song, 2010, p.26), Junho's mom had her children in South Korea. At the time of the interview (11/09/09), she said that she might remain in the area to start her own graduate work, which would probably take another three years. She said they would eventually settle in South Korea.

Jeewon: Yumi's Mother

Yumi's family had been in the U.S. for seven years and Yumi was only one year old when they moved from South Korea. During their time in America, the family had a new addition, Yumi's little brother. He was a kindergartener in fall, 2009 and attended Yumi's new school. Yumi's mother was a graduate student searching for a job after her approaching graduation.

Data Collection and Resource

Data collection took place from October 2009 to January 2010, plus follow-up observational visits in March and April, 2010. The two main data collection methods were classroom observation and interview. I observed three classrooms: one at the Korean Language School, and one each at Tulip Elementary and Broadway Elementary. I observed the Korean classroom seven times on Saturdays, I visited the ELL classroom at Broadway Elementary seven times, and I observed the multi-age Language Arts class at Tulip Elementary six times. Appendix A presents details of the time I devoted to data collection.

I also conducted the three types of interviews: a group interview with the Korean immigrant children, teacher interviews with the three classroom teachers, and parent interviews with three of the mothers of the Korean children engaged in this study.

During data analysis, I corresponded with the three teachers via emails for the purpose of member checking. However, I wondered how Minsu was developing in his ELL classroom, so in March and April, 2010, I observed Minsu's ELL classroom on three Thursday mornings. This was a good opportunity for me to see how much Minsu had improved his English and adjusted in his U.S. school life.

Field Observation

Qualitative researchers acknowledge that there is not one, but multiple realities and furthermore these multiple realities coexist to interplay within human agency. They emphasize the "value-laden nature of inquiry," which explains that situated reality is created in social contexts constrained by interactions between the researcher and the researched (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.10). The field observation method enables a

researcher to gain a meaningful understanding in a qualitative study (Guba & Lincoln, 1988).

Spradley emphasized that field notes help researchers more accurately conduct site visits (1980). I kept field notes organized by date, time, and names of sites at the time of observations. Divided into two columns, I wrote my reflective impressions of the site and thoughts during the observation in one column and allotted the other column to descriptions of the 'facts' of the observation. Fieldnotes were a place to discover what I had not expected, and confirm what I already knew. I tried to express specific details using concrete language. Spradley suggested a researcher should make a list of verbs and nouns which are more appropriate for describing people's action, behavior, and facts of "what you see, hear, taste, smell, and feel"(p. 69), and to try to avoid academic jargon. I kept track of my informants' verbatim speech because "the words informants spoke held one key to their culture" (Spradley, 1980, p. 67).

Spradley argued that the observational method is not about *studying* people, it is about *learning from* people. I took notes on how the participants interacted and with whom they interacted in the settings. I observed their verbal interactions and their nonverbal gestures. The children's nonverbal communication, such as facial expressions and gestures, were important behavioral cues to help me interpret their interactions and responses in the classroom. Once Minsu was screaming and jumping on the table and chairs while he was talking with other children in the classroom. Junho was often striking the table or chairs with his foot when he got bored in class. Yumi was usually very quiet during the class and seldom asked questions or gave responses unless she was asked, and she did not make eye contact with the teacher as often as other children did.

Hyunchul was diligent in class activities and homework assignments. He tended to seek out the teacher. In class, if the teacher did not approach him to check his worksheet or note taking, he took his work to her. Haeri displayed different nonverbal behavior in different settings. In the Korean classroom, she was inquisitive and asked a lot of questions and raised her hand as often as she could. She laughed on many occasions, and helped peers when they couldn't find the right place in the text they were reading. She suggested Korean words if her peers could not pin point the right word in Korean language. In her English speaking classroom, Haeri was a quiet student who followed the rules. She tried to finish her assignments and shared some ideas with peers. But her voice was rather low and conveyed less confidence. She made contact with a few girls she knew if she needed help.

Interview

I used the interview method to expand on my fieldnotes and discover particular details about my participants. For instance, one time I observed Minsu talking in Korean to a Korean girl in his ELL class, and Angela, the ELL teacher, did not say anything about their talking in Korean. Later Angela told me that she knew the children sometimes talked in Korean with each other but she believed code-switching between the native language and the target language is beneficial, if used in ways suitable for the occasion or circumstances in the classroom (Interview with ELL Teacher, 11/09/09). The interview with the teacher explained the situation I observed. Interviewing participants after an observation frequently confirmed what I observed in the research sites. Undoubtedly interview data contributed to more in-depth descriptions.

A researcher should be aware that interviews are discourse events co-constructed between the researcher and the participant(s). So the whole procedure should be understood as a meaning making process. The researcher must be opened-minded so that the participants have liberty to choose what they want to talk about and reflect upon their own experiences. Seidman said the purpose of interviewing is "an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (2006, p.7). Thus, I was consciously aware of our situated roles as the interviewer and the interviewees.

Children's Group Interview

I interviewed the five children in a group setting in their Korean language school classroom. I asked the children open-ended questions for approximately 35 minutes in their classroom. I did not bring any ready-made scripts for the interview. I wanted them to make sure that they understood my questions, so I told them that we could use both English and Korean languages. I expected that they would be more likely to express their thoughts if they could codeswitch or mix the two languages freely in conversation. It turned out that Yumi, the third grader, frankly expressed how she preferred to be in the English classroom. This interview also helped me to learn that Minsu got really scared when he heard scolding in high-pitched English voices from his public school teachers. He couldn't understand the content, but he heard English in a highly activated tone.

Reading through the pages in the transcription of the children's group interview, I felt that the responses they made were spontaneous and less artificial therein my previous interview in an earlier pilot study. In addition to the group interview, I asked each of the

children questions during their recess times. These were informal, spontaneous interviews that occurred several times during my observational visits.

Teacher Interviews

During my interviews with the teachers, I wanted to know how the children behaved and acted in the classroom, how the teachers responded to their students, and so on. I prepared semi-structured interviews even though I knew that there always needed to be room for open-ended questions and invitations for the teachers to express their opinions (Fontana and Frey, 2005; Seidman, 2006).

Fontana and Frey (2005) suggested that open-ended interviews fit well with the data gathered in participant observation. They said that researchers need to be "reflexive not only about *what* the interview accomplishes but also about *how* the interview is accomplished, thereby uncovering the ways in which we go about creating a text" (2005, p.697). When framing open-ended interviews, the researcher considers the informal nature of the setting and creates a conversation free from a scripted interview protocol.

I prepared protocols that asked about teachers' perceptions of children's English and native language competence and use; teachers' expectations of language use; teachers' beliefs about learning two languages and bilingualism; and teachers' attitudes toward Korean and English learning and practice (see Appendix B, Part Two). I usually started with "ice breaking" or "grand touring" questions, and then when I felt the participants were ready to talk, I moved to ask relevant questions to the topic of the research. I also asked questions that occurred to me in the moment. For example, in the middle of an interview, Angela, the ELL teacher, mentioned something about students copying in class. So I asked, "Do you think copying is not learning?" From that time on,

differentiating between copying and learning became an important theme in the interview. Later, I asked the same question to Youngson, the Korean teacher. As a result, I became aware of different concepts between "learning by understanding" in the ELL classrooms and "learning by memorization" in the Korean classroom.

I interviewed the Korean language classroom teacher (12/15/09) in the University library for her convenience after her university semester was done, which allowed me time to analyze the children's group interview and ask more comprehensive and supplementary questions in addition to the questions I asked to the two English speaking teachers. In this interview, I followed an interview protocol, but also asked spontaneous questions based on my observations of the Korean classroom.

I also informally talked with other teachers at the Korean language school. Periodically I talked with the former head teacher of the school about how the school was established, what subjects needed to be taught, how curriculum was developed, how students' learning could be expedited, and how the school engages with the Korean community. In the public schools, I became similarly acquainted with principals, administrators, and other teachers and engaged in short conversations about the children and the schools.

I interviewed the Tulip classroom teacher on December 16, 2009 in her classroom. I prepared interview questions; however, I also asked her questions about Heari's English language learning and her attitude toward bilingualism. The interview with Angela, the ELL classroom teacher at Broadway (11/09/09), helped me understand how Minsu was developing academic English for school. Angela believed that lower grade children were greatly benefited by the ELL program, since the curriculum in the

ELL program is similar to the Language Arts curriculum in the regular classroom, and Minsu was able to get more attention from his ELL teacher to learn English. I learned from her that Minsu could enroll in the ELL program for a limited period of two years, and that he was pulled out from his regular Language Arts class every morning to come to the ELL classroom.

Mother Interviews

The three mothers I interviewed were close observers and the most enthusiastic supporters of their children's education and well being. Being a formal Korean teacher and parenting a Korean immigrant child myself, I knew that most Korean parents I talked with were readily engaged in conversations about their children's language learning and their bilingual practices. I was comfortable engaging in discussion about children's language learning and school adjustment. I prepared a semi-structured interview protocol for the parents based on my previous conversations and my preliminary research notes (See Appendix B, Part One). I also prepared a questionnaire to know more about parents' backgrounds: age, educational experiences, career paths, family structure, and so on.

There are multiple language practices employed among Korean families in the U.S., depending on their length of residency, socio-economic situation, parents' levels of education, and so on. Nevertheless, it was my belief that there might be some common ground in the perceptions of Korean parents and their cultural expectations for their children's language and literacy performance. My interests in attitudes, roles and perceptions Korean parents may hold in developing the children's two languages formed the main questions.

Artifacts

Artifacts included students' notes, texts and homework papers in the Korean classroom. From time to time, I asked the children for their textbooks to make copies and the Korean teacher provided me with extra copies of the class materials the class was using. Although I did not ask for artifacts or documents from the public school teachers, with the permission of her classroom teacher, I did take an example of school work that Haeri completed. During a follow up observation in the ELL classroom at Broadway, I saw how Minsu's English language skills had developed since the beginning of his U.S. schooling in August, 2009 by looking at his class notebook and worksheet files.

I was able to gather some information about the schools from the school administrators when I met with them, but their web pages provided more comprehensive information about the history of school, the school curriculum, students' activities, as well as neighborhood communities. Both schools' websites contained the school mission statements, school curriculum, building structure, teaching philosophy, and other useful school related information. I appropriated documents in analyzing the data and later on add to the description of the children's language and cultural learning in the classrooms.

Researcher Positioning: Making Familiar Things Unfamiliar

Patton (1990) suggested a research process he called "Epoche," which means the researcher must reflect upon his/her prejudices, viewpoints, assumptions or anything related to the phenomenon of the study. I wanted to reflect upon my researcher positioning because it might influence my researcher's perceptions, interpretations of data, and writing process for this dissertation. I attempted to discipline myself to suspend prejudgments about the informants, the research sites, and the answers to my research

questions. However, I realized that it was hard thing to do because I already knew some of these children taught in my own class previous semester and the class setting, especially Korean classroom, was familiar to me though not as a researcher but as a teacher. Thus, I accepted the fact that I had already acquired information of some of my research sites and environment. All the more, the researcher is the main tool for conducting a qualitative study (Patton, 1990; Wolcott, 1999), and I tried to see familiar things as unfamiliar and to ponder what surprised me (Cherseri-Strater & Sunstein, 2007) in the data.

My interest in Korean immigrants has to do with the fact that I am one of them. Many researchers in ethnic studies are insiders of the communities they study (Gans, 1997). The majority of Korean-American research has been conducted by scholars with Korean or other Asian names (Hurh and Kim, 1984). To overcome biases as an insider, such as advocating for a particular group of the immigrant community, I needed to be fully reflective about my biases, values, and personal preferences with respect to the aim and purpose of the study.

My philosophical, educational, and political stances are closely related to the fact that I am a researcher, teacher, parent, and Korean. I am the mother of a Korean immigrant girl learning in two language schools similar to the children in my study. I am a transnational immigrant who pursues my PhD in an American University. I was a teacher at the Korean Language School for two and a half years (fall 2006 through spring 2009). For seven academic semesters, I taught Korean immigrant children. Through my experiences with some of the children in my own classroom at the school, I was able to gain some tacit knowledge of who they are, what kinds of learning environment they are

surrounded by as they learn their heritage language, and what expectations their parents hold for their children in terms of improving Korean language skills and cultural orientation.

Intending to conduct educational qualitative research to learn more about Korean students' performances in classrooms and to understand their social and cultural attitudes, Chung and Choi (2008), who were Korean-born and graduates of American universities, confessed that Asian researchers are rarely found in U.S. public school classrooms. However, they believed their own voices and perspectives might enrich educational, cultural, and literacy practices in the U.S. Just like them, I felt somewhat uneasy in the public school classroom at the beginning phase of my observation. I was not introduced but just by nodding, the teachers seemed to acknowledge my presence in their classrooms. After the class adjourned, I hurried to leave the classroom not to be a trouble. Most of all, I did not want to distract children's learning. As a person from South Korea, where teaching and learning in the schools are always serious and competitive, I was accustomed to regarding the classrooms as the places for teachers and students, not observers. I was not sure how much I could participate or offer to help out to the class. I was also concerned about the effect of my participation on the setting I observed. It turned out that Mary asked me to help children who needed to change batteries so that they could listen to a story from a tape recorder. I felt okay being an occasional helping hands in moments like this when it did not alter the classroom learning atmosphere.

One day, while preparing for recess, a child named Lisa came to me and asked, "Are you Ella's mom?" Haeri and I looked at each other and smiled. I asked Haeri to introduce me. She said, "She is my teacher. I sometimes goes to Korean school. She

teaches me a lot." At the playground, Unany, a Sudanese immigrant girl, also came to us and asked me a question, "Who are you?" I explained to the girls that I was Ella's (Heari's) teacher in her Korean school, and I wanted to see how she was doing in her "other school" and to observe her learning English language in the classroom. (Tulip Elementary Classroom Observation # 4, 11/04/09).

In their testimonial detailed descriptions of the field work, Chung and Choi (2008) studied to understand human behavior and search for a truth at a given site. They clearly gave us unique Korean perspective on Korean students' performance in public school classrooms, and their social and cultural attribution. I think my perspective of this study is also unique because the approach and design of it are probably different from those of non-Korean researchers. In the area of Language, Literacy, and Culture, there needs to be filled more about unique perspectives from "others' voices" so that the field can be enriched. We learn by what we are doing, and this is a part of my learning process as a qualitative researcher.

Attempting to delineate what is unique in the five Korean children's language learning practices in the U.S., I was aware that my interpretations and perceptions were related to my own knowledge and assumptions. I was a teacher at Korean language school for seven school semesters. The teaching experience provided me enough knowledge about what the school stands for and how it works in terms of school management, curriculum, teacher education, and student's academic performance, and parents' social and economic status as well as their aspirations of the education for their sons and daughters. Besides, I taught two of the children in my class and knew one student personally. Most of the parents were welcome to talk with me and especially the

mothers I interviewed were easy to build rapport because of the previous contacts at schools. The students I taught, only one exception, were from a family of graduate students, post-graduate fellows, or professors. The parent were highly educated, thereby, they tended to be very educative to their children as well. I also had certain assumptions regarding the perception of Koreans as model minority students (Lee, 1994). Surrounded by these highly educated Koreans, including me, I often heard that in many cases the children of the Korean immigrants I had acquainted with were doing excellent in their schoolings from K-12, throughout colleges and beyond. Consciously and unconsciously I feel that this is normal phenomenon concerning school achievement of Korean students in America. However, I knew that it is in fact a group of Korean immigrant children whose familiar circumstances are well met in terms of their preparation for school readiness and economic support for their education. Lew (2006) actually argues in her book that Korean students are far from homogenous group but heterogeneous one. Just like other ethnic group, Korean students in America too showed different academic performance depending on their social and economic conditions. Thus, Lew asserted that it is not right to assume all Korean students in the United States can be called as model minority students. Therefore, it is not my intention to describe all Korean students is superior to other immigrant groups of children. This consciousness led me to realize that the study can actually represent only small number of Korean immigrant children whose parents' economic capital may not be sufficient owing to their circumstances, but pertain cultural and educational capital that enable them to receive well-provided educational support (Li, 2003).

I know study would be a more contextually rich report had I observed all five children's schooling experiences in their public schools. Being able to see only two elementary schools, I am left wondering about the other three children's English language learning and lives in public school.

Data Analysis

I took a thematic approach to data analysis in this qualitative study (Creswell, 2007; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). At the early stage of data analysis, while I was still collecting data, I created and organized files in the computer according to date and research sites. Then, I perused the texts until I felt I came to know them well. Sometimes, I needed to go back to the original sources (e.g., scribbled field notes, or audio interview recordings) to listen and ponder about the particular scenes. Once familiarized with the data, I visited my research questions to consider what particular aspects or perspectives I should particularly pay attention to during the next data gathering activity. Thus, the analytic process was a spiral (Creswell, 2007), continuously "recursive and dynamic" (Merriam, 1998, p.155). Creswell (2007) said qualitative researchers should adopt a process that moves in a contoured circle that represents "learning by doing." My goal in data analysis was to reduce "the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables, or a discussion" (Merriam, p.148). Data analysis occurred in three phases: organizing the data; coding the data; synthesizing and categorizing the data.

Organizing the Data

The data files included observation field notes, class observation transcripts, interview transcripts, and artifacts. Reflective notes, information notes about the schools

collected via the internet, and memos written at the research sites or while reading through the documents were also incorporated in the data files. This initial analysis step was to get to know the data well.

Coding the Data

Coding is an analytic technique that further organizes and interprets the data (Merriam, 1998). I kept preliminary coding schemes simple and precise (Charmaz, 2006). Reading carefully, I gave codes names, usually a word or short phrase that contains a minimal unit of meaning reflective of my research questions to each line of data. I discovered key codes during this process. For instance, comparing interview scripts between the Korean teacher, Youngson and one of the English teachers, Angela, I noticed that the two teachers thought differently about "copying" activities in their classrooms. "Copying" in transcripts of my interview with Angela included codes such as: "Copying is not learning," "To know the size and shape (of English)," "The forms (of English)," "Mechanics in English words," "(Not) getting the meaning out of (copying)." In contrast, in the interview transcript with Youngson, the Korean teacher, I found "(Can't) write out of nothing," "Something must be built upon," "Modeling," "(Copying) the base," "Insufficient output (in literacy)," "Correcting complicated (orthography) system," "Express my thoughts." Looking though these codes I found distinctions between their teaching orientations, and culturally based opinions about "copying" in classrooms. Angela, who teaches the ELL class with children from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds, seemed to believe that copying cannot be avoided in her classroom. However, she strongly believed "Copying words (in English) is just like copying pictures." She doubts that her students really understand what they copy.

Angela wanted to make sure that her students could write instead of copying because, she said, writing, not copying, can get them to make meanings of how they feel and what they know about their worlds. However, Youngson strongly believed that copying is a good way of practicing complex Korean orthography. According to her, "We can't write something out of nothing," and copying practices are opportunities for students to build upon their "insufficient output in reading and writing in Korean." She believed that children should practice "copying" other people's writings, so other peoples' ideas could help them expand their thoughts.

Comparing and contrasting codes across data sets enabled me to understand the varied classroom practicing different languages and cultural beliefs. With this understanding, I categorized the data to focus on my research question.

Categorizing and Synthesizing the Data

In this phase, I asked myself: What categories are evident in the preliminary codes? I synthesized the data by combining various codes into a new structure, and sorting and grouping codes that were classified together according to common characteristics. Categories should be mutually exclusive so that a particular unit of data must fit ultimately into only one appropriately manageable (Creswell, 2007).

Merriam (1998) suggested that categories should answer the research questions. I generated 10 categories and 26 subcategories, drew a table for each category, and put the number of the occurrences of each category or subcategory in each observation or interview. I made five taxonomies to see multilayered conceptual domains (see Appendix C). The five taxonomies were "Learning in the Korean classroom," "Learning in the ELL classroom," "Learning in Tulip classroom," "Expectations of schooling,

education, and language learning," and "Living in-between: Transnational lifestyle." The data categorization and synthesis were constantly altered, transformed, and reorganized throughout the analysis. This process helped me conceptualize emerging themes from categories that were displayed in the chart and table. I worked with the taxonomy structure until I identified key factors in the data and the relationships among them (Glesne, 2006). All three classrooms where the Korean children studied centered on learning language, but there were different language performances and practices in the three classrooms. The different patterns of activities and interactions I discovered were influenced by the teachers' teaching philosophies, the students' language comfort levels, the parents' educational and language expectations and so on.

The main domains that emerged from these five taxonomical analyses were the Korean classroom and two English classrooms (See Appendix D). I generated 10 categories and 26 categories (2 subcategories were omitted in the table). The main domains of data were teaching and learning languages in the classroom and the factor that exists outside of the classroom, such as mothers' expectation of education, schooling, and language learning. Thus the Korean children learn two languages in two different classroom settings may have been affected by the language classrooms as well as parental attitude and support. In this study, I developed the two main pillars that represent Korean school language learning and American school language learning. From these two pillars, I was able to construct four main categories: Teacher's teaching philosophy and goals, delivering class instruction, characteristics of language learning, and cultural context of language teaching and learning. At this point I realized that two schools were essential for the Korean transnational immigrant children, not only to improve their language

proficiency per se, but to learn the different cultural and educational expectations in Korean and English classrooms.

CHAPTER IV
LEARNING KOREAN LANGUAGE AT A KOREAN SCHOOL

Learning the Korean language as an academic discourse means learning how to read and write, and learning how and when to use particular oral and written features to meet specific purposes (Harmon & Wilson, 2006). The five Korean immigrant children in this study became gradually aware of how to act, talk, and often write with Korean to assume a role as a member of the Korean immigrant community as they learn Korean language. And in so doing, they came to understand the subtle nuances that the language carries.

What sort of learning environment did the teacher and the children form and what types of class activities were undertaken? How did the students interact with each other and the teacher to participate in language learning? The Korean classroom was a place where a particular mode of communication could be exercised and the Korean teacher assumed a way of speaking that modeled how to speak in Korean and how to follow the norms of Korean classroom culture. In the Korean classroom, language learning was guided by the teacher, but as in all classrooms learning more generally, it was intricately tied to human relationships among the teacher and students, and between peers. Such relationships are microcosms of school and community cultures (Halliday, 1993; Sullivan, 2000).

This chapter describes how the children engaged in the learning discourse community of the Korean Language School, including how they met, talked, discussed, and questioned primarily in Korean. More specifically, I pursued the following questions: How do five Korean immigrant children practice their language learning in a Korean

language classroom? What are the salient features or characteristics of language learning performance in the Korean classroom? To answer the research questions, I introduce the Korean teacher whose teaching philosophy may influence classroom instruction which intended to help the children learn the language and Koreaness, that is, the orientation of Korean social and cultural awareness. In this chapter, I describe how the children were taught Korean and characteristics of their language learning. I also portray how the children in the Korean classroom learned a Korean way of learning language. These themes in the data are illustrated with examples from my observations and interviews.

Korean Teacher's Teaching Philosophy and Goals

In the Korean language classroom, the teacher, Youngson, was the initiator of the learning process. Usually she asked a question, and she pointed to the student who should answer her question. The teacher introduced the outline of what was to be learned each Saturday based on pre-planned instruction. At the beginning of each class, she wrote an agenda for the day on the top left-hand side of a white board. As the class proceeded, she crossed out agenda items one by one, so that her students could see how the class had progressed. She often made a rather long explanation of how the children should behave or even think in a culturally appropriate way according to a Korean norm.

In an interview, Youngson evaluated her first semester with the Korean children as moderately successful. Her teaching style was to explain and reconfirm each instruction step by step to the students. In return, the students were to respond to the teacher, interact with other students, and ponder the instruction or teacher's comments while scribbling on paper. I had an opportunity to see how the children and the teacher worked together in their classroom where, as the teacher indicated, there was some emphasis of "Koreanness."

She evaluated her first teaching experience at the Korean language school:

> 제가 원래 한국에서 초등학교 교사였기 때문에…. 애들 연령 때가 낮아 진 거 외에는, 수준이 굉장히 다양하고, 그러니까 한글을 처음 배우는 초기 단계, 완전히 숙지를 하지 않은 단계에서 한글을 배우는 단계이기 때문에 여러 가지 응용을 한다든지, 그런 다이나믹한 수업은 아니었던 것 같아요.
>
> I was an elementary school teacher [in Seoul, South Korea]…. Well, other than working with younger group [of the children], there hasn't been much change. The children, [I would say] are in the beginner's level of Korean language, Hangul. Even among them, the language skills and proficiency are varied. Due to their low level of language proficiency, especially, in reading and writing, it was rather difficult for me to teach them the language. In general, I evaluate that the class was not that dynamic. (An excerpt from an interview with Korean teacher, 01/29/10)

Youngson emphasized that she did not change her instruction and teaching style to teach at the Korean language school. She seemed to believe that the Korean immigrant children should not be considered different from her previous students in South Korea. She also mentioned that these children were less proficient in Korean compared to elementary students in South Korea.

Youngson expressed a teaching philosophy that focused on building basic human relationships through her nurturing love and care. She said in the interview with me that "아이들이 사실 그것을 느껴요. 애들이 굉장히 민감하기 때문에." ["The children are actually very sensitive to what kind of teaching orientation their teacher has in mind. I personally think that they're really feeling it."] (01/29/10). She seemed to be sensitive to the student s' response of how she acts in the classroom. She also seemed to believe that her teaching style and behavior can affect her students' learning. She felt that a teacher should value students as independent human beings and she tried to embrace the diverse perspectives of each child in her class. She stressed that her open-mindedness was a

valuable asset in her teaching career. She believed that young children should build up spontaneous human relationships in their elementary school years. Her philosophy may be rooted in the educational values Dewey (1902) expressed, "The value of the formulated wealth of knowledge that makes up the course of study is that it may enable the educator to determine the environment of the child" (p. 31).

In the same vein, Dewey (1897) distinguished a teaching professional as a social servant who should realize the dignity of his/her calling. Dewey believed that a teacher must be responsible for maintaining proper social order and actively participating in his/her students' social growth. Youngson felt that teaching in the elementary school was her calling. She wanted to be a teacher who was influential and inspirational to students, just as her 4th grade teacher influenced her years ago. However, the way she became a teacher was not as smooth as she had expected. When she was a student teacher in her senior year in college, she experienced emotional upheaval and had difficulty making the choice to teach.

The Korean language teacher explained how the teaching occupation might be different from other professions. She reiterated the question for a moment and declared that, "Teaching 을 Arts 라고 하잖아요! [They say teaching is arts!]" In her opinion, the kind of a teacher a child has been with in the classroom is important because the personality, character, and integrity of a teacher can greatly influence the growth of a child. Though she did not dismiss the significance of transmitting knowledge as a teaching objective in her Korean language classroom, she emphasized that her teaching should be more than information delivery to the children. Her teaching orientation, "teaching is arts" reminded me instantly of Eisner who said, "Teachers have needs that

must be met through teaching. Because teachers are *people* who teach … The teacher who wants the pride and satisfaction" (2002, p.169, italics in original). Eisner described teachers as human beings who must be met their needs through teaching. What Youngson meant in her interview, however, was to emphasize the skills a teacher uses while teaching in the classroom.

In the Korean classroom Youngson tried to help the children build background knowledge by providing contextual cues. She demonstrated strategies of scaffolding, incorporating the writing process, reading aloud, and encouraging each student to give oral presentations to the class. The classroom activities in general included homework assigning and checking, learning to take dictation tests, social experiences such as competing and turn-taking in games and puzzles, integrated learning experiences designed to work in speaking and writing abilities, and recognizing difficulties in mastering connections between Korean letters and sounds, and honorific expression of Korean language. In the next section, I describe class rituals, such as roll call and agenda of the day and the importance of doing homework as examples of delivering class instruction in the Korean classroom.

Delivering Class Instruction in the Korean Classroom

> Waiting for the children to enter the classroom and take their positions in their seats, the Korean classroom teacher was busy with preparing for the class. After all her students were in the classroom, she turned around and greeted each student by calling roll. The teacher asked them to open their notebook so that she could check their homework. The teacher put her signature as she monitored their homework.
> (Korean classroom observational note, 10/17/09)

One by one, the children showed their homework to the teacher. Youngson looked at Yumi's notebook and asked, "Did you do your homework, Yumi?" Yumi

nodded to her and opened it to show the teacher. Then Youngson moved to Minsu. She asked him to show his homework assignment. Hyunchul received a compliment from the teacher because he had already passed his level 10 dictation exam and was now studying hard on preparing for his 9th dictation test[10]. The teacher frequently assigned homework in preparation for the dictation tests. She explained to the class that the test originated from the Korean Language Proficiency Test (KLPT) commonly administered in elementary schools of South Korea. Levels 10 or 9 are equivalent to the language proficiency of first graders in South Korean elementary schools.

It seemed that homework needed to be checked before the class began because the content of the homework which Youngson assigned in the previous week was related in most cases to the class instruction. For instance, she assigned extra work at home to prepare for in-class rote memorization tests (See Appendix E). On November, 10, 2009, Youngson said there would be a retest because she felt that the students were "Not doing level 9 test preparations at home."

Having finished checking the children's homework, Youngson looked around the class and said, "Well done to all of you. You need to study more and harder!" (Class observation and field note, 12/05/10) Youngson praised her students for accomplishing their homework assignment, but also pushed them to work harder. I understood that "study more and harder" meant to obtain the perfect score for their tests by preparing at home while doing their homework. Youngson told her students the purpose of giving homework was to make them remember what they had learned in previous classes, and to

10 In the Korean Language Proficiency Test (KLPT), level 10 comes before 9 so the more advanced level is 9.

move on to the next level without any difficulties (Korean Classroom Research Memo, 11/07/10).

Research about homework in the elementary years mainly focuses on the effects of homework on academic achievement (Chen & Stevenson, 1989; Cool & Keith, 1991; Cooper et. al, 1998; Smith, 1990; Walberg & Paschal1994; Paschal, Weinstein & Walberg, 1984). These studies report the characteristics of homework: types, quality, amount, grading system, feedback, etc. Hong and Milgram (1999) investigated Korean students' cognitive and personal traits as they performed homework. They reported in their study there needs to be presence of authority figures to increase motivation to do homework (1999, p.261). The anecdote below is about the Korean teacher took an authority in monitoring Yumi's homework so that she could get Yumi to do homework. On the day of my observation (10/17/10), Yumi did not do her homework and the teacher gently reprimanded her. She reminded Yumi:

> 선생님:(파일 안의 한글급수 장을 가리키며) 유미야, 너 이거 안 했지. 유미야, 우리 지난 시간에 다 안다 했던거 기억나? 그중에 이거 숙제였잖아. 이거 2 번 쓰라는 숙제였구. 이건, 선생님이 "체점해 오세요"라고 여기 써놨잖아. 유미는 이거 안 했다는 뜻이야? 이거는 일주일에 한번 하는 숙제야,늘 하는 숙제야. 이거는 집에 가서 일주일동안.. 15 개,15 개까지 있지, 보기가?
>
> 유미: (선생님을 조용히 응시한다)
>
> 선생님: (부모님과연습으로 단어들을) 받아서 쓰면서 내가 외웠는지,잘 모르는 글자는 어떤글잔지 확인 하면서 공부해 오는 거야.
>
> Teacher: (As she pointed to the Hangul advancement chart) Didn't you remember, Yumi? Last time when we were studying you told me that you knew them well. I asked you to review what we learned at home this week. I only asked you to write them two times. Look, I even left a note: after doing this, score how many right answers you got. This is only one time assignment for the whole week, and you should do it without delay. There are only 15 quizzes that you should write and memorize during the week.

> Yumi: (Looking at her teacher)
>
> Teacher: This is a review for whether you really understood and could write on your own.
>
> (Korean Classroom Observational Field notes, 10/17/10).

Homework was not a type of collaborative learning in this classroom; rather it was self-motivated and focused on a review of what the students had learned in the class to prepare for the KLPT. The teacher rewarded the students who accomplished their homework and commented directly to a child who did excellent on a spelling exam.

Youngson thought the students did not fully accomplish what she assigned for their homework, and it seemed that she did not feel the parents were eager to teach their children to learn the Korean language, based on the fact that they did not help their children complete homework. However, my interviews with three mothers revealed they believed that they were helping with their children's homework and the children were good at accomplishing their weekly homework assignments. The five children, as I conducted the group interview with them, expressed that they were not really fond of doing their homework but considered that it was a part of their schooling in Korean. Although I witnessed every week in the classroom how the students were encouraged to do their homework and how the teacher tried to motivate her students, I also wondered if the children understood instructions or guidelines for the assignments.

Thus, teaching in the Korean classroom occurred through homework assignments and practicing for tests. In the next section I describe prominent characteristics of language learning as they were revealed in data analysis.

Characteristics of Korean Language Learning

The five children displayed what they already knew about Korean through their class participation. In addition, my interviews with three of the children's mothers

contributed to my understanding about the children's knowledge of Korean outside of the classroom setting. Each of the three mothers described the Korean cultural expectation that their child should learn the Korean alphabet and all were concerned about how much knowledge would be enough for their child to be sent to the Korean school. The mothers felt they should teach their children how to read the Korean alphabet before they began schooling at the Korean language school. They helped me understand that the Korean way of language learning actually starts before children study at school. Youngson, the Korean classroom teacher, acknowledged that among these five children, language skills and proficiency were varied. However, she believed that they all were at a "low level of language proficiency in reading and writing of Korean."

Next, I illustrate that although the mothers believed their children mastered Korean alphabet, the children showed that Korean spelling conventions and letter recognition were hard work for them. Learning spelling conventions in Korean required knowing the complicated Hangul syllabic system.

Mastering the Korean Alphabet

Understanding Korean phonological characteristics helps us to understand the orthographic system as well. Scholars have classified Hangul, the Korean alphabet, as an alphabetic-syllabary (Cho, 2009; Cho & Chen, 1999; Cho& McBride-Chang, 2005; Lee & Shin, 2008; Simpson & Kang, 2004; Park, 2005; Taylor &Taylor, 1995). This means the script treats both phonemes and syllables as essential units. There are no consonant clusters in Korean but syllables are particularly as salient as individual phonemes (Cho & Mabride-Chang, 2005; Simpson & Kang, 2004).

Hangul orthography is relatively consistent and easy to predict; thus, it is believed to be easy to master. Taylor and Taylor (1995) have argued that the links between phonemes (sounds) and graphemes (shapes of the letters) are fairly easy to predict, which leads to easy construction of syllables. Therefore, children who are learning Korean tend to recognize letters quite easily, and almost 90% of young children in South Korea are taught the Korean alphabet at the age of around five (Cho & McBride-Chang, 2005). Thus, most children in South Korea learn Hangul before they start school (Park, 2005).

Table 4.1 explains the components and structure of the Hangul alphabet. Children normally begin to learn consonant and vowel syllables in high-frequency words. Once consonant and vowel (CV) letter connections are mastered, most children can learn consonant, vowel, and consonant (CVC) words (See Appendix F). Children should become aware of syllable blocks in Hangul: the initial, the medial and the final positions. Novice readers in Hangul also need to know letter configurations in Hangul: a left-to-right or top-to-bottom arrangement (Cho & McBride-Chang, 2005).

Table 4.1 Components and Structure of the *Hangul* Alphabet

Consonants: 14	ㄱ/ㄴ/ㄷ/ㄹ/ㅁ/ㅂ/ㅅ/ㅇ/ㅈ/ㅊ/ㅋ/ㅌ/ㅍ/ㅎ
Vowels: 10	ㅏ/ㅑ/ㅓ/ㅕ/ㅗ/ㅛ/ㅜ/ㅠ/ㅡ/ㅣ
Syllable Structures	CV (Consonant+Vowel); CVC (Consonant+Vowel+Consonant); CVCC (Consonant+Vowel+2 Consonants)

The children in this study had learned the basic Hangul script before beginning their schooling, and the mothers of the three focal Korean children reported witnessing their children's Korean alphabet learning. Junho's mother, Eunyoung, believed that

Junho mastered the Korean alphabet when he was in preschool in South Korea at the age of three. She told me:

> 은영: 한글을 떼고 왔어도. 원래 쓰기가 어렵잖아요? 근데 쓰기가 계속 늘더라구요. (예전에는) 뭐 하나 쓰라고 하면 한참 생각했는데 지금은 술술 쓰던데요.
>
> Eunyoung: Though he mastered the alphabet, it would be difficult for him to write in Korean. His writing in Hangul was rather hard, but I noticed that it has improved recently. He used to take time for coming up with words that he needed to write in Korean. But now, he can write it without thinking it over.
> (Interview with Eunyoung, 11/09/09)

Eunyoung thought that Junho's Korean language proficiency, especially his writing skill, had consistently improved since he began attending the Korean language school. Jeewon, Yumi's mother, thought that Yumi knew the Hangul alphabet sufficiently when she began the Korean school.

> 지원: 집에서는 여전히 한국말을 계속 썼고, 유미가 4 살때 제가 한글을 가르쳤어요… 비교적 쉽게 가르쳤어요. 왜냐면 *가갸거겨* 이런식으로 가르쳤거든요. 유미가 진짜 쉽게 배웠어요. 그래서 *가*부터 *하*까지 쓸수 있는 상태에서 한글학교를 간거예요. 저는 그래서 애가 말을 clear 하게 하니까 당연히 잘될 줄 알았어요. 금방 배울줄 알았는데, *가갸거겨... 하* 에서부터 문장을 넘어 가기가 (꽤 오래 걸리데요).
>
> Jeewon: (We) usually spoke Korean at home. When Yumi was four years old, I taught her Hangul… She was quick to learn the letters. I started to teach her *Ga, Gya, Geo, Gyeo*. Yumi was really good at picking them up. So, we sent her to the Korean language school after she could write from *Ga* to *Ha*. Because she articulates in Korean very clearly, I thought her Korean would improve quickly. But, in fact, it took a long time before she was able to make some sentences in Korean.
> (Interview with Jeewon, 11/05/09)

Eunyoung thought Junho had continuously improved his Korean language, especially his writing ability. She was somewhat amazed that Junho had not forgotten Korean; on the contrary, she believed that his skill in reading and writing Korean had

gradually advanced. She seemed pleased with his work in the Korean school. Jeewon, however, felt that her daughter Yumi was fluent in speaking Korean and had command of the basic syllabic components of the Korean alphabet at the time she started the school. It was mind-boggling for her to see that Yumi's Korean reading and writing hadn't improved as much as she expected.

Compared to these two mothers, whose children had attended the school for years, Sujin, who had recently moved from South Korea, regarded the Korean school not only as a place for her son Minsu to study Korean, but also for him to meet new Korean friends. She told me that she sent Minsu to the Korean Saturday language school to improve his Korean literacy: "한국말은 잘 하는데 글은 잘못 쓰거든요!" [He speaks Korean clearly, but cannot write Korean very well!] (Interview with Sujin, 01/23/10). Sujin said Minsu was able to read the Korean alphabet effortlessly but was less skillful in writing Korean. She hoped the teacher at the Korean school would teach her son how to write and read in Korean well, just as he would have been taught in a South Korean elementary school.

Although the mothers had somewhat different thoughts about their children's Korean language proficiency and performance, they expected them to improve their Korean language skills while they were in the Korean language classroom. All the mothers considered their children to have "mastered their Hangul," which simply meant they were able to distinguish and write 14 basic consonants and 10 basic vowels. The 24 basic letters of Hangul were in fact important for the children to know in order to learn how to read and write in Korean; however, they needed to know many more complicated consonant clusters and diphthongs in vowels in order to read and write well in Korean

(See Appendix F). As Jeewon explained, Yumi was able to read and write the CV component, but could not quite master CVC or CVCC Korean alphabetic blocks (See Table 4.1), much less attain the higher level necessary to make sentences.

One day, Youngson asked the children how they felt about learning Korean, which produced a spontaneous self report from the children about what they thought about learning Korean in the Korean language classroom.

선생님: 얘들아, 지금 하고 있는 거 어때? 좀 어려워?

유미: 쉬워요.

준호: 어려워요.

선생님: 유미는 쉽고, 현철이는?

현철: 저는 몰라요.

선생님: 보통이야? 준호한테는 어렵고, 혜리는?

혜리: 보통.

선생님: 보통이야. 민수는 어때? 쉬워?

민수: 보통. 아!(뭔가 말할 것이 있는데 하지 않는 듯)

Teacher: Guys, how're you doing in the class? (Things we're learning in class) Are they difficult?

Yumi: Easy.

Junho: Hard.

Teacher: Yumi thinks it's easy. How about you, Hyunchul?

Hyunchul: I don't know.

Teacher: You feel it's OK? Junho feels it's rather difficult, and you, Heari?

Heari: It's OK.

Teacher: You feel it's OK. How about you, Minsu? [Is it] easy for you?

Minsu: It's OK. Ah! (he is about to say something)]

(Korean classroom observation, 12/05/09)

The five children expressed various degrees of challenge. When I talked with the five children during the group interview (Interview with the children, 12/05/09), I asked them what made it difficult for them to learn Korean. Though Yumi did not seem to have any difficulties in following the Korean class curriculum and Youngson's teaching, she explained that she came to Korean school on Saturdays because she did not really know the language very well. I asked her again to clarify what that meant and she answered, "I am not good at it." Haeri told me that the class was boring, and the reason she thought she needed to learn Korean was to prepare for "Going Korea." Then, I asked the children how comfortable they felt reading and writing in Korean. All four of the first graders reported to me that they were pretty comfortable using the language in speaking and writing, but reading was somewhat difficult. Then, the third grader, Yumi, told me that she did not really feel at ease using Korean. Yumi's main concern for improvement was her vocabulary. Though she spoke well in Korean, she said, "I don't really know some of the Korean words."

Yumi diagnosed herself quite humbly regarding her shortcomings in Korean vocabulary. Her awareness of a Korean vocabulary deficiency in fact could be interpreted as her effort and interest to grasp unfamiliar vocabulary, which she found a great challenge. Schmitt (2000) and Nation (2001, 2008) advocate explicit vocabulary teaching in the classroom setting, but also say learners should be able to find word meanings with sufficient contextual clues found in the text. In particular, Nation (2001) pointed out that in learning vocabulary, the gap between the learners' receptive and productive vocabulary skills in using vocabulary should narrow.

Often, immigrant children don't pursue further study of their heritage language and therefore have difficulties improving their heritage language as they move up in grade levels (Shin, 2005). For most students like Yumi, learning English language at school means losing their heritage language at home (Cho, 2000; Cummins, 1978, 1989, 1993; Tse, 1998; Wong-Fillmore, 1991, 2000). Yi (2005) conducted an ethnographic study exploring the connection between Korean adolescents' Korean and English literacy activities and suggested that they should take part in a variety of literacy activities in Korean and English across different literacy contexts. A bilingual child, Yumi, may feel "good at" reading and writing in Korean if she has ample opportunities to exploring diverse literate activities in both languages.

One day, Youngson brought supplementary class materials to the class as a class activity (Korean classroom observation, 12/05/09). She said they were the materials for grade one and below in South Korea. Youngson thought they should study the materials because 1) Some of the children were only starting to learn Hangul, and 2) The class met only once a week so they needed to review the "basics" at home. The teacher seemed to believe that the children's level of Korean proficiency was at the beginners' level. The teacher explained to the children that they needed to study harder at home:

> 선생님: 이번주에[우리가 공부할 것으로] 선생님 한국에서 초등학교 친구들이 하는 것 보다는 조금 쉬운 것을 갖고 왔어. 근데 이게 굉장히 어렵고 힘들다면 집에서 열심히 공부해야 한글이 늘어. 집에서 공부 안 하고 한글학교에서만 하는 걸로 하면 제자리 걸음이야, 늘지 않아. 그러면 너희가 한살 더 먹고 두살 더 먹고 나이가 많이 먹어도 한국말을 잘 할 수 없게 돼. 공부를 개인적으로 안 하면. 나이가 먹는다구 한글이 느는건 아니야. 연습하고 노력해야지만 늘수 있어.
>
> Teacher: I brought study materials for you this week. They are rather easy for grade 1 and below in South Korea. If you find out that this is really challenging to do, you really need to study at home with extra work. If you only study Hangul at this school,

> you won't see much improvement of your Hangul ability. As your grade goes up, you might think that your Hangul ability will increase. It does not necessarily get better. Perhaps, your Korean language skills may stay just the same as you started. Only if you practice and study hard, well, you'll see the improvement.
>
> (Korean classroom observation, 12/05/09)

When Youngson explained that studying at the school alone was not enough to produce Korean language improvement, Minsu asked her, "선생님, [한글] 느는 게 뭐예요? [Teacher, what do you mean the improvement? " The teacher asked him back, "는다는 게 뭔지 모르니? [You don't know the meaning?]" In fact, although the participants frequently mentioned language advancement, the term had never been explicitly discussed. Although the mothers assumed that the children's language proficiency would improve if they regularly attended the Korean school. Unless they did their homework, the teacher speculated that the children's language might not visibly advance. The children seemed less persuaded by the teacher's suggestion that they could only improve their language by studying extra hours at home. So, the word that Minsu confessed he didn't understand, "느는 것 [improvement]" may have signified that acquiring Hangul was not urgent for the children.

In the interview data, four children expressed that they may choose to live in the United States rather than live in South Korea in the future. Hyunchul seemed to be the only one who hardly made his decision. Yumi told us that she wanted to live in America "because you can't really speak Korean. I'm used to know what kinds of sports Americans like, how the teachers, schools, and the classroom like." I felt that all five children in the classroom were agreed with Yumi's comments. They nodded and then Minsu suggested that he wanted to teach Korean to his classmates at the public school.

All laughed. But then I asked them whether they wanted to learn Korean. Most of them said, "No." Junho said "They [already] know English!"

Learning Spelling Conventions in Korean

One day Youngson and the five children studied the syllabic blocking construction in Korean letters. The following excerpt shows the interaction between the teacher and the children who tried to make CV syllabic words in Korean.

선생님: (학생들을 보시고 다시 칠판으로 돌아서면서) 지난 시간보다 잘 생각해야 맞출수 있어. (칠판에 몇 개의 모음과 자음을 펼쳐서 적고 나서) 뭐야? 자, ㅣ 모음과, ㅗ, ㅜ, ㅏ 라는 모음과 ㅇ,ㄹ,ㅎ,ㄱ,ㄴ 이라는 자음이 이렇게 다 섞여가지고 나열되어 있지? 자, 이 자음과 모음을 합쳐서…

민수: (민수가 갑자기 끼어들며) 무슨 글자를 만들수 있을까?

선생님: 어,무슨 글자를 만들 수 있을까를 생각해 보세요.

혜리: (골똘히 생각하며) 아…

선생님: 오늘 이야기에 나왔었어.

현철: 어.

선생님: 선생님이, 이거 [오늘 읽어 준] 이야기에 나왔던 글자야.

혜리: (생각이 안 나서 안타까워하며) 오, 오, 오.

선생님: 쉿, 생각하는 거야.

Teacher: (Looking at the class, and turning to the board) You'd better think hard to find a right letters. This time, it will be a bit more difficult than last time we did it. (She wrote several consonants and vowels of Korean characters in a random order.) Can anyone guess? See, vowels like ㅣ/i/,ㅗ/o/,ㅜ/u/,ㅏ/a/ and consonants such as ㅇ/ieung/, ㄹ/rieul/, ㅎ/hieut/, ㄱ/giyeok/, ㄴ/nieun/ are mingling together with no particular order. See, (she started to write one syllabic letter) one consonant and one vowel gather together…

Minsu: (Abruptly in the middle of the teacher's instruction) What letters can be made?

Teacher: Uh, Let's think what letter we can make out of…?

Heari: (Concentrating the board) Ah…

Teacher: It (the letter) comes out of today's story we read.

Hyunchul: Uh.

Teacher: I taught about it today while we were reading the story.

Heari: (Trying to find the word) Oh, Oh, Oh.

Teacher: Sheee, Think first.

(Korean classroom observation, 10/17/09)

As the teacher wrote several consonants and vowels on the board, Minsu suddenly exclaimed, "What letters can be made out of these?" The question indicated that Minsu knew that Korean letters are comprised of combinations between consonants and vowels. The teacher responded with almost exact expression, "Let us think what letters we can make out of these?" She then provided words that were in the story they just read.

The children did well recognizing simple CV letters, such as "구/gu/", "가/ga/". "호/ho/"; however, the children could not easily compose the words. The following is the scene when the teacher tried to teach a CVC letter word using a guessing game from the given consonants and vowels on the board.

선생님: 아주 쉬운 걸 내 줄께.

혜리: 예.

민수: 예, 너무 너무 쉬운 건 과연 내 머리 없이..

선생님: (상관하지 않고) 자, ㄱ 두개, ㅅ하나, ㅜ 두개. 아는 사람?

민수: 구수?

선생님: 유미가 얘기 해?

유미: 난 생각이 없어.

선생님: 현철이는?

현철: 나 생각 없어.

선생님: 준호는? 답은?

민수: 구밥을

선생님:(ㄱ과 ㅜ를 손가락으로 가르키며) 기역과 우.

혜리: 구!

선생님: (다시 ㄱ을 덧붙이며) 기역.

모두: 국!

선생님: ㅅ에, ㅜ. 국수예요.

Teacher: I will try an easy one with you this time.

Heari: Yes.

Minsu: Yes. (Somewhat pompous voice) Do I even need my brain for this one?"

Teacher: (Giving no attention to him) well, two ㄱ/ giyeok/, one ㅅ/ siot/ , and two ㅜ/u/. Does anyone know what it is?

Minsu: 구수/gusu/?

Teacher: Yumi, go ahead.

Yumi: I don't know.

Teacher: How about you, Hyunchul?

Hyunchul: I have no idea.

Teacher: Junho? Answer?

Minsu: 구밥/gubap/?

Teacher: (as she pointed to letter on the board) ㄱ/ g/, and ㅜ/u/.

Heari: 구/gu/!

Teacher: (Writing an additional ㄱ/ g/) ㄱ/ giyeok/.

All children: 국/guk/!

Teacher: ㅅ/ siot/ and ㅜ/u/.국수/guksu/ was the right word.

(Korean classroom observation, 10/17/09)

Though the children were pretty good at CV syllabic letters, they took some time to find the right word for a simple combination of CVC syllabic letters, 국수/guksu/. Even Minsu, who boastfully declared, "Do I even need my brain for this one?" found it difficult and he mistakenly said, "구수/gustu/" formed as a two syllabic word (CV+CV) eliminating the consonant in the final position of the consonant (CVC+CV). The children found it difficult to find the correct letter when they were asked to add a consonant in the final position in a CVC word. This may be related to differences between phonological processing and Korean letter knowledge in the course of Korean literacy learning.

Phonological Processing and Letter Development

Korean immigrant children do not learn Korean language in the same linguistic environment as children who learn the language in South Korea. They have far less exposure to the language both in oral and written environments than children who learn their native monolingual Korean in South Korea. Thus, the Korean language learning and development of immigrant children should be viewed differently from that of their Korean native counterparts.

For instance, children in South Korea can easily recognize the relationship between graphic symbols and speech sounds (Park, 2005) through Hangul charts (See Appendix G) in kindergarten or at home (Cho, 2009; Cho & MacBride-Chang, 2005), and through everyday literacy experiences with print. They encounter Hangul wherever they are, such as on product labels and advertisements while their parents are shopping at the supermarket, and watching captioned TV shows (Purcell-Gates, 1996). Korean literacy learning in South Korea begins long before the children are directly taught to

recognize letters in Hangul in the classroom or at home. Children gain literacy knowledge through engaging in various literacy events prior to formal instruction (Whitmore et al., 2005). Young Korean children are likely to have participated in a plethora of literacy events through which they can generate hypotheses about when and how to use different letters and produce forms close to the conventional formation of words.

For the Korean immigrant children, however, learning to read and write Hangul was a challenging task because they had far less contextual support from their literacy environment. While in the Korean classroom to observe the children, I often heard, "I know what it is in English, but I cannot say it in Korean." The expressions that were less easy were words like, "멧돼지[wild hog]", "코뿔소[rhino]", or phrases like, "줄 곳 지켜보다 [gazing at something/someone for long]", "자발적으로 [doing by oneself]." Based on my observation, I think the lack of a print-rich environment and supportive context were significant in the immigrant children's challenges with Korean language learning.

The following is a dialogue between the teacher, Youngson, and Junho, who had a difficult time constructing a concept of syllabic block formation in Korean symbols:

> 선생님: (천천히 읽으시며) 두 눈을 동그랗게 뜨고.
>
> 준호: 동?
>
> 선생님: 동그랗게 뜨고, 두 눈을 동옹그랗게 뜨는 거야! 무슨 일이 있었던 걸까? 두 눈을 동그랗게 뜨고.
>
> 준호: 동그랗게?
>
> 선생님: 두 눈을 동그랗게 뜨고. 됐어요? 동그랗게가 , 생각이 잘 안나요?
>
> 준호: (무응답)

선생님: 그 다음 8 번, 잡아 줄께, 잡아 줄께.

준호: 6 번은? (조용히 손을 들고) 6 번은 뭐였어요?

선생님:(다시 준호를 쳐다보며, 천천히) 눈을 동그랗게 뜨고. 두 눈을 동그랗게 뜨고.

Teacher: (With slow but articulated tone) Dou-nul-ul-dong- gwe-ra-ke-te-go [Open your eyes bigger].

Junho: Dong? (He asks one syllable this time)

Teacher: "Dong-Ghee-Ra-Khe." It means open your eyes bigger. What happened? What do you think things happened to…? Wide open with your eyes, let's see, (when you) open your eyes, what would happen? With your eyes wide open?

Junho: Dong-gwe-ra-ke? (He asks a phrase this time.)

Teacher: With your eyes wide open, right? Got it? You don't remember "with your eyes wide open?"

Junho: (No response)

Teacher: Next, number Eight! Jap-a-jul-ke. (I will) hold for you, hold for you.

Junho: Number six? (Slowly raised his hand) What was number six?

Teacher: (She looked at him again) Open your eyes bigger. With your eyes wide open.

During the dictation test, Junho was not sure of how to write the word "동그랗게[dong-ge-ra-ke]." Youngson tried to give him a contextual explanation, seeming to attribute his difficulty in understanding the meaning. On the other hand, Junho seemed to be struggling to figure out how to literally write the expression, "동그랗게[dong-gwe-ra-ke]". In many cases, contextual feedback is necessary for the students as they learn Korean words. However, in this particular case, perhaps Junho just needed to know how to spell the word. Junho still needed to learn more complicated writing structures such as

CVC or CVCC. Hence, there was a gap between what Junho could write and what Youngson thought he could do.

Park (2005) explains that Korean word reading requires "the packaging and unpackaging of syllable blocks through an analysis of symbols aligned both horizontally and vertically" (p. 207). Park (2005) explains that children must learn about Korean orthography, that is, how Korean written symbols correspond to sound units. The Hangul spelling conventions, or syllable block formations, are apt to conform to a word's morphological composition, but its phonetic representation may be irregular. In other words, the correspondence between gramophones (outlooks) and phonemes (sounds) tends to be highly consistent and reliable at the individual symbol level, but syllabic blocks do not always correspond with spoken syllables. As a consequence, the mismatch often causes great trouble for children learning to write what they hear in Korean words or sentences. This, however, is not a linguistic phenomenon in Korean alone. As they learn English literacy, the children need to learn very similar relationships between how words sound and look. The good thing is that because language knowledge and skills can transfer from one language to another (Seliker, 1972), bilingual children may find it easier to learn the relationships between phonemes and graphemes as they learn two languages.

Learning morphophonemic representations in the Korean alphabet requires that Junho should be well aware of the Korean spelling system. In the data (see Appendix H), I present an example of the children in the Korean classroom who displayed knowledge of phonemic spellings. In one pre-reading activity, the teacher asked the children to write

the names of animals on the whiteboard. If one child did not write the word correctly, other children could volunteer to write it again on the board until the spelling was correct.

Appendix G lists the children's spelling during this activity. In particular, the data represent the mismatch between phonemes and graphemes. For example, as shown in Appendix G, the word like **"**스컹크 /skunk/" is an English borrowed word in Korean. Minsu wrote "스코크/skouk/**"** but the correct word is **"**스컹크/skunk/." And for the word "멧돼지/metdaegi/", Yumi came up with word like "매떼지/mettaegi/." Then Haeri wrote it as "맷되지/metdyegi/." The word "멧돼지(wild hog)**"** is derived from the words, "뫼+ㅅ+돼지 (mountain+ㅅ+hog)", which was ruled by morphophonemic orthography in Korean. Yumi's writing, "매떼지/mettaegi/**"** was close to its sound, but not its spelling. Thus, the writing samples of each child in the Korean language classroom indicate they were still in the process of recognizing morphophonemic rooted forms of the Korean alphabet. According to Cho's study of Korean kindergarteners who acquired Korean letter knowledge and CV syllable identification (2009), these children are older than Cho's participants. This tells us that the participants of this study who lives in the U.S. may less proficient in learning Korean letter recognition compared to the children in South Korea.

The next excerpt shows how the children had trouble with the mismatch between what they should write and what they heard.

> 선생님: (강조하면서)글.자.놀.이. 쓸 때는 글-자-라고 하는데 읽을 때는 글-짜-라고 읽어요. 이건 어렵지 않았지? (유미의 받아쓰기 시험지를 보고, 칠판에"글짜"라고 쓰면서) 유미야! 유미는 이렇게 썼지? 선생님이 읽을 때는 "짜"라고 읽지만 쓸때는"자"라고 써. 우리 말에 이런게 있어요.

유미: (무반응)

현철: 저는 다 아는데.

선생님: 쓰는 거랑 발음 하는 거랑 틀린 글자가 있어. 한글은 이렇게 배우다 보면 잘 알게 되지.

Teacher: (stressing on each syllable)글/geul/.자/ja/.놀/nol/.이/yi/. When we write in letter 글/geul/.자/ja/. But when reading, we tend to speak 글/geul/-짜/jja/-. This isn't difficult, is it? (Looking at Yumi's examination paper, she wrote "글짜/geuljja/") Yumi, you wrote like this, didn't you? When I read it, I say"짜/jja/", but I write it as "자/ja/". This is how it works in Hangul.

Yumi: (No response)

Hyunchul: I knew that already.

Teacher: Some words may differ between writing and pronouncing in Korean language. You will get to know the differences as you study further in Hangul.]

(Korean classroom observation, 11/07/09)

It was evident when new words were introduced in the classroom that the children were often confused by the difference between the letter structures in Korean and English. They tended to have a hard time composing syllable blocks that are comprised with the final consonant cluster. For example, during a dictation test, Junho could not write the phase 동그랗게 [Dong-ge-ra-ke: In a circle]. He asked the teacher to read it several times, confirming the syllables one by one.

To summarize to this point, the children experienced Korean language teaching through homework and practice for tests. They came to the classroom with varied levels of knowledge and experience in Korean. They worked to master the Korean alphabet and tried to understand spelling conventions with factor less context to support their language learning than their counterparts in Korea. Nonetheless, they learned about Korean culture in the classroom as I present next.

Language Learning in the Korean Cultural Context

This section describes how the Korean teacher displayed culturally embedded language teaching practices in Korean, with emphasis on rote memorization and the treatment of the honorific form. My description of a pre-reading activity about Korean history shows how the teacher and children displayed their thoughts and cultural/social tendencies in the classroom.

Testing Rote-Memorization

Dictation is a test that was used in the Korean Language School to determine the students' Korean proficiency levels. The test took approximately 30-35 minutes for 10-15 questions. The test time occupied a considerable portion of the class time because the teacher needed to repeat expressions when the students either could not understand the contextual meaning, or didn't know how to write a particular syllable letter. Once the papers were distributed, students were required to write their names and the date on top of their papers, and write numbers in horizontal order. This was a ritual preparation before the actual test began. After all the preparations, the teacher dictated each sentence or expression slowly and repeatedly so that the children might fully grasp the words. Each question was repeated several times until all the students finished their tests. The test procedure usually ended with peer grading and external motivation, such as reward stickers distributed according to the scores earned on the test.

It seemed that receiving stickers for activated student motivation. Once the students knew their grades, they were very quick to determine how many stickers they could get from the teacher. External rewards for their academic performance was a sign of accomplishment in the classroom. Haeri was a very sensitive and hard working

student who showed great curiosity when the teacher mentioned scores or grades. However, Hyunchul showed some frustration as the testing proceeded. The teacher asked what made it difficult for him to study in Korean. Hyunchul told Youngson that he had difficulties in memorization as well as comprehension in Korean (Class observation #2, 10/17/09). In the following excerpt, the teacher tried to encourage the students to continue to study for the test.

> 선생님: 무슨 얘기냐면, 우리가 올해 11 월 21 일날 9 급시험을 봐야 하는 데(선생님이 학습 계획표를 넘기시며) 10 급 통과한 친구가 없지요. 그리고 민수도 이번 주에 공부를 안 해 왔기 때문에 우리 모두 10 급시험을 다시 볼거야. 알겠지? 그러면 숙제 9 급을 공부해 오지 말고 10 급을 공부해 오세요.
>
> 모두: (하기 싫다는 목소리로) 어아……
>
> 선생님: 앞으로 시간 있으니까 연습하면 돼.

> Teacher: What I meant was that we need to take a level 9 test on November 21st this year (as she was flipping over her lesson plan and schedule chart), but no one has passed the level 10 test so far. And Minsu did not do his homework this week. We all need to take the level 10 test again, do you understand? So, all of you keep studying for level 10 test, not doing level 9 preparation at home.
>
> All Children: Awww…
>
> Teacher: You have enough time for practicing. You can do it.
>
> (Korean classroom observation note, 10/10/09)

As this excerpt reveals, the teacher insisted on giving the level 10 test to make sure that all children in her classroom were able to memorize the Korean sentences equivalent to level 10 before the class moved on to the more challenging level 9. The children showed obvious frustration. Although Youngson knew that her students were not enjoying the dictation test, she pushed them by emphasizing they must pass the Korean words. She allowed them some flexibility by prolonging the exam preparation.

Park (2008), who studied Korean immigrant children's language learning in a Korean language school, demonstrated that how he performed a dictation test to his students. In his school Park usually administered tests in a particular way. "After reading this text, copy (some sentences) from here to here. I will test if you can write them" (p.105). Park acknowledged this way of giving a test was probably rather strict, and the purpose was to control the students. He added that writing legibly and neatly was a criterion for scoring.

Compared to Park's students, the children in the Korean school in this study did not follow this rather rigid learning method in their Korean language learning. However, instruction in the Korean language classroom was in keeping with an underlying Korean cultural principle that one learns by doing rote memorization and copying the text.

Learning Politeness in Korean Honorifics

In this study, I observed a discussion between Junho and Youngson in which Junho indicated he was not aware of what the honorific forms are and how to use them to properly speak Korean.

> 선생님: 혹시, 준호는 다른 말도 이해가 잘 안 돼는 것이 있었어? 존대말이 뭔지 아니? 준호? 준호야, 존대말이 뭔지 알아?"밥 먹었어?" 이거 하고,"밥 먹었어요?"이거 하고 어떤 말이 존대말인것 같아?
>
> 준호: (묵묵부답)
>
> 선생님: 준호야, 집에서 엄마한테,"밥 먹어, 이렇게 말해,"식사 하셨어요?" 이렇게 말해? "밥 먹었어요", 이렇게? 어떤 말을 써?
>
> 준호: 밥 먹었어?
>
> 선생님: 그냥, "밥 먹었어?" 이렇게 말해,아빠한테도?
>
> 준호: (고개를 끄떡인다.)

선생님: 아, 그렇구나! 그러면, 준호는 존대말을 들을수 있는 기회가 없었겠구나. 존대말은 친구하고 동생이랑 이야기 할때와 다른데.. 선생님이랑 어른하고 이야기할때는 좀 다른 말을 쓰는 거야. 그러면 "밥 먹었어, 선생님?" 하고 "식사 하셨어요, 선생님?" 중에 어떤 것이 존대말이니?

준호: (선생님만 쳐다본다.)

선생님: 이렇게 한국말은 (영어와) 조금 달라. 준호는음,그런 기회가(존대말을 사용할 기회가) 많이 없었겠구나.

Teacher: Do you understand, Junho? What part don't you understand? Well, do you know what honorific words are?

Junho: (No response)

Teacher: Junho, when you are at dinner table, do you say to your mom, "Let's eat." or "Please, have dinner with me, Mother?" How do you speak to your mom?

Junho: (Do) you eat?

Teacher: Well, just like that? Even to your dad?

Junho: (Nodded his head)

Teacher: Oh, then, I guess you hardly have opportunities to hear honorific expression in Korean. It is somewhat different from when you talk with your friends or with your younger sister. Adults like me or other older people expect to hear differently when you talk to us. "Did you have your breakfast, Teacher?" or "Have you finished your breakfast this morning?" Well, which one do you think is appropriate when you ask me?

Junho: (Looking at her without any response)

Teacher: Umm, Well, Korean speaking is somewhat different. I think you have not had opportunities to use the honorific expression in Korean.

(Korean class observation #7, 12/05/09)

In this excerpt, the teacher asked if Junho was using Korean honorific expressions with his parents at home. She explained briefly what honorific means and how Junho might have used various honorifics in his daily communication. The teacher gave Junho and the other children in the classroom an explanation of honorifics by distinguishing three ways they are used. She said:

1. It is somewhat different from when you talk with your friends or younger sister.
2. Adults like me or other older people expect to hear you speak differently when you talk to us.
3. Korean speaking is somewhat different from English speaking.

In Korean, special vocabulary is used to convey elevated or lower levels of respect. These vocabulary items are called "honorific words." There are basically three ways to elevate or lower the level of Korean speech for the purpose of delivering a certain level of respect to a hearer when communicating in Korean: the subject of the sentence may be elevated; the hearer may be elevated; or special vocabulary may be used to elevate or lower the form of speech. Youngson tried to teach Junho how to use proper honorific expressions in Korean. She mentioned both formal and informal speech levels that differentiate an honorific sentence from a self-effacing sentence. In other words, the teacher tried to teach Junho how to properly lower himself as a speaker to pay the respect to his parents in a conversation with her. Table 4.2 classifies the formal and informal speech in the excerpt above.

Table 4. 2 Formal and Informal Speech Pattern in Korean Honorific Expression

Ending Speech level	Declarative	Interrogative	Propositive
Formal speech	식사합니다	식사하셨어요?	식사하세요
Informal speech	밥 먹는다	밥 먹었어?	밥 먹자

The teacher tried to make an informal expression, "밥 먹었어? [Did you eat?]." Then, she used rather formal expression to elevate the hearer, **"**밥 먹었어요? [Did you have your breakfast?]" Later, at the final phase, the teacher talked to Junho using special vocabulary to elevate the form of Korean speech. She said, "식사 하셨어요? [Have you finished your breakfast this morning, teacher?]" and in this sentence, she switched to honorific and more formal way of expressing vocabulary "식사[siksa]" instead "밥[bop]." To be a fluent in honorific expression, the children must not only learn to use proper verb ending markers of the form but must also know how to change noun words equivalent to carrying respectful meaning of the honorific forms.

Youngson did not plan to teach about honorific forms in her classroom at the time of the students' learning, but she defined honorific and suggested some examples of expression of politeness in Korean. Youngson saw a teachable moment that led her to teach Junho as well as other children in the classroom about honorific forms. After she realized that Junho did not know how to use honorific forms properly, she said: "on the right column, *어른들에게는[to the adults]* and on the left column, *존댓말을 써야 합니다* [*we have to use the honorific]* must be combined to make the whole sentence, right?]" However, her explanation did not fully enable Junho to understand what the sentence meant. Junho still looked puzzled about it, staring at the worksheet. Once Youngson realized that he was not sure of the meaning of the sentence, she decided to talk to Junho:

> 선생님: 존대말은 높여 주는 말이야, 친구한테 써듯이 "너 했니", "이거 해라"가 아니라, "이거 해 주세요, "이거 하셨어요?" 이렇게 어른들한테 공손하게 말하는게 존대말이란 거야. 알았어, 준호야?

준호: (고개를 끄떡인다)

Teacher: The honorific expression means that you revere someone while you speak. Not expressions like "did you do this?" or "you do it!" You may say, "How did you do this, sir?" like that. You must speak honorific forms to show that you respect them. Do you understand, Junho?

Junho: (nodded his head)

(Korean class observation #7, 12/05/09)

Junho, like many Korean immigrant children who normally live only with their parents, did not have sufficient opportunities for different conversational situations in which the range of formal to informal speech forms could occur. The close relationships between a child and the parents affect their daily conversational dialogues and cause their speech to be informal.

The well-developed pattern of honorifics and their appropriate use can be distinguished as the most salient communicative feature reflecting Korean culture and society (Sohn, 2006). For this reason, Youngson, who was new to the country from South Korea, naturally assumed that Junho and the other immigrant children could speak proper honorific forms in their conversation with Korean adults. To her surprise, as shown in her interaction with Junho, she realized that Junho was not capable of using proper Korean honorifics. According to Youngson, it was necessary for Junho to use honorifics to express proper respect to his teacher in Korean classroom.

A Pre-reading Lesson about Korean History

In this section, I describe the procedure developed in the Korean class as the teacher specifically focused on the children's speaking and listening skills in Korean. The class studied the Korean language arts text books designed by the Korean government for the first grade level. It was composed of two sub-sections: *Reading and*

Writing, and *Listening and Speaking*. In listening and speaking, the classroom interaction was characterized most often by the teacher's initiation, asking a question to the class.

When the class studied the *Reading and Writing* text, Youngson asked the children who was the inventor of Hangul, the Korean alphabet. The children easily recognized that it was King Sejong, but the teacher clarified that the invention was the result of a collaborative effort between the eminent king and his loyal officials. Then she drew a map of the East Asia to help the children better understand the proximity between China and Korea. It seemed that she presented the map to explain that during the pre-Hangul era, Korean people adopted Chinese letters for their writing. The following is one segment of the interaction between the teacher and the children:

선생님: 아주 오랜 옛날에 우리 한글을 누가 만들었죠?

학생들: 세종대왕.

선생님: 응, 세종 대왕이란 임금님하고, 임금님 밑에 있는 학자들, 공부를 하는 학자들이 머리를 맞대고, '우리나라 사람들이 어떤 글을 써야 더 똑똑해질수 있을까?' 하고 의논을 하다가, 집현전 이라는-학교 같은거야- 그곳에서 바로 우리가 지금 배우고 있는 한글을 만들었어요. 그런데 한글이 만들어 지기 전에는 어른들이 무슨 글자를 썼을까? 그냥 말로만 하고 살았을까? 아니면 뭔가 다른 글자가 있었을까?

아이들: (무반응)

선생님: 어떤 글자였을까?

민수: 음...

혜리: 아,

선생님: 어, 한자라는 글자가 있었는데, 그 한자는 우리나라 글자가 아니예요. 한자는 어느 나라에서 만든 글자 일까?

민수: 일본.

혜리: 일본?

선생님: 아니요.

아이들: (모두 잠잠) 어..

선생님: 중국이란 나라 들어 봤어요?

아이들: 예.

Teacher: A long time ago, who invented our 'Hangul'?

Students: Sejong the Great.

Teacher: Yes, a King named Sejong the Great and his officials and scholars invented Hangul. They discussed things like, 'How can we help commoners to learn easily to read and write? What kind of letters should we make so that ALL Korean people can learn to read to be smart enough to write? They worked in the place called, the Hall of Worthies (Jiphyeonjeon, 집현전). The scholars there met and finally invented Hangul that we are learning and using now. But, I wonder what kinds of letter they had used before Hangul was invented? Did they just speak to each other? Or did they have some other types of character?

Children: (No response)

Teacher: What kind of letters did they use?

Minsu: Umm…

Heari: Ahh.

Teacher: Uh, There was the letter called Hanja. It was not invented in Korea. Which country did invent the letter?

Minsu: Japan.

Harie: (with questioning voice) Japan?

Teacher: No.

All children: (All quiet) Uh…

Teacher: Have you heard of a country named China?

All children: Yes.

(Korean classroom observation, 11/07/09)

Youngson explained to the children that the inventors of the Hangul were actually a body of scholars who worked in the academic institution under governmental control. She asked them to imagine that they were in the "Hall of Worthies" at the time of the

invention. The question she asked was finely tuned to the level of the children. She asked, "How can we help commoners to learn easily to read and write? What kind of letters we should make so that *ALL* Korean people can learn to read to be smart enough to write?" Then she asked a question that was a bit difficult from the children's view: What kind of letter did Koreans use before Hangul was invented? The children started to ponder over it. No one knew the answer, so the teacher provided that people in Korea used to use letters called Hanja. But this time she asked in which country that Hanja was invented. At that moment, Minsu guessed somewhat unsurely that that might be Japan. Instantly Haeri raised doubt by saying, "Japan?" Youngson shook her heard. She told them that it was China.

At the time of this exchange, the class was in a pre-reading activity. The information was intended to help the children learn about the letters and how the letters were used in ancient times. As the conversation continued, the teacher's scaffolding worked to help the children understand the background knowledge regarding types of letters used in the Korean peninsula.

선생님: 우리나라 위에서 중국이란 나라에서 선생님이… 지도를 그려볼께. (칠판에 동북아 지도를 그린 후에손가락으로 가리키며) 우리나라 지도가 대충 이렇게 생겼어요. 이거는 뭐야? 독도, 이거는 제주도. 여기 밑에는 일본이란 나라가 있어.

민수: 일본은 진짜 나빠.

선생님: 그리고 이렇게 생긴거, 여기가 중국이예요. 그리고 여기가 한국이야.

민수: 일본 너무 나빠. 일본은 너무 나빠! 나빠! 나빠! 나빠!

선생님: 그런데, 음, 우리나라에서 한글을 만들기 전에는 중국에서 만들어진 한자라는 글자를 가지고 글도 쓰고 책도 만들고 그랬었어요. 그런데, 이 중국사람들이 한자를 만들기 전에는 어떻게 책을 쓰고 이야기를 했을까?

민수: 일본!

선생님: 일본에서? 일본에서 만든 글자를 썼을까요?

현철: 아니요.

Teacher: China is located at right up above our country. I am not very good at drawing but this is a map. (She drew a Far East map on the board and pointed at the country with her finger) Our country looks like this. This is *Dok* Island and this is *Jeju* Island. Right below here, this is Japan.

Minsu: Japan is really bad.

Teacher: Then, the shape like this, this is China. And this is the Korean peninsula.

Minsu: Japan is very bad. Japan is very bad. Bad! Bad! Bad! Bad!

Teacher: *By the way*, um, before our country made Hangul, we had used Hanja, the Chinese made character, to correspond to each other or to write in the books. *By the way*, what did people do before the Chinese people made Hanja? How did they correspond with each other?

Minsu: Japan!

Teacher: In Japan? You mean we used Japanese characters?

Hyunchul: No.

(Korean classroom observation, 11/07/09)

The unexpected response from Minsu during this interchange could have formed a teachable moment for the teacher. She could have turned her teaching pedagogy swiftly to her students' inquiry in the classroom. Minsu said that Japan is very bad. The teacher, however, did not respond to his comment and tried to turn his attention by saying "by the way." In two remarks right after Minsu's strong expression of ill feeling toward Japan, the teacher used a prepositional phrase "by the way" to change the topic. But Minsu kept saying, "Japan!" The teacher finally mentioned Japan but she asked if Korean people used Japanese characters rather than discussing the reasons why Minsu felt animosity toward Japan.

Dewey (1938, 1916/1966) believed that a teacher's responsibility was to carefully observe children's thoughts, feelings, interests, curiosities, and even impulses in order to use these capacities as the source of instructional plans or teaching methods. In other words, a teacher's response to a learner's curiosity will promote the students' intellectual interests. By using careful observation in the classroom, teachers can enable children to learn, what they are ready to learn when they are ready to learn. Perhaps a teachable moment was overlooked in the above excerpt. I wondered what would have happened if the teacher had not avoided Minsu's firm assertion, but had taken it as worthy of class discussion. The brief class discussion among Youngson and Minsu, Heari, and Hyunchul would have enhanced the children's understanding of the context they studied. On the other hand, Minsu's strong assertion might have caused confusion to other children in the classroom. Some of them might have Japanese friends and they did not know what had happened in the past history. It needed to be made clear to the children that Japan had not been a good neighboring country in the past but it is now a close ally to South Korea.

The next excerpt displays that the teacher arrived at her main topic of the class. The class needed to learn what the pictorial letter was and to engage in a writing activity using pictorial expressions as well as short sentences written in Korean.

> 선생님: 말 밖에는 못하는 데 어떻게 글자를 만들어서 책을 만들고 이야기를 남길 수 있었을까?
>
> 준호: 어, 그림으로!
>
> 선생님: 빙고! 준호가 맞췄다. 그림글자가 있잖아.
>
> Teacher: How could they make books or pass down on stories if only speaking?
>
> Junho: Uh, by drawing!

Teacher: Bingo! You're right, Junho. It's called pictorial letter.

(Korean classroom observation, 11/07/09)

It was Junho who answered that in old days only oral literature was passed down to the next generation by way of pictorial expression. The teacher confirmed his response. At this point, she applied the concept of her newly introduced "pictorial letter" the children's daily activity of writing a picture diary in Korean.

선생님: 글자는 반드시 이렇게만 쓰는 게 아니야. 그렇지, 그림으로도 할 수 있어.. 여러분 그림일기 할 때, 예를 들어서 이렇게 그렸어. 그럼 이거 뭐하는 거야?

아이들: 뭐예요?

선생님: (그림문자를 칠판에 그리며) 선생님이 요렇게 그렸어. 이게 무슨 뜻일까?

민수: 나! 나!

선생님: 그래, 민수가 이야기해봐.

민수: 비가 오는데 이 사람은 우산이 없어요.

선생님: 어 우산이 없어서…

혜리: 어, 슬퍼하고 있어요.

선생님: 맞았어! 선생님이 표현하고 싶은게 바로 그거야. 내가 비가 오는데 우산이 없어서 울었던 이야기를 친구에게 하고 싶은데. 글자로 또 그림을 그려서 이렇게 내가 하고 싶은 이야기를 전달할 수 있어. 음…옛날에는 사람들이 동굴에다가 이런 그림을 그리기도 하고 또는 종이가 없던 시절에는 종이 대신 가죽 있지? 동물의 가죽을 잘 벗겨서 이렇게 책처름 내가 하고 싶은 얘기들을 하던 때가 있었어요. 그러다가 점점 시간이 지났는데 글자가 만들어 졌어요.

Teacher: Letters are not necessarily like this written form. They could be delivered by drawing, right? When you have a picture diary, for example, you draw like this, then what did you just do?

Children: What?

Teacher: (Pointing to the pictorial letter on the board) When I draw like this, what does this mean?

Minsu: I know! I know!

> Teacher: OK, tell me, Minsu.
>
> Minsu: It is raining, but he does not have an umbrella.
>
> Teacher: Uh, he did not bring his umbrella, and then what?
>
> Heari: Uh, he felt sad.
>
> Teacher: That's right! I wanted to express that. I wanted to talk to my friend about the day I cried because I did not bring my umbrella in the midst of heavy rain. We can deliver our stories by letters or by drawing pictures. Um… A long time ago, people drew pictures in caves. There was a time when people used animal skins to write and made books out of them just like the books we use now. As time passed on, letters were made.
>
> (Korean classroom observation, 11/07/09)

The last part of this excerpt showed that Minsu was able to explain what the teacher wanted to express in her pictorial message. The teacher, at the end, was to give her own pictorial writing in order to explain how it could be used in daily life. Indeed, the concept of pictorial letters can help Korean children in comprehending Hanja, that is, logographic characters borrowed from the Chinese (Cho & Chen, 1999).

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I illustrated the children's knowledge of the Korean language and their Korean cultural awareness. The class tried to connect Korean sounds with their meanings, and to understand how Korean words are organized into sentences. It seemed that the learning process was particularly challenging because they were exposed infrequently to Korean words on a daily basis. The teacher put great emphasis on instructing the children about how sounds of certain Korean letters are spelled differently. She dedicated a considerable portion of her time to teaching the children to memorize words correctly, using varied teaching methodologies (e.g., dictation tests, word guessing games, etc.) to accomplish this goal.

The children in this study learned basic Hangul script before their schooling. They learned Korean language in a Korean way, with an emphasis on learning how to spell accurately, using proper honorific expressions, and doing homework on time, and they were regularly given tests of rote memorization of words or sentences in Korean. Intermittently, the teacher and the children discussed Korean cultural awareness through teacher instruction, and questions initiated by the students.

There are, however, some complicated notions that needs to be accounted for these children's learning Korean. It may be derived from the fact that they learn the language as a heritage language in the United States. In other words, their learning Korean as well as the Korean teacher's teaching practice may not be the same as those of Korean children and teachers in South Korea. First, these students are going between two different educational and language systems. So it is reasonable to consider they are affected by the cultural traits of the both countries and their educational traditions. Then, the Korean teacher's teaching instruction and pedagogy should be affected by the two educational and educational systems as well. She is a doctoral student in a field of education. I often noticed that she used varied teaching methodology that may not yet prevalent in South Korea. Thus, it is fair to acknowledge that the teaching and learning, as well as cultural representation are specifics to this particular population, and the classroom setting.

In the next chapter, I describe two of the Korean children's English language learning at U.S. public schools. Haeri and Minsu studied English in their classrooms, but their language learning environments were different – Haeri learned English in a regular classroom and Minsu learned English in an English Language Learning classroom.

CHAPTER V
ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING IN US PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Young children begin the process of learning language in spoken and written forms long before they begin school. Early literacy scholars (Dorsey-Gaines & Taylor, 1988; Goodman, 1987; Heath, 1983/1996; Purcell-Gates, 1996, 2007; Teale & Sulzby, 1987) emphasize interaction with adults as a means by which young children concurrently develop their reading and writing skills. In other words, language learning, from the emergent literacy viewpoint, is not a set of skills to be learned but is purposeful and meaningful for young children as they engage in literacy-rich everyday life activities.

English language learning by students from diverse language backgrounds has increasingly gained attention in terms of children's academic performances (Au, 1995; Bartolomé, 1998; Cummins, 1989, 1993; Gay, 2000; Lew, 2006; Valdés, 1995, 2004). Academic language that immigrant students use for school plays an important role in their school success (Au, 1995; Cummins, 1989, 1993; Lew, 2006). Schleppegrell (2004) emphasized that the ability to use an academic register is a linguistic property that does not come naturally as does everyday conversational language. Specifically, the syntactic and lexical components of reading and writing, along with recognition of the meanings that students make of the texts they read and/or in the contexts they understand must be purposefully employed by students who learn English as an academic language.

I wanted to see how two of the five Korean immigrant children were able to draw on their knowledge of English and interact with other children and their teachers. My goal in this chapter is to describe how Haeri and Minsu's language learning in their

English classrooms unfolded, and to identify distinctive features in their language learning behaviors in their public classrooms. More specifically, my questions were: How do two Korean children learn English in their American public school classroom? What are distinctive features or characteristics of language learning in their English speaking classrooms?

Haeri and Minsu were students at two different public schools. Haeri was called Ella in her English classroom; taking on an English name at school is common for some Korean immigrant children. She was a student in a regular classroom where English was used as the children's first language and the class was mostly made up of native speakers of English learners. Minsu was a student in an English Language Learning (ELL) program for beginning English language learners.

Valdés (2004) distinguishes between the two types of classrooms I observed. In mainstream English classrooms, academic discourse in English is used for intellectual practices and reading the world. It involves the presentation of opinions and explicit argumentation, follows conventions of explicitness, detachment, and appeal to authority. Valdés argues that the role of English in the ELL classroom is to prepare ELL students for success in all content areas. In order to perform well academically, ELL learners need to learn to use English in culturally appropriate ways in their classroom interaction. English is used in ELL classes to interact in the classroom, but it must also be used to obtain subject content.

Haeri's Language Arts Classroom

When I entered Heari's language arts classroom at Tulip elementary school early in the morning during my observation period, the whole class was sitting in the reading

area and Heari's teacher, Mary, was sitting on the teacher's chair. The class discussion seemed to follow a ritual: the words of the day were studied, the agenda of the day proclaimed, a list of activities was presented, and questions regarding class activities were taken and answered. During this discussion time, Haeri usually sat quietly on the outskirts of the discussion group.

The use of space in the classroom was interesting because during language arts, the students were constantly moving in the classroom, most of time doing their own work. The teacher encouraged the children to move and occupy whatever space was available as long as it didn't bother other students and they could keep quiet. The students were free to speak or ask for help but should keep their voices down.

The class was ethnically and linguistically diverse. The majority of the children were Caucasian, but Asian students from China, South Korea, and India were also visible. The girl who usually worked and played with Haeri was an immigrant child from Sudan, Africa. The classroom was overall dimly lit, and I wondered how the students could read and write, or do their assigned activities. Only two lights were on in the classroom: one was near the teacher's chair in the reading area, and another was near the teacher's seat at the discussion table, where a small group convened for their book club activity. So the two main bright spots were the reading and book club areas.

Heari's twenty-two classmates were first grade and second grade students. Veenman (1995) distinguished between multiage and multi-grade classes. Particularly in elementary schools, multi-age groupings bring educational benefits to younger and newer students by helping them get acquainted with different teachers and learning experiences. In Heari's class, older and more experienced students extended their learning to a higher

level by taking initiative for their learning as well as shared their knowledge and helped younger children. In the next sections I consider the same themes that I addressed in chapter three: the respective teachers' philosophies, the delivery of classroom instruction, the characteristics of language learning, and the cultural context of language learning.

Teaching Philosophy and Goals of the Language Arts Teacher

When I was in Heari's classroom, I noticed that her teacher, Mary, was constantly moving. She was physically busy, and she also kept moving her eyes to check on the children. It seemed that her ears as well were opened to listen to the voices and whispering sounds in the classroom. Her lips were talking continuously to the twenty three children in the room. She said, "I like to be constantly evolving. I'm always learning new things" (Interview with Tulip teacher, 12/16/09).

She told me that being a parent helped her become a better teacher in the classroom. She has two daughters, a fourth grader and a sixth grader. She understood clearly children's and parents' expectations, recognized children's capacity to learn, and was able to visualize what the students' lives were like when they go home. She said:

> I know what their house looks like when they go home, you know. Kids are busy, kids are really busy with all extracurricular [activities], and there's fine balance of when something is too much, because I think academics should be above anything else. I think it's great they're well-rounded, we do swimming, dancing, viola, that's all great things, you know [But if] you can't read, and [can't do] math…
> (Tulip teacher Interview, 12/16/09).

Mary envisioned herself as an instructor, a nurturer, a provider, a disciplinarian, and a mentor. She summarized by saying that "you are like their mom." In addition to teaching children how to read and write, and how to do math, she gave the children food when they did not come to school with their lunch, and provided them proper clothes to

wear for recess. In terms of social behavior, she wanted to teach them how to interact and participate in a community. She wanted them to know they were all there together, like a small family and should respect each other. She put great emphasis on children being responsible for the classroom functioning well. To emphasize her work in the classroom, Mary told me that people had no idea how many things she juggled to in order for things to work out in her classroom, although most people were in school at sometimes in their lives.

Delivering Instruction in the Language Arts Class

Mary's classroom instruction helped the children understand what they should do, how to behave, and what they not do in their language arts class. The good examples of how Mary delivered language arts instruction are moments when they were together on the carpet for the center time and how the classroom management by appointed experts who were responsible for helping out their classmates.

Center Time

Learning began with center time, which usually ran for about twenty minutes each morning before the children began language arts. At center time, the teacher and children discussed what they needed to do at individual work time sitting.

> Near the board under the reading light, the class was convened for their center time. While Mary was explaining to the class about the day's word list on the board, one boy said out loud that a word was *handwriting*. Then, he instantly made a word from it, saying "Oh, I can see *AND* in *H-And-writing*! The teacher gave a look at the word and enthusiastically agreed, "Yeah, I can see that." Next, another boy found different word in it. "It's WRITE [in "Hand-*Write*-ing"]!" Mary gave her consent this time also saying "You're right, can everyone see that?"
> (Tulip Observation note # 4, 11/11/09)

As in the observation note above, students not only answered what they were

asked by the teacher, but they contributed unsolicited ideas they found to be important. The practice of "I can see…" in this classroom was noticing a word embedded in a word. Matthew noticed "and" in the word, "h-*and*-writing", and Tim, following Matthew, exclaimed, "Writing!" The teacher responded to the boys in turn with positive feedback.

The above except represents well the many observations I made in Heari's English language arts class throughout the semester. Applebee and others (2003) found a strong relationship between student literacy performance and inquiry-based approaches. Although I did not see any guided inquiry based approach during my observation in Mary's language arts class, I thought the students' opportunity to offer observations about language helped them internalize the knowledge and skills better. This approach engages children in challenging literacy tasks and helps students gain academic skills (Applebee et al., 2003).

Once during the center time, Mary gave detailed instructions about how to fill in a worksheet. Worksheets were mostly for students' individual class activities; however, at times Mary used them as a group works or whole class participation activity. Once the worksheets were finished, the students put them in their own file folders which were arranged with each student's name and picture on.

Being an Expert for Helping Out

In Heari's language arts class, everyone was considered an expert in one way or another. It seemed that every child in the classroom had some kind of experience for helping out peers in the classroom. For instance, Sarah, a tall second grader with short hair, was appointed to be a leader when the children wanted to know the meaning of words or how to pronounce them. She often devoted herself to helping students,

especially first graders, when Mary was busy with small group discussions. During an interview, Mary expressed that she considered herself a leader in her classroom. This perception of her professional representation was evident in her classroom management practice of encouraging each of her students to be a leader about a particular kind of work in the classroom.

On November 11, 2009 (Tulip Observation # 5), at 9:40 in the morning, Haeri embarked on an individual activity, listening to a story from the audio recorder. Haeri attempted to put the tape into the recorder, but the cord was tangled. She was able to untangle it, but then faced another problem. She stopped, checked the machine, and wasn't sure what to do. She looked around, found Jihwa, and approached her. Jihwa was appointed to serve as an expert on tape recorder manipulation for listening to stories. Haeri asked Jihwa if she could help her out. Jihwa said, "Sure, where's yours?" They came to Heari's spot and Jihwa looked closely at the machine. Before the activities had started, it appeared to me that Mary and the class must have had a center time to discuss what they needed to do at individual work time. During this discussion, Jihwa was appointed as the leader to help other classmates who had problems with recorder functioning. Mary told to the class that Jihwa was the person in charge of "letting people know and help them to listen stories from the recorders." Both Haeri and Jihwa tried to figure out the reason for the malfunction, and then Jihwa said, "Let's change it!" Haeri responded, "How about this?" and they agreed that Haeri needed to change the batteries.

At 9:50 am, Lisa, a first grader, came to Haeri and asked her, "Is that working?" but Haeri did not respond. She was too immersed in listening and reading with her fingers with her head-phones on. Other boys and girls were passing by, but she was very

attentive to the story. When listening to the story on the tape recorder, Haeri also put her finger on the letters as she listened. This reminded me of how Mary always directed at the small group book discussion time, "Open your book, [and] get your finger ready."

As I learned how classroom instruction was delivered, I realized that some language learning occurred in spontaneous, instantaneous, voluntary class interaction. Most children in Mary's classroom were not shy about asking her or each other questions. The children seemed to understand that they could learn by asking around, by being inquisitive, and by offering help to others.

Characteristics of the Language Learning in the Language Arts

I noticed three types of language learning performed in Haeri's classrom according to three: a book club activity, which was a small group reading discussion with the teacher; "homework", when students needed to accomplish 3-4 individual activities; and " reading to self" with audio-book sets. I provide illustrations of these in the next sections.

Book Club Activity

On October 14, 2009, I entered Heari's classroom at 9:30 am. Haeri was sitting at a table with three children for a book discussion. Mary was sitting at the other side of the contoured table so that the students and the teacher could easily look at one another. Mary conducted the reading curriculum according to the level of the multiage students' reading abilities. For instance, the second graders in the higher level book club group were reading thick chapter books, whereas the first graders in Heari's group were reading picture books.

Mary wanted Heari's reading group to review sight words that the whole class had practiced at center time. A vowel chart was on the top of the wall located on the

right side of the teacher, where she could easily point to explain a certain sound. As they read along, the reading group encountered the word 'duck.' The teacher immediately paid attention to the vowel sound /ə/ out of the word, 'duck /dək/' and taught them [u] as a /ə/ sound pointing to the vowel chart. Each student shared several words that contained /ck/ but pronounced differently (e.g., check, buck, dock, lock, etc.).

During book club activities, Mary focused on increasing the students' background knowledge in grammar, mechanics, and vocabulary. The students were all welcomed to contribute their own knowledge about the issues and topics related to the book they were reading. Mary constantly encouraged students to join in so the discussion was very lively and participatory.

At times the students practiced skills like sentence completion drills, but the teacher wanted to make sure that her students could use many alternative words in the grammatical context being practiced. For instance, they practiced, "Not in this cake, Not in this flower, Not in this cupboard, Not in this pocket, Not in this lunchbox, Not in this barn, Not in this pot!' All these words were generated by the children, and they all worked together during the time of the reading activity.

> During book club activities, from time to time, the teacher checked with other students who worked independently. Usually she informed them about the noise of the class, by saying, "You need to check your voice!" The teacher also used management phrases like, "Good Job!" "Thank you," "Open your book, get your finger ready," "Let's freeze right there!" "Everyone check, make sure you got the right words and punctuation." "Read to me what you wrote!" "Not lower case, but upper case, capital!" "What does this start with 'W'?" "What is [the thing that goes at] the end of the sentence?" Then Annabelle and Lisa said, "Period!" and the teacher responded, "Nice job!" Closing the small group section, Mary told the children, "There should be no wandering around the room!" "I want you to get busy."
>
> (Tulip classroom Observation note #1, 10/14/09)

Toward the end of the 'book club' activity, the teacher mentioned that "your homework is that you should read this book by yourself until we'll meet next time." (Tulip Classroom Observation # 5, 11/11/09). So, homework in this classroom was considered something that the students were doing outside of the teacher directed lesson. The children did not seem to be confused by the tasks the teacher assigned them. They seemed to understand that learning is doing something on their own, with the help of others, who could be anybody in the classroom.

By the end of the fall semester, Heari's reading group had developed into a lively, interactive group. In particular, my fifth observation at the language arts class on November, 11, 2009 was interesting. The teacher asked the children not to look inside the book as she wanted to discuss the cover first. Each student said what they were thinking about the pictures in the book. A couple of students flipped through the picture book, but the teacher gently warned them and said that reading is a "guessing or predicting" game. "So, no peeking in the next page which explains in words what the object was." The recurrent question the teacher asked the students was: "What do you think?" There was no right or wrong answer so everyone could try out what they were thinking. When Haeri was asked, she paused a second and then she said that she would share what she thought about it later.

Doing "Homework" in the Classroom

The teacher sometimes instructed children to do their "homework." Talking with Mary, I learned that "homework" in the classroom discourse was actually "just what they're doing here at school" (Tulip teacher Interview, 12/16/09). Unlike in the Korean classroom where homework was extra work completed at home to prepare for in-class

work, Mary used the term to manage individual assignments that followed book club group activities. The only actual homework, as is more conventionally defined as work completed at home after the school ends, was taking a book home every night read to their families.

However, the term "homework" was used in the classroom regularly. Mary announced toward the end of each book discussion session, "Today's homework for this book…" as she distributed a work sheet to each student. One day the assignment was to complete sentences. Mary read an example, "We'd like a new animal _____ but, not in this house," and she said, "your job is to make a new sentence. Let's finish our book, *Not in This House!*"

Mary constantly monitored the children who were doing individual work assignments while interacting with a small reading group. She frequently answered questions if they occurred. But, most of the time Mary tried to focus on the reading group with whom she was working at the book discussion table. When Haeri completed her session at the discussion table, she moved to her work station table and resumed her individual work called homework. She continued to make sentences based on the example, "We like a new animal, but not in this house!"

When I entered the classroom for my fifth observation on November 11, 2009, I went up to Haeri and said "Hi" to her. She said hello back to me and then kept writing something on a paper. We spoke quietly and she explained what had been going on in the classroom before I arrived. She was practicing words, both easy and challenging, that they had just studied in class. I looked at her paper. She not only wrote her words but also drew pictures with explanations. She wrote some words, *I, you, top, rock,* that the

class had practiced. With these English words, she wrote Korean words '점수' [Score] in her drawing and also explained to me that she wore '운동화' [PE shoes] in the picture (See Appendix I).

Mary checked with Haeri about class tasks she needed to finish. She was working on her last one, the caterpillar project, at the moment. While Haeri was doing her caterpillar project, Kate, a first grader, came up to her and asked what she was doing. Instead of replying, Haeri took her to the stack of work sheets. It seemed that Haeri thought that Kate asked her to find where the activity materials were to be picked up. Haeri told Kate that she should pick one of them to start coloring and filling in words in the blanks. But Kate was still not sure what she needed to do. Sensing her confusion, Haeri advised her by saying, "I don't know. You want to ask [Mary]."

I watched as Haeri went to a plastic drawer in the classroom each time she needed a new marker for her coloring, although there were markers right on the table where she was working. Joseph was standing next to the supply cabinet and asked her, "Are we allowed to use this?" Haeri responded, "I don't know." Then, she went back to her coloring project (Tulip class Observation note #1, 10/14/09).

As she colored in her butterfly book, Haeri used a dark green color for the body of the caterpillar, and when we had time for a chat I asked her about the process of becoming a butterfly (See Appendix J). I found a step-by-step description of the process in her activity sheet (Tulip class Observation note #1, Oct 14, 2009).

Another day Haeri was making a book, "All about me." She showed me the book, with one letter of the alphabet on each page to practice both capital and lower case letters. In the middle of each page was space for drawing, and at the bottom a space for

practicing 'the alphabet of the day' together in class. Haeri drew pictures as well as letters on most of the pages. Her writing was sometimes neat, but some pages were illegible.

Haeri was lying on the floor and reading a book. She often consulted with a girl, Unany, whose parents were from Sudan. When Haeri realized that her friend, Unany was sitting next to her, she turned to her and pointed to the stapled book. Haeri asked, "Did you finish …. this book?" Unany shook her head. (Tulip Class observation # 3, 10/18/09). During individual homework in her language arts class, Haeri accomplished many activities individually and gradually interacted more with others in class when she needed help or went to Mary to confirm what she was doing.

When Haeri practiced the letter "U" and its related words, which the whole class studied together, Unany became a main character of her picture-diary along with other words such as *went, under, a, ugly, brown, umbrella*. Haeri drew the picture using these words they had just studied in class. I think Haeri had good ability to make connections between words and pictures. Haeri drew pictures divided into two different realms: inside and outside worlds. Outside it was raining; later she also added some snow, and there was a representation of Unany with an umbrella. Unany was nicely dressed in skirts in spite of the challenging weather situation. Unany was also represented inside of a house, where the sun was shining bright. I asked Haeri why the weather conditions were different between the two realms, since it was after all, one picture she was drawing. She said inside is home, always warm and "Sun is shining". However, outside is the world where it can be constantly changeable. Haeri kept explaining, "She's going to walk to her home. As soon as she's opening the door, her dad gives her hot cocoa!" The girl

and her dad in the picture were smiling. She said, "Outside weather can be chilly, hot, raining, but inside the house always will be sun shining." (Tulip Classroom Observation # 4, 11/04/09).

Listening and glancing at the sincere look of Heari's face, I was thinking that even though she told me the girl in the picture was Unany, who was also an immigrant child in her class, the girl in the picture could be herself, who lives in two different worlds. The outer world was unpredictable, changeable, and therefore, hard for an immigrant child, but her inner world can be perhaps secured by the love of her father. She gave me a smile when she said that the girl in her picture entered the bright sunshiny home, as she was greeted by her dad who prepared a hot cocoa. I felt that Haeri might be trying to express that the outside world was a challenging place for her to learn, but the inside world was a comforting place because of the familiarity and support from the family. I interpret the outside of Heari's picture as her school environment where she needed to learn a new language and culture, and the inside world could be home and Korean school settings.

I have described Haeri who enrolled in English speaking classroom to learn English academic language. Haeri is an immigrant child, born in the United States but have immigrant parents (Fong, 2004). The underlying messages I want to deliver through a series of anecdotes I presented here are how language and culture interplay in a classroom setting where a person like Heari felt not confident yet in learning the language and the classroom culture. Igoa (1995) who described very well the inner world of the immigrant child claimed we need to understand the needs and feelings of immigrant children. Having taught immigrant children in many years, Igoa shared her thoughts

about themes from the dialogues with them. The differences among immigrant children's experiences are the unintegrated inner world, the culturally split inner world, and the integrated inner world (1995, pp. 106-107). Thus, each immigrant child may undergo different phases of life experiences during their schooling years. I come to know Haeri has just started her journey to know public school culture and articulate English.

Reading to Self: "Put Your Fingers Ready"

Haeri was usually very attentive and quiet in her language arts classroom. She worked hard on her assignments and hardly chatted with peers unless she needed to ask something or check with others to see if what she was doing was right. (Research memo, 10/14/09). Haeri approached the bookshelves and for a minute spent time looking at the book covers. Finally she picked up a book she wanted to read. Jihwa, who occasionally checked on what Haeri was doing in other activities, asked her, "What book is it?" but Haeri did not respond promptly. Perhaps she was too immersed in reading. Then, as she skimmed through the book, she showed her the front cover.

> Teacher: [Looking at the two girls in their work station] Ella! Jihwa! What are you working on? Did you finish (your) reading (assignment)?
>
> The girls: No response
>
> Teacher: Did you finish … your working on the work station?
>
> The girls didn't respond. Haeri nodded but did not say that her work was done.
>
> (Tulip class Observation note #1, Oct 14, 2009)

Perhaps the two girls did not respond to Mary's inquiry because they thought they should not make noise by talking during individual activity time. However, Mary

seemed only to be checking to see whether they were doing their assignments and whether they were having any difficulties in doing them.

In working with the teacher in book club and completing individual "homework" assignments, Haeri learned how the class worked and what she needed to accomplish in the language arts classroom.

Cultural Context of Language Learning in Haeri's Classroom

Throughout my observations, I realized that class behavior management and Mary's feedback specific according to the situation that occurred. When reprimanding and disciplining the class, Mary was very firm and had control, and the children listened to what she said and asked of them. Once Unany approached her and tried to say something, and Mary spoke with her firm voice, "Don't interrupt me while I'm still giving instructions." In this situation, which was unlike many of observations, Mary did not let the children ask questions or encourage them to get involved in the discussion.

Toward the end of her instructions, Mary asked, "Is anybody confused about the things you need to do?" Elizabeth, a second grader, raised her hand and said, "I really still don't get it!" So, Mary asked Matthew to repeat the directions for the activities and explain how the children should behave during the activities. Mary also emphasized working with partners who could be helpers. Discipline in this classroom seemed very important. The teacher had been repeatedly saying, "Do not bother others." "Reading alone, do not shout out to other friends in class!" (Tulip Classroom Observation # 5, 11/11/09)

There were also moments when Mary complimented and praised the class or an individual student. Mary used music to praise her students and to call their attention to

what needed to be fixed. She used music to compliment the children when they did a good job. On one occasion, as she approached the CD player and turned on the music, she told the class that listening to music was a reward for doing excellent work and following her instructions. Also she asked the students if the music was too loud. "I'll keep it very low because you're doing a nice job!" So the reward was putting on quiet music while students worked on their own activities (Tulip Classroom Observation # 4, 11/04/09).

English was the only language spoken in the classroom. One time Mary asked Cassidy, a white, native-English-speaking second grader, to bring a book from the school library for the whole class reading activity. The following is the subsequent interaction between them, as Cassidy handed the book to Mary:

> Mary: (talking to the class, not looking at Cassidy) Thank you.
> Cassidy: (giving a book to Mary) You're welcome.
> Mary: (turning to Cassidy) Thanks, Cassidy!
> Cassidy: (sitting on her spot) You're welcome.
> (Tulip Class Observational Note #1, Oct 14, 2009)

The ephemeral dialogue between the classroom teacher and a student seems too mundane to be noticed, but a child like Haeri who came from a different linguistic background may not have adequately responded in the way that Cassidy interacted with her teacher. Chu (1999) reported that Korean immigrant children may not respond properly to situations similar to the one described, thus they need to be taught by teachers in the classroom in order to become more culturally responsive. The teacher also controlled the children's conversations as they completed individual activities. In most cases, Mary used these routine words to quiet commotion in the classroom:

> Mary: Eyes on me!
>
> All students: Eyes on you.
>
> Mary: Swinging monkey!
>
> All students: Sheee… (the class became quite)
> (Tulip class Observation note #1, Oct 14, 2009)

After this conversation between the teacher and the class, the children usually quieted down to work on their own projects. This pattern of language made it easier for Mary to manage the class.

Like other children of immigrants whose home language is other than English, Haeri spoke Korean at home, and she needed to learn to speak English at school. She was not enrolled in any additional English classes, such as the ELL program. Haeri needed to learn how to behave appropriately in the classroom. It seemed a particularly daunting task for Heari. Cazden (2001), in her a yearlong study of classroom discourse, informed us that:

> In order to learn, students must use what they already know so as to give meaning to what the teacher presents to them. Speech makes available to reflection the processes by which they relate new knowledge to old. But this possibility depends on the social relationships, communicative system, which the teacher sets up (p.2).

As Cazden pointed out, children must bring their previous learning experiences in order to learn new knowledge. Language and cultural minority children need to move at ease between the domains of home knowledge and classroom knowledge in order to make easy translation of the social reality of the familiar home community domain into the unfamiliar school domain (Heath, 1983/1996). The more gaps between the two domains, the more necessary it is that the learner "decontexualizes his/her knowledge from home and reconstructs their learning into categories and abstractions valued in

academic settings" (p.324). Mary described Heari at the beginning of her first grade year as a student who was searching for relations between the two systems.

> [She's] not the one who's standing up and messing around all the time, so she's kind of blending in and [then] I started noticing her have a look like, 'I don't know what I'm doing.' She wouldn't ask me, which kind of gives me a chance to [inaudible].
> (Interview with Tulip Teacher, 12/16/09)

Noticing Heari's confused look, Mary tried to give her additional attention to check her class assignments. After while, Mary realized that Haeri came to her to ask questions that needed to be solved by herself or by asking other classmates. She wanted Haeri to find out what was necessary to accomplish her class work first, and not depend totally on her for accomplishing language arts assignments.

> [When] she got more used to me, she started to come [to me frequently], but I also made a point to say, and I made a point more to keep, 'Two or three times [in a class time], OK?' But what are we supposed to do?
> (Interview with Tulip Teacher, 12/16/09)

It is true that children and teachers do not always agree on what to express and how to talk. However, in most classroom discourse, though peers can talk to one another, it is often the teacher who responds, expressing appreciation, confusion, or criticism (Cazden, 2001, p.13). In other words, if it is hard for a teacher to make a connection with a child or interpret her meanings, the teacher's lack of familiarity will bring about less responsiveness or, in worse cases, misinterpretation of the child's communicative intent.

> Familiarity helps adults to interpret little children's meaning, and their communications. It also enables them to help children connect together different aspects of their experience…. Familiarity thus facilitates not only attachment, but responsiveness… [and] responsiveness also plays an important part in learning – it is essential if an interactive sequence is to be sustained and if a high level of social skills is to be developed…. Aspects of children's intellectual functioning thus seem to be

> intimately related to the social relationships in which they are embedded (Cazden, 2001, p.17).

Haeri and her teacher had cultural differences. Haeri seemed not perfectly understand what the teacher wanted her to do in language arts. Cazden (2001) argued that teachers' lack of comprehension or appreciation is often related to cultural differences between child and teacher, as many occur, for instance, when White teachers communicate with Black children.

Mary told me that she had clear expectations for most of her children, and knew how much that they could do in terms of their academic capabilities, because, as she said, "I know what my house looks like when I go home, you know." However, when we discussed Heari, Mary told me, "I did [try to get her to be] bring a little more confidence, 'cause I wasn't sure with 'Do you speak English at home, you know, what do you do [at home]'?" (Interview with Tulip teacher, 12/16/09)" Mary wanted Haeri to feel confident in her learning and to adjust well in her schooling, but she sensed that there were differences between Heari's home environment and her own. Mary, a mother of two elementary aged children, had worked in the neighborhood with young children for many years. She knew exactly what the mainstream children needed from her and how to connect with them. She regularly corresponded with parents via emails and said, "I don't know if you heard them [students], they call me [at times] their mom." In fact, she stated, "We're all here together, like a small family, people are to respect, then, we also have a job [we're] responsible for, [that is], what make a classroom work" (Interview with Tulip Teacher, 12/16/09).

With only one year of experience at a U.S. elementary school, Haeri might have felt that she need time to come to know the world of the school life and get used to the

classroom environment. Perhaps this is why Haeri seemed dependent on Mary for understanding what the other children were doing in the classroom. But the teacher expected all the students to be independent learners, including Heari.

At a recess in the school playground, Haeri was a very interesting child to watch. She was attentive and alert in class, and tried to do her class activities. She always complied quietly with Mary's instructions and the class discussion. But, she was much livelier than other children on the playground. She laughed, talked and ran all the time with other children. She pumped the swing on the swing set very hard, as if to see more of the world. She often played with two Korean girls, who had just arrived in Elmwood City from South Korea.

The language she used on the playground was also different. In class she spoke English softly. On the playground, she spoke Korean with the two Korean girls in a confident voice. They laughed with each other about silly things. I could tell, by her action and tone of voice, that she was truly a "leader" of the group. She told the two girls what to do and what their roles should be in the games they played. Though the two other girls spoke Korean more competently, Haeri was more accustomed to American culture. For example, when the three Korean girls decided to play 'hide and seek' (of course, Haeri wanted to play) they played 'rock, paper, scissors' to determine turns. Then, Haeri declared the winner to be the 'seeker,' a rule she spontaneously made. Though the girl quivered her lips for a moment, she assumed her role as appointed by Heari (Tulip Classroom Observation # 4, 11/04/09).

At the cafeteria, Haeri greeted the Korean girls she had just played with in the playground with a big smile. They said "Hi!" a bit awkwardly in English, and passed by

each other. The girls went to the other side of the bench and Haeri sat with other classmates in assigned seats for her class. Haeri sat by Jihwa, and in front of her, Lisa opened her home-made lunch.

So far, I discussed cultural context of language learning at a Tulip elementary language arts classroom in which Haeri studied with other children. I tried to account for how the teacher disciplined, encouraged, and controlled the class with culturally appropriate practice. Haeri seemed to try to learn how to follow the classroom norm, rules, and decorum. She also showed her sense of living in the two different worlds through her drawing.

Minsu's ELL (English Language Learning) Classroom

Minsu's ELL program intended to help the children adjust well to their new school setting and to study content subjects using English. The ELL students, including Minsu, came to the ELL classroom in the morning. The teacher designed projects for the children that encouraged them to learn by doing. The cultural context of the ELL class was defined by a small teacher-student ratio that expedited classroom learning. In the next section, before I describe class activities, I present three Korean mothers' views on the ELL program that I analyzed from their interviews.

Korean Mother's Attitude toward ELL Program

연구자: ELL 교실에서 공부하는 거는 어때, 민수는?

민수: 안.. 좋아.

연구자: 왜 안 좋아?

민수: (무반응)

Seon: How do you like studying in your ELL classroom, Minsu?

Minsu: Well… I do not like it.

Seon: Why you don't like it?

Minsu: (No response)

(Korean classroom observation, 10/17/09)

Minsu had spent only eight weeks in his ELL class at Broadway Elementary School when I asked how he liked his classroom. Although he answered very briefly and with less confidence when I first asked him, at the end of the informal interview, he told me that he was aware that his elementary school was soon to be closed. He also mentioned that the ELL program was something for bad students. Minsu's evaluation of his school and ELL program, I assume, was that he was pulled out every morning from his regular classroom to participate in the program. He thought that this happened to "bad students," who could not speak English very well. What he meant by "bad school" was that the school was scheduled to be closed in 2012, and there should be some reason why the school must be closed down. I believe this view of his ELL program as well as the school closing probably came from adult comments he heard.

An opinionated view of ELL programs for newly arrived immigrant children existed among the Korean immigrant parents with whom I spoke. They believed that their children should not remain in the ELL program much longer, and an early exit from the program to enter the regular school program was considered the ideal course.

The ELL program in the United States began in fact to protect students who speak English-as-a-second language and provide them extra effort to help their English learning. The purpose of the ELL program was to enforce the Civil Rights Act (1964) that stipulates, "No person shall be subjected to discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." In other words, in order to provide equal educational opportunities to language minority

children, school districts must provide assistance for programs designed to meet the needs of limited English proficient students. Educational services such as ELL programs in American public schools were established to provide children who were not able to speak and understand the English language with the adequate English instructional procedures for effective participation during their school years. In the Supreme Court decision of Lau v. Nichols (1974), Justice Douglas stated:

> Basic English skills are at the very core of what the public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experience totally incomprehensible and in no way meaningful.

The court ruling implied that schools need to provide the affirmative educational programs for students who do not understand English sufficiently for schooling. Since then, ELL (formally called ESL) programs were established in many states to facilitate children's English learning to gain access to the school curriculum (Wong-Fillmore, 2000).

Korean parents in this study expressed their own understandings about the ELL program. Minsu's mother, Sujin, told me that the school had quite a lot of foreign students like Minsu, and she felt that her and her husband's limited English language skills somehow affected their children's education. The couple felt that they cannot support enough their two sons' education because they did not know American culture, nor English. The parents were concerned about Minsu's English proficiency but, unlike other Korean parents who hired a paid tutor for their child, Minsu's mother and father were hesitant to do so, partly concerned that Minsu might get stressed out and end up disliking English, and partly because Minsu's teachers kept telling them that Minsu was

doing fine in school. But Minsu's mother was not quite convinced by the comments of the teachers.

> 수진: Tutor 도 안 붙이고, 뭐 어떤 데도 안 보내고 그냥 학교에서 하는 데로만 영어를 배우고, 미국 선생님들은 그렇게 하면 된다고 계속 얘기를 하시거든요. 집에서는 한국어만 써라, 그 대신 학교 오면 영어를 쓰게 해라. 계속 그런 말씀만 하시고. 특별히 tutor 도 필요 없다,(과외)공부도 필요 없다, 그러시더라고요.
>
> 연구자: 그런 말씀을 들었을 때 어머님은 어떤 생각이 드셨어요?
>
> 수진: 솔직히 반신반의. 그렇게 하면 시간이 너무 오래 걸릴 것 같아서.
>
> Sujin: American teachers at school kept telling us that there is no need to hire a private tutor, no need to send [Minsu] to an institution of extra working on English. They told us that English at school would be sufficient for him to catch up with his schooling. They also advised us to keep speaking Korean at home but let him know that he should use English at school. We were told this kind of recommendation constantly since Minsu started the school. Teachers told us, "[you don't] no need a tutor, [you don't] need [to do] extra work."
>
> Seon: What do you think about their recommendation?
>
> Sujin: Well, to be frank with you, I personally think that it will take too long.
>
> (Interview with Sujin, 1/23/10)

Sujin was not fully convinced that Minsu would improve if he just stayed in the ELL program, because she was told that Minsu was not enthusiastic in participating the class activities, especially English writing. Then the teacher told her that it would take time for him to write well in English and that he could perform well in other subjects only if he could achieve better in English (Interview with Sujin, 1/23/10). Therefore, Sujin felt a contradiction between the teachers' recommendation and their evaluation of Minsu's academic achievement.

Jeewon, Yumi's mother, also expressed her thoughts on the ELL program:

> 우리 애들이 학교에서 ELL Course 를 듣는 애들이 아니라서… 처음부터 애들이 다 영어만 해서 걱정이었던 엄마였기 때문에, 저는 상황이 좀 다른 것 같긴 해요. 제가 아는 Springville 에 많은 엄마들이… ELL course 를 듣는 애들 tutoring 도 따로 하더라구요. 그 얘기는 학교 교육으로 만으로는 안 된다는 얘기죠. 그 얘기는 빠른 시간 안에 따라 잡고 싶은 마음도 있겠지만 ELL 만으로는 안 된다는 생각도 하는 거죠.
>
> My situation is somewhat different from others because our children are not enrolled in the ELL course at school. I was more concerned about the fact that they speak English all the time… As far as I know, almost all the Korean mothers who recently came from South Korea at Springville hired private tutors for their children. This means that school education (ELL program) alone is not sufficient for their child (to improve English). This means that they probably wish to catch up with the school work as fast as they could, but they also believed ELL program alone could not help their child to learn English.
>
> (Interview with Jeewon, 11/05/09)

Jeewon's description of how newly arrived mothers anxiously want to get their children out of ELL programs indicates that in many cases Korean parents do not really appreciate the program or would even try to avoid the program if they could.

Junho was enrolled for one academic year (kindergarten) in an ELL program. Junho's parents described their experience when they worked well with the ELL teacher and the program to improve Junho's English as he began his elementary school year. Eunyoung and her husband asked Junho's ELL teacher about reading bedtime stories in English with Junho.

> Lakewood 다닐 때 준호도 ELL 을 했거든요… 영어책은 잘 때마다 아빠가 읽어 주거든요. 준호 아빠도 자기가 발음이 안 좋으니까, 준호가 자기 발음을 따라 할까 봐 [준호에게 영어책을] "읽어 줘도 되냐?"고 ELL 선생님께 여쭤보니, 그 선생님은 "괜찮다"고 "얼마든지 읽어 주라"고 해서 그때부터 지금껏 계속 자기 전에 한 20 분씩은 [준호 아빠와 준호가]함께 읽어요.
>
> Junho got enrolled in the ELL program at Lakewood elementary… Junho's father read English books to him. His dad had an accent in his English pronunciation, so we worried if Junho was following his accent. (When we had a conference with) his ELL teacher, we asked about it and the teacher said, "It is quite all right." She

> encouraged us to "read to him as often as we could." Since then, Junho and his dad have continually been reading together for about 20 minutes before he goes to sleep.
>
> (Interview with Eunyoung, 11/09/09)

Eunyoung also conveyed her thoughts about the relationship between language learning and the cognitive development of young children. She seemed to acquire her knowledge when she met with the ELL teacher at a parent-teacher conference in Lakewood during the 2008 school year.

> 영어를 완벽하게 하기 전에 계속 자기네 모국어로 말을 많이 해 줘야 그 어휘를 가지고 있어야, 영어도 빨리 받아들일 수 있다고 그렇게 했거든요. 그 말이 맞는 것 같아요. 언어라는 게 준호가 지금 성장하는 단계라서 계속 발전 하고 있는 거잖아요? 논리적으로 생각할 수 있게, 지적으로 성장해갈 때 도움이 될 것 같은데… 그러니까, 영어든 한국어이든지 간에 언어를 잘 한다는 게. 그 논리력 같은.. [얘가 지금 발달하고 있는 상태니까] 그런 게 도움이 되지 않을까요? 생각하는 것도 더 깊게 할 수 있고 한국말도 더 풍부하게 잘 하면 얘가 미국에서 영어를 사용할 때도 금방 이해를 할 수 있을 것 같아요.
>
> I've been told [by the ELL teacher] that [Junho] needed to use his mother tongue as much as he could in every possible occasion, that he must keep his Korean words before he learn to speak English fluently as his second language. I think that makes sense. Since Junho is now in a process of development physically and emotionally, so does his language development. [Thus, I think language development can contribute to] thinking logically and intellectually. Therefore, it doesn't matter whether it is Korean or English, language can help him to think since he is still young. I think Korean language can help him to think maturely and it also can help him to use and understand English better and quicker.
>
> (Interview with Eunyoung, 11/09/09)

Eunyoung understood well how young school aged children learn language and the importance of the relationship between first and second languages for bilingual children. She gave me a detailed explanation. I believe that the close partnership between Junho's parents and the ELL teacher had helped Junho learn English in ELL classroom in one year, at which time he was able to exit the program.

Teaching Philosophy and Goals of the ELL Teacher

The ELL teacher, Angela, was a Caucasian female, who often wore jeans and a tee-shirt with running shoes. Her voice was soft and her pronunciation was clearly articulated. I observed her teaching English to children who barely spoke the language. She had lived in Italy and Germany, as well as all over the U.S., and had traveled in many different countries. Her frequent conversations with people who don't speak her language and hearing them through their accents helped her to work with children who don't speak English. She understood the struggle of her ELL students:

> These children are young and brand new at English. If I could get their confidence up to try to speak and Minsu actually has a lot of confidence but some of the children are silent or very quiet. And I want them to have the confidence to try … another language and we're trying to catch them up to their regular rooms so that after, probably after two years, I think, the idea is that they would just be matching their peers and go forward.
>
> (Interview with ELL teacher, 11/09/09)

Although she followed the district curriculum, her main emphasis in teaching was building confidence in learning English so that the students could catch up with their English speaking peers and be able to communicate with them effortlessly. She also underscored learning language and content. Angela had clear teaching priorities. She believed children needed the ability to speak English in order to succeed at everything else in school. They needed to read and write in English and to express themselves with confidence. Angela thought the ELL children should be able to tell people what they wanted, what they needed, what was bothering them, and the like. She said, "Without the reading part, they'll be lost even in math, science, and social studies" (Interview with ELL teacher, 11/09/09). Her ways of explaining how language learning should occur triggered my interest. Her view was that ELL learners ought to be able to read and write

in English, not for their school work only, but also for their overall school lives, and that learning and speaking English was directly related to issues of personal safety, human relations, and human dignity.

In reference to a child like Minsu, Angela said, "If he's going to be fluent in two languages, no matter what he does**,** it's a gift, such a gift." She understood that being a bilingual is a wonderful gift that parents give to their children. She was certain that parents who came from a different culture or place never want their children to lose their native language. Angela's sister, who was married to a Dane and lived now in Denmark, worked very hard to make sure her children were bilinguals. At the same time, she considered speaking English to be a valuable life skill, and saw English as the global language, in the business world and in higher education.

Angela understood how hard it was for her students to keep up with two languages. She was keenly aware of the time limitation for her students, meaning that they must be out of the ELL program within two years of enrollment. At that point, they would be considered proficient enough to keep up with the subject matter. Minsu was a first grader who was studying to read and write in English; she considered the content in his ELL program to be parallel to what his peers were learning in their English language arts class across the room. According to Angela, Minsu was fortunate because as children moved into upper grades, it became more difficult to learn reading and writing in English in the ELL program, and also to catch up with complex content, such as science and social studies in their home rooms.

Delivering Class Instruction in the ELL Classroom

The Broadway ELL classroom was busy every morning between 8:35 a.m. and 9:45 a.m. There were six children: two were kindergarteners adopted from Ethiopia, Africa, and four were first graders from Japan and South Korea. Angela usually went to the kindergarten and first grade classrooms to bring the children to their ELL classroom. The children, including Minsu, were invited in the ELL classroom every morning and worked with Angela on learning English.

In his definition of a community of learners, Schwab (1978) wrote:

> Human learning is a communal enterprise. The knowledge we learn has been garnered by a community of which we are only the most recent members and is conveyed by language of work and gesture, devised, preserved, and passed on to us by that community.… Even experience as a form of learning becomes experience only as it is shared and given meaning by transactions with fellow human beings (p. 37-38).

Deeply influenced by Dewey, Schwab perceived that all human learning is based on community activities. There must convey meaningful interactions between the learners in a learning community. Learners gain knowledge with language or gesture commonly used in the community to deliver meaningful communication. As Schwab stated, when learners create community, it is "not merely a matter of place, a village or small town, but a body of propensities toward action and feeling, propensities which can be expressed in many social circumstances" (p. 37).

The ELL classroom where Minsu studied his English everyday could be considered a learning community. Although very limited in oral skills, Minsu used English to engage in meaningful communication with peers and the teacher in the classroom. Learning activities in the ELL classroom exemplified "learning by doing" in Dewey's progressive theory (1897, 1902). Thinking and doing seemed to be seamlessly

connected, and each child in the classroom was focused, reflective, and excited, which obviously led them to learn. Examples I found in terms of what the teacher taught in the ELL classroom were projects about pumpkins and color mixing.

Pumpkin Project

On a previous day, Angela had prepared a pumpkin by opening the top so that the children could put their hands inside and compare the inside to the firm outside surface. One by one, each child put his or her hand into the pumpkin and giggled. When the time came, Minsu put his hand inside and hollered, "Yuck!" The objective of the class was to speak and write adjectives regarding "touching."

> Teacher: What parts of your body do you use in your touching?
>
> Minsu: Pumpkin!
>
> Teacher: No! Which parts of your body do you use when you're touching?
>
> All students: (No response)
>
> Teacher: Today, we're talking about the sense of touching. How does it feel? … (As she touches materials in front of her desk, and gives a look to each student) It feels rough, soft, and silky. (ELL class observation #3, 10/30/09)

There were different materials displayed on the table, and Angela talked about the "sense of touching." The class repeated Angela's questions with various adjectives or verbs that could be modified depending on the situation or example. Two Japanese children, Ida and Aiko, talked quite frequently in Japanese to each other. They seemed to be fascinated by touching various materials with different expressions in English. Meanwhile, Minsu showed a particular interest in the word, "squishy." Angela picked up a balloon and started to blow it up. She gave it to Minsu so he could poke it with his finger as she keeps saying the word, "squishy" to him. In response, he smiled and

followed what she was saying, "squishy." Then, to my surprise, he finally made a sentence, "I *feel* squishy!"

The next phase of the class was to write the adjectives they had learned. The children made their own books in which they wrote some "feeling" words along with attaching related materials, such as cotton, a silky cloth, a balloon, and a safety pin. The children needed to complete a sentence that explained, "It feels _____." on each page of the stapled book after experimenting each material displayed on the table.

During the book-making activity, the children needed to share their school supplies, such as glue sticks, staplers, colored markers, and tape. The following excerpt shows an interaction between Minsu and Angela. At the time this event occurred, Minsu had spent about ten weeks learning English. His early utterances in English were limited to one-word expressions. The requirement to share class supplies meant he had to communicate with his peers. When he spoke in one-word to communicate, Angela suggested proper expressions in English. In the interview, Angela said that this kind of individual attention to each child was probably only possible in an ELL setting, perhaps not in their regular classrooms.

> Minsu: (asking Ida to hand a tape over) You!
>
> Teacher: Minsu, use your word, when you ask!
>
> Minsu: You!
>
> Teacher: Would you like to have a new piece of tape?
>
> Minsu: Yes!
>
> Teacher: May I have a new piece of tape?
>
> Minsu: (Now, he seems to understand Angela) May I- haVe A-new pieCe -of -A-taPe?
>
> Teacher: Yes, you may.

> Minsu: uh-, uh-, (showing cotton in his hand to Angela) this is soft. Soft is where?
>
> (ELL class observation #3, 10/30/09)

Minsu used conventional Korean syntax, Complement-Verb-Subject (CVS) in the second part of question, "This is soft, soft is where?" Translated into Korean, the sentence is, "부드러운거(soft) 두는게 (is) 어디인데요 (where)?" Minsu also adopted Korean word order as he tried to make a simple English question. In the excerpt above, he said, "May I- haVe A-new pieCe -of A-taPe?" to Angela. The capitalized parts of the sentence were exaggerated since he spoke the English sentence with Korean syllabic pronunciation. Well known second language acquisition scholar, Gass wrote in *Language Transfer and Universal Grammatical Relations* (1979) that English language learners like Minsu often transfer elements of their native language onto the speech patterns of the second language they learn. ELL students must be allowed to make grammatical errors (see also Seliker, 1972 and VanPattern, 2004) in order to produce well-structured, and flawless speaking in English later.

Minsu received positive feedback from Angela when he made sentences properly. For instance, when Minsu demanded tape from Ida by saying, "Tape!" or "Need a tape please!" Angela did not respond to him until Minsu said, "May I use the tape, please," Angela not only gave him tape, but also responded, "Yes, you may. Thank you for asking so nicely!" In the brief interaction between Angela and Minsu described above the teacher encouraged her student to form his own "inner criteria" for monitoring his own learning progression. Angela led Minsu discover what his mistakes were by allowing him to respond to her questions. At first, Minsu could not grasp what the teacher's intention was. Angela wanted him to use proper words when requesting to

other classmates. Minsu only responded, "You!" But, at the end of the excerpt, the teacher acknowledged his improved request for tape by praising him.

The class explored the five senses for two weeks so that the children became fully capable of speaking and writing words that related to the senses in English. The activities included reading a poem, *How much can I touch!*, all together in class. While reading the poem, they also circled key words (eyes, can, mine, ears, hand, etc.) to remember. As the children read aloud, "I can touch my elbow, I can touch my shoulders, I can touch my tummy, I can touch my nose…" Angela said, "Children, find the AND, underline it!" Angela often gave them encouraging words like "Good job," or "Wonderful!" when they all were doing individual work. Angela came next to Minsu and said, "Good job! But I didn't hear you, Minsu! You and I will do it. Ready? Let's go!" So, together they read the poem once again.

Exploring the Magic of Colors

It was my sixth visit to the ELL classroom (11/16/09) when I saw an example of a learning situation in which children expressed reflection, experimenting, and revision. Angela began by showing a picture to the children. She said, "When you look from far away, you will see the picture… if you look out of that (magnifier), you could see that individual dots!" Minsu had several guesses about what the picture was about. He first assumed that "This is my hou.. (house). It's picture!" Then he changed his mind and shouted, "This is monkey, Monkey! Monkey!" Angela kept talking to the children.

Teacher: (to the students) What can you see?

Minsu: VERY, VERY, VERY, VERY.

Teacher: Very, Very, Very, what?

Minsu: Oh, my goodness!

Teacher: Oh, my goodness what?

Minsu: Moun-ster-ss! This is.., this is.., Mon-moun-ster- wi[th]-four-eye!

(ELL classroom observation #6, 11/16/09)

With this sense of fascination from investigating a dotted picture, Angela and the children started to explore color mixing. There were several bottles filled with different colors of sand on the table and children started to mix one color with another. They waited eagerly to see how the color changed. As soon as they found that it transformed into another color, the class started buzzing.

Minsu: This is sand, this is easy sand!

Miyoung: 이거 모랜데, 색깔 모래야! [This is sand, but the colored sand!]

Teacher: Tell me in English, Miyoung!

(ELL classroom observation #6, 11/16/09)

Angela's request to Miyoung to speak English when she talked with Minsu was a gentle reminder. She and the children were very focused on the process of changing colors of the sands. When Angela was about to mix blue sand with red, Minsu said:

Minsu: Oh? My... Korean, This color is ....

Teacher: Flag! Korean flag!

Minsu: (he proudly nodded his head)

(Each child had his/her turn to mix the color in the jars.)

Teacher: Minsu, which color would you like to choose?

Minsu: My favorite color is blue! What about blue and red! (Then Angela mixed the two colors and Minsu exclaimed) Purple! (He was jumping up and down, showing his excitement)

(ELL classroom observation #6, 11/16/09)

On the day when the class experimented with color mixing, I witnessed the most active participation of the children, especially Minsu. Not only did he involve himself with great zeal of curiosity, but he also spoke some English sentences that I had never heard before during my observation.

Next is an excerpt from the follow-up interaction between Angela and Minsu when they discussed the colored sand experiment. It occurred when they moved to the other side of the classroom, near the sink. This time they were adding food coloring to a cup of water. Each student brought half a cup of water from the tap. They were ready to drop in colors of their choice. Angela started to combine two of the colors.

> Teacher: Another cup!
>
> Minsu: Sand in? (He found some sand in the cup)
>
> Teacher: Sand in the cup? Put it away. It's OK.
>
> Minsu: (Dumping off the sand in his cup) Put in more this color?
>
> Teacher: Do you want to do it again?
>
> Minsu: Big idea! Big idea!
>
> Teacher: Should we rinse this and do it again?
>
> Minsu: Sand!
>
> (ELL classroom observation #6, 11/16/09)

Minsu definitely wanted to put more colored sand into the cup to see it change colors. The children became so excited to find out the instant change of the colors in the water by dropping food coloring into water this time. They whispered to each other and I noticed that there was more frequent conversation among the children as well as with the teacher. Though the children's oral language still approximated conventional

grammatical features, in general, their grammar noticeably improved during the experiment.

> Teacher: What color would you make?
>
> Minsu: Purple!
>
> Teacher: How do you make purple now! OK, let's make a purple…. Now, put a red and a blue.
>
> Minsu: (Rather than answering, he started to add blue and red)
>
> Teacher: (Glancing at Minsu's cup) Put a little more blue in it!
>
> Minsu: (Mixed the colors in his cup) Purple! That's beautiful!
>
> Teacher: Now, let's mix any color.
>
> Minsu: (He mixed the colored water from the two cups) Black, mine black!
>
> (ELL classroom observation #6, 11/16/09)

As they sat back on their seats, Minsu exclaimed, with a beaming smile, "So fun!" This was the first time I heard him express that "Learning is fun!"

This observation caused me to think about how the liveliness of the atmosphere as well as verbal and nonverbal interaction increased in the class when the children were engaged in class activities they liked to do. Rather than text-based or drill-focused language instruction, educational transformation can be realized though inquiry-based classroom activities that connect what children do with how children think. This notion was further explicated when I considered characteristics of the language learning that occurred in the ELL classroom.

Characteristics of the ELL Classroom Language Learning

The characteristics of language learning in the ELL classroom were quite different than in the Korean and English language arts classrooms. As I analyzed data, I

realized that children in this program were very actively involved in the classroom activites. Representative examples are the design of the pull-out ELL program, and how the children code-switched or mixed the two languages, and communicated with approximations in English.

Pull-Out ELL Classroom Design

All six of the ELL students were in their first year of learning English at an American school. Perhaps for this reason, the children at times looked confused about what to do and where to pick up their class materials. There were two sections of instruction which Angela called "the kindergarten piece" and "the first grade piece." First, the children practiced a fairly simple and basic English language drill together. Then, around 9:15 am, the two kindergartners returned to their regular classroom and instruction continued for the first grade children. The first grade section usually lasted about half an hour until the class was discharged at 9:50 am. During the course of the ELL class, the children could go to the bathroom or get a drink of water with Angela's permission, but the class usually continued to move on once the Kindergartners left the class until 9:45 am.

Angela explained how the ELL curriculum in the Elmwood City district was organized. She informed me that it was classified by grade and by length of time in the program.

> So that's how we are divided, I think the whole Elmwood City schools, which ELL group you're in is determined by what grade you're in so that first and second, and then third through six, all make two different groups. And then how many years you've studied English. So put [what] your first years are studying English [here] and put something different in your second year of studying English here.
>
> (Interview with ELL teacher, 11/9/09)

Children are usually enrolled in the ELL program for two academic years. When she explained the relationship between English language proficiency and ELL students' academic success in public school, Angela said that the two are closely related:

> I think it's essential. Um, you know, right now these kids are very young, and we know they've just arrived, and we're very sensitive, and then we treat them kindly, we struggle to understand them. [But] I think there'll come a time, next year, or in a higher grade where people won't have the patience.
>
> (Interview with Angela, ELL teacher, 11/9/09)

Thus, the academic agenda is urgent for the newly arrived immigrant children, to learn English in order to follow their regular school work with other English speaking boys and girls in their regular classrooms. ELL programs like this are defined as subtractive (Lambert, 1977), meaning a second language, in this case English, replaces the children's first language. The result could be the loss of a first language in expense of acquiring English language (Wong-Fillmore, 1991, 2000).

I asked Angela about the length of time in the ELL classroom for a child like Minsu who doesn't have any knowledge of English and American culture.

> Seon: In that manner, how much time is enough for a child like Minsu to have this kind of program? Learn English?
>
> Angela: You mean how much time a day, or how many, how long?
>
> Seon: How many years?
>
> Angela: You know, I am not sure what the Elmwood school [district] philosophy is, but I've heard teachers say that in general in two years they should be out [of] this program in their regular room. Not that they would be perfect, but that they would be good enough to keep up with the subject matter, the content. So in the first grade, what he's learning with me is very parallel to what they learn in there, the other room, they're learning to read and write, even if they're native English speakers, but that will diverge more the older you are than in other rooms. There's content. The science units, social studies, history, and the reading and writing

> are just a tool that you need. So it must be a help that they're very young, I think the older ones have much more difficulty.
>
> (Interview with ELL teacher, 11/09/10)

Since there were only six children in Minsu's ELL class, it was possible for Angela to give individual attention; however a teacher who usually works with children in the regular classroom would not be able to have time and help Minsu understand. Therefore, the ELL program was essential for Minsu.

Code-Switching

During my third observation (10/30/09), when Angela read a story to the children, I heard Minsu and Miyoung whispering in Korean. His interaction with Miyoung drew my attention. They frequently had conversations in Korean. Often they switched languages between Korean and English in their dialogue, and the teacher did not usually stop them as long as they were concentrating on class activities. They were the same age, in the same classes at school, and came to the U.S. at the same time, in August 2009.

Grosjean (1982) tried to determine when, with whom, and why codeswitching takes place. One reason for switching from one language to another is when speakers are not be able to properly express themselves in their newly acquiring second language, and need to switch to their first language to deliver their communicative intent. Codeswitching should not be considered a language deficient behavior but an alternative strategy for those who learn their second language (Chung, 2006; Shin, 2005).

I found that Minsu and Miyoung code-switched from English to Korean as they needed in classes I observed at Broadway Elementary. Minsu found some Korean books in his ELL classroom. He opened them up and examined them carefully. Then Minsu took them to Miyoung. The two started to talk about the books. Glancing at it for only a

second, Miyoung said, "이거 진짜 재미 없다 [It was really boring]." Minsu showed another book to Miyoung and she said, "어, 나 이거 한국말로 봤는데 [Uh, I've already read it in Korean].

When Angela approached them, Minsu asked her, "Teacher, *this Korean*?" Minsu's approximation conveyed several possible meanings. It could mean, "Teacher, I can't believe that I found *this Korean* book in this classroom!", or "Teacher, can you also read *this Korean* book?" He may have meant, "Teacher, can I read *this Korean* book?" What he wanted to tell the teacher was that he was surprised to find a Korean book in his English language learning classroom. His English language competency was still at a low level at that time, so he could only say, "Teacher, this Korean?" Yet this short sentence implied deep messages that he desired to deliver to his ELL teacher (ELL Classroom field note # 3, 10/30/09).

Beginning Communication in English

There were moments when Minsu delivered messages in English to all the children in his ELL class. When I entered the ELL classroom on my fourth visit, Angela was in her teacher's chair at the center of the classroom with four children. Minsu was talking with Miyoung. Miyoung told Minsu in Korean, "이거 니꺼잖아! [This is yours, isn't it?]" Minsu shouted at other students, not to Miyoung, in English, "Binder is new one!" as he turned around toward them (Broadway ELL class observation #4, 11/ 06/09). When the class investigated primary colors by drawing dotted pictures, Angela asked the children to stop touching the markers. Minsu stopped and turned to Ida who kept touching them in spite of Angela's warning. Minsu told Ida decisively, "No michael [markers], No michael [markers]!"

Minsu was very active and engaged in class activities at the ELL program, unlike in other classes where I observed him. He did say many words neither in his Physical Education class nor in his Math class. He did not talk a lot when he was on the playground during recess or at the school cafeteria for lunch. I asked Alison, one of his classmates from Mrs. Brenda's class, if she ever talked with Minsu. She said, "Well, we kind of do sometimes." And she shrugged her shoulders.

However, Minsu was not shy about expressing his emotions and knowledge in the ELL classroom. Though his sentences were far from grammatically correct, after about six weeks he was able to produce one or two words sentences such as: "What?" "Yummy!" "Teacher!", "No! No! No!" "A leaf!" These early examples of Minsu's English do not even reveal approximated grammar; they are too short to require grammar. But Minsu was relaxed enough in the classroom to produce elementary chunk of words that were meaningful to him.

By October, when the class talked about Halloween costumes for the school parade, Minsu was speaking in sentences with several words that did reflect approximated grammar. At one visit, he talked about his brother's Halloween outfit. He said, "My brother is muscle!" At first, Angela and Miyoung both understood that he wanted to say, "My brother HAS muscle" but he really wanted to explain that his little brother would be an action figure muscle man for the Halloween party (Broadway ELL class observation #4, 10/ 06/09).

Cultural Context Language Learning in Broadway

The Broadway elementary school song reflected the purpose of the school. It emphasized the value of a good education as a basic foundation to make a better nation. I

spotted volunteers, senior citizens, parents, and student teachers in various school areas (e.g., playground, gym, and lunch serving area). They seemed to spent time in the building to help students to do better in their academic achievement as well as to build on a positive learning environment.

Broadway contained many signs and banners expressing a value of reading and writing in English. In the ELL classroom, there were several signs of ELL expectations on the wall. One of the ELL expectations was "Learning at the carpets, desks, and tables." This indicated that the whole space in the classroom should be used by students to learn English. Especially, at the door of the classroom, the expectation of "Respectful, responsible, safe" was written on a paper and typed on the wall. When the students misbehaved I heard Angela, in a firm voice say, "That is not acceptable!" In many cases, when she characterized behavior according to what was acceptable and what was not acceptable in the ELL classroom.

When the ELL class learned how to say words related to the five senses, Angela brought pumpkin bread so that the class could try American food. Minsu had a slice but seemed to not want to eat. He started to play with it. Looking at what he was doing, Angela told him, "Minsu, you don't have to finish it, but throw it to the garbage." As Minsu took the plate, Angela told him, "Minsu, say, 'May I be excused, please'" (Classroom observational note #3, 10/30/09). Giving verbal examples of how to respond culturally appropriate norms was often made by the teacher in the ELL classroom.

Chapter Summary

Exploring two Korean children English learning classrooms, and describing classroom tasks, I was able to perceive some sense of what was expected from them in

their U.S. schools and what they might be capable of at different stages in their language development throughout their schooling. In reviewing Heari's language arts class, I learned that classroom culture influences the expectations of the students and the teacher. In addition, I understood Heari's performance in her language arts class as she interacted with her peers and the teacher. Haeri, who was active in Korean classroom within a traditional hierarchical social structure, proved to be rather passive and deferential in interactions with her teacher and peers in her U.S. classroom. Her teacher, Mary, revealed that Haeri appeared to be shy and quiet in class activities. Haeri also revealed that she was a leader on the school playground with other newly arrived Korean girls. Not only did Haeri need to learn English language, but Haeri also tried to learn cultural expectations about student-teacher relationships and interactional styles during her language arts class.

Minsu was a new arrival who was learning English in an ELL classroom. As I observed his initial stage of learning English as a second language, I learned how he tried to engage in meaningful communication with his highly constrained English vocabulary. He was often frustrated, misunderstood, and corrected when he spoke, presented, and communicated in the ELL classroom. But he also used codeswitching to deliver his intended communication with another Korean girl in the classroom. He turned out to be an active learner, curious, and unafraid to ask questions. The classroom learning atmosphere also expedited Minsu's learning English and American culture, particularly the small teacher-student ratio and the project curriculum that emphasized "learning by doing."

It is not hard to predict that children whose home languages are different from the language of their schools represent different levels of English language proficiency and skills. We need to understand these children and their progression through bilingual development so as to help this group of children in their public school setting.

CHAPTER VI
KOREAN CHILDREN'S TWO LANGUAGE LEARNING

In this study I observed five Korean immigrant children in their Korean language school classroom to see how they learned their heritage language, Korean. I then followed two of the children, Haeri and Minsu, into their local public schools to see how they learned their second language, English. Heari was learning English with her English speaking teacher and classmates in a school I called Tulip Elementary. Minsu was learning English in an English Language Learning pull-out program where he was increasing his proficiency in English and acculturating to American culture. I answered the research questions:

1. How do two Korean children learn English in their American public school classroom? What are distinctive features or characteristics of language learning and performances in their English speaking classrooms?
2. How do two Korean children learn English in their American public school classroom? What are distinctive features or characteristics of language learning in their English speaking classrooms?

Table 6.1 presents a summary of the categories I generated from my classroom observations and interviews with the three teachers. Following the table, I synthesize these ideas across the three classrooms and draw conclusions about the children's language learning experiences.

Table 6.1 Categories in Language Teaching and Learning in the Three Classrooms

Categories	Korean School Classroom	Heari's Language Arts Classroom	Minsu's ELL Classroom
Teacher's Teaching Philosophy and Goals	To prioritize students learn Korean skills; to emphasize Koreanness	To help students become independent learners	To adjust to their school life; to study varied subjects using English
Delivering Class Instruction	Class rituals, such as roll call and agenda of the day; importance of doing homework	Independent learning; being an expert in the class activity	"Learning by doing" projects
Characteristics of Language Learning	Mastering alphabet and spelling conventions; phonological processing and letter development	Book club activity; doing "homework" in the classroom	Pull-out ELL program; code-switching; approximations in English
Cultural Context of Language Teaching and Learning	Testing rote-memorization; learning Korean honorifics; language about Korean history	Appropriate way of behaving in according to classroom etiquette and rules of decorum	Small teacher-student ratio (1-6)

Teachers' Teaching Philosophies and Goals

In this section, I want to review the three teachers' teaching philosophies and goals in light of my research questions. Youngson, the Korean classroom teacher, had educational expectations for how her students should prepare for the class and what should be taught. She expressed a teaching philosophy centered on building spontaneous human relationships with young children in their elementary school years. She described teaching as an art, and emphasized valuing students' diverse perspectives and respecting them as independent human beings. However, her teaching style epitomized her

"Koreanness," or a typical Korean approach to instruction. She taught the children Korean as if language was an easily and quickly acquired collection of pieces of information. She considered her Korean pedagogy a way of teaching Korean culture.

Heari's language arts classroom teacher, Mary, also set the goal that the children should become independent learners, but Mary urged the children to be leaders and to seek out their peers as experts to help each other. She also considered herself as a multi-role performer to accommodate the children's learning and well-beings. She expressed that each student in her classroom should take initiative in learning and be considerate not to disrupt others' learning in the classroom.

Minsu's ELL classroom was also conducted according to the goals and philosophy of the teacher, Angela. Angela expressed that she wanted the children to adjust well to their new school life as well as study varied subjects using English. She helped the students' transition to their new school by letting them know what is acceptable in terms of American school culture. She created dynamic and active learning "projects" that helped the children attach new English vocabulary to real experiences.

Delivering Class Instruction

Class rituals and stressing the importance of doing homework were key features of instruction in the Korean classroom. Youngson checked the children's homework thoroughly at the beginning of each class. Although she encouraged the students' achievement, she more often than not pushed them to work more and harder so as to reach "the perfect" score on their frequent tests.

In Heari's classroom, all the children were free to move around and talk while doing their activities. Mary's class spent about twenty minutes every morning in a class

meeting when the class asked questions and discussed topics. Mary frequently used positive comments. She wanted them to know they were all there together, like a small family and should respect each other. She put great emphasis on children being responsible for the classroom functioning well. Mary's vision was that all her students would become independent learners.

In Angela's ELL classroom, where Minsu learned his first English, children "learned by doing." Students, including Minsu, showed active class participations through spontaneous inquiries to the teacher with their limited English. Throughout the class activities, I noticed that Minsu was able to make English sentences frequently.

Characteristics of Language Learning

Language learning in the Korean classroom basically meant performing the Korean syllabic system, from simple combinations to complex syllabic groupings. Although the children's Korean language skills varied, they all experienced difficulties in Korean word recognition in their writing. Some features, like Korean honorific expressions, were particularly challenging. Though the children spent quite a lot of time reading and writing Korean, they often showed frustration, perhaps due to the lack of Korean literacy in their everyday contexts.

The teacher put great effort into teaching the children to learn Korean letter spelling correctly so the class was heavily allotted to rote-memorization of word-level units in Korean. Although the teacher utilized various teaching methods such as pair evaluating, vocabulary guessing games, cross-word puzzles, group discussions, in-class presentations, etc., she expected her students to prepare for her class by accomplishing

homework assignments that would improve their performance on rote-memorization tests given at the beginning of the class.

Language learning in Heari's language arts class occurred during small group book club activities and individual activities. The teacher planned to teach what was needed, but she was excellent at catching a teachable moment if it occurred. Therefore, the book club activity seemed to be a time of dynamic and spontaneous engagement between the teacher and the small group students. While doing the individual "homework," the class was asked to behave (e.g., keep voice down, do not bother others, etc.) according to the expectations of the classroom teacher, so Haeri learned culturally-specific ways of behaving in the context of learning English in the language arts classroom.

In the ELL classroom where Minsu studied English, code-switching and approximations in English were evident in the novice language learners' practice. Allowing code-switching helped the children's easy transition to a new language. Minsu also actively engaged in conversation with the teacher even when he was only able to use one or two word sentences in order to deliver his communicative intent. This learning atmosphere greatly contributed Minsu's active learning in his ELL classroom.

Cultural Context of Language Teaching and Learning

From the children, I learned that they did not come to the school with "nothingness" of language and culture. Rather, they participated in learning activities and they were equipped with the knowledge of basic Korean characters before they joined the Korean school. At times the children showed some struggles and difficulties in performing rote-memorization tests, knowing Korean honorific forms, and mastering

basic syllabic letter writing in Korean. The practice of emphasizing dictation tests and rote-memorization, and the treatment of honorific forms reflecting the hierarchical system of Korean society are examples of culturally embedded language practice.

Heari's classroom culture influenced student and teacher expectations. She actively participated in the activities of the Korean classroom within the traditional Korean hierarchical social structure, she was rather passive and deferential in her interactions with her teacher and peers in the language arts classroom, and she revealed herself to be a leader on the playground with other newly arrived Korean girls. When learning English in her language arts classroom, Heari tried to accommodate the expectations of a classroom and school culture that were different from her home culture. She worked diligently to accomplish each class activity, although at times, she seemed puzzled about what to do. She was born and raised in the United States, but seemed to have difficulties in transplanting her life from her Korean home culture to school. It is not unusual for immigrant children to undergo this challenge of translating the knowledge of the familiar in one domain into the other (Heath, 1983/1996).

Minsu was a new arrival, learning English in the ELL classroom. In his initial stage of learning English as a second language, Minsu tried to communicate meaningfully with a highly constrained English vocabulary. At times, he showed frustration at not making himself clear in his behavior, but most of the time he proved himself an active participant in the ELL program. The classroom learning atmosphere also helped Minsu learn English and American culture due to the small teacher-student ratio (1-6) as well as classroom teaching practice based on the "learning by doing" curriculum.

Dual Frames of Reference in the Language Development of the Korean Immigrant Children

Following the two Korean children to see how they learn English in their public school classrooms, I learned these children experienced a different set of norms, expectations, and class orientations in their English classrooms from those in the Korean language class. The process of Korean language learning and the children's development of their sense of selves can be closely related to each other. If they stop developing further in their heritage language, then their social identity as Korean immigrants can be affected, and vice versa. In other words, the Korean immigrant children need to frame Korean as their cultural reference to construct and consolidate their Korean social identity. And, the Korean language school can be a place to help them develop their Korean language and culture while living in America.

The children's goal in the Korean language classroom was to learn Korean language and Korean cultural behavior, to enable them to maintain cultural and language differences as markers of their collective Korean identity in the Korean immigrant community. I came to understand that the Korean classroom played an important role in retaining the children's heritage language, and contributed to their social identity as transnational immigrants. The interaction between the Korean teacher and the Korean children in the classroom was one example. Through the class learning activities, teachers and students not only made up meanings of the community to which they belonged, they also built upon the assumptions of a shared world view. In other words, the five children in the Korean classroom I observed gradually seemed to understand what was said and what was not said, and what was represented and what was assumed as

they became more engaged in the class activities. Thus, as they were building social relationships based upon their interaction with the teacher, and between one another, they shaped a kind of learning community through mutual collaboration and negotiation.

Along with the transnational lifestyle of some of the Korean immigrant families, the children need to frame and/or reframe their cultural sense of Koreaness as it spins around the Korean language. Since specific behavior patterns or depth of Korean language practice displayed differently in each household and to each child, their social identity as Korean immigrants is heterogeneous (Lew, 2006; Song, 2010); however, the frame of reference that emphasize their Koreanness is an outline commonly shared across these families.

During the group interview, the children said they needed to learn Korean for when they returned to Korea, but all the children told me that they definitely prefer to use English over Korean whenever possible – even Minsu who barely spoke English at the time of the observation and interview. Initiating a group interview with five children in their Korean classroom, I offered them to choose to speak between the two languages.

> Seon: You can either speak in English or Korean.
>
> All children: English! English! English!
>
> Seon: No, No, No. I mean, but 민수는 English 많이 못하니까, Korean 해도 돼. 그러니까 한국말 해도 되요, 알았지? [Minsu cannot speak very well in English; you may speak Korean. Understood, Minsu?]
>
> (Group interview with five children, 12/05/09)

I thought they switch codes between Korean and English if I offered to use them both. But they wanted most of the time during the group interview to use English. I then perused the transcripts of the interview data, and it made me sense given the linguistic

and cultural context of the children were in. For them, English is the language they use to do well at school, make friends, and find the way in social life.

Studies about language learning of Korean immigrant children show that children's attitudes toward language education are largely related to language ideologies about global English in South Korea (Park & King, 2003; Park, 2005; Park, 2008; Park & Abelmann, 2004; Shin, 2005; Song, 2010). Like many other countries around world, Korea uses English as a second language because it is considered an important communication tool, a means to acquire cosmopolitan membership (Park, 2008; Song, 2010). Because of how this powerful ideology positions English in the country, Korean transnational immigrant families cannot help but concentrate on learning and using English while residing in an English speaking country. Thus, Korean transnational families, both parents and children, are well aware of the importance of English education, and learning English language cannot be ignored in the children's language education.

The Korean immigrant children in this study needed to maintain the two languages simultaneously. For them, Korean is their first, home, and immigrant community language. Korean will become their main language if the children return to South Korea[11]. English development is also critical for them because it is their second, public, and school language. Thus, the children have dual frames of reference for language development: Korean is their means for sustaining a strong cultural frame of reference, and English is their academic frame of reference. In this study, I asked how

[11] Yumi, the third grader, returned to South Korea with her family in January 2011. Minsu and Junho may return to South Korea. Heari and Hyunchul may remain in the United States.

the children made use of the two languages in different frames, and I found that the Korean children took in language knowledge, tried it out, and internalized it.

Throughout this dissertation, I described how the classroom learning environments were critical for improving children's development in two languages. Through their schooling in local public elementary schools and the Korean Language School, the children developed Korean and English simultaneously. They learned languages in their classrooms, and also learned expectations about how to behave properly according to the cultural norms of the classrooms. Thus Korean and English played varied roles in the children's lives in their Korean school and their English schools, which may have impacted on their everyday lives and the future. They contributed to the process of bi-cultural identification, becoming transnational children. Therefore, I conclude that the two language learning experiences in the classroom settings were essential for the Korean immigrant children for maintaining their two languages.

APPENDIX A. RESEARCH TIMELINE

Table A1. Research Events and Activities

Mon/Day/Year	Research Events	Research Activities
4/13/09	Obtaining permission from IRB	Renewal IRB Form
9/30/09	Obtaining permission from IRB	IRB modification to collect at public school sites
10/10/09	Observation in a classroom	Korean Language School
10/14/09	Observation in a classroom	Tulip Elementary multi level (1st and 2nd) classroom
10/16/09	Observation in a classroom	Broadway Elementary ELL classroom & 1st grade classroom
10/17/09	Observation in a classroom	Korean Language School
10/21/09	Observation in a classroom	Tulip Elementary multi level (1st and 2nd) classroom
10/23/09	Observation in a classroom	Broadway Elementary ELL classroom & 1st grade classroom
10/24/09	Observation in a classroom	Korean Language School
10/28/09	Observation in a classroom	Tulip Elementary multi level (1st and 2nd) classroom
10/30/09	Observation in a classroom	Broadway Elementary ELL classroom & 1st grade classroom
10/31/09	Observation in a classroom	Korean Language School
11/04/09	Observation in a classroom	Tulip Elementary multi level (1st and 2nd) classroom
11/05/09	Interview with a Korean parent	First Interview with Yumi's mother (Jeewon)
11/06/09	Observation in a classroom	Broadway Elementary ELL classroom & 1st grade classroom
11/06/09	Data analysis review	Working with advisor to review my preliminary data analysis
11/07/09	Observation in a classroom	Korean Language School
11/09/09	Interview with Junho's mother, Eunyoung	Interview at the public library
11/09/09	Interview with a ELL teacher	ELL teacher at Broadway Elementary Classroom (w/ Angela)
11/11/09	Observation in a classroom	Tulip Elementary multi level (1st and 2nd) classroom
11/14/09	Observation in a classroom	Korean Language School
11/16/09	Observation in a classroom	Broadway Elementary ELL

Table A1. continued

		Classroom
11/17/09	Observation in a classroom	Broadway Elementary ELL classroom
11/18/09	Observation in a classroom	Broadway Elementary ELL classroom
12/05/09	Observation in a classroom	Korean Language School
12/05/09	Group Interview with five children	Korean Language School
12/05/09	Interview with Korean School teacher(w/Youngson)	University Curriculum Lab
12/16/09	Observation in a classroom	Tulip Elementary multi level (1st and 2nd) classroom
12/16/09	Interview with classroom teacher	Tulip Elementary multi level (1st and 2nd) classroom
01/23/10	Minsu's mother interview	Interview at a local church (where the children studied)
01/29/10	Korean teacher interview	Interview with Youngson at her University library
3/23/10	Contacted with Minsu's ELL classroom teacher	• For the purpose of the following observation
03/25/10	ELL Classroom observation	• The ELL teacher at Broadway Classroom, was kind and let me look into Minsu's work table • We chatted a bit about my dissertation work. She seemed to be interested in ELL students' and their learning the language. She said she wished to know more about how her students' re-adjusting after they came back to their own country

APPENDIX B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Part One: Parent Interview Questions:

Overview: (제가 인터뷰를 통해서 알고자 하는것:아이가 한국어와 영어를 배우는 것에 부모님께서 어떠한 생각을 가지고 계시는지, 그리고 구체적으로 어떻게 지도하시는지를 알아보기 위해서)

1. In your opinion, how important is Korean in your children's success in school and American society?
2. In your opinion, how important is English in your children's success in school and American society?
3. How important is it for you to have your children be proficient in Korean?
4. What do you do to support your children's development in Korean?
5. What do you do to support your children's development in English?
6. Do your children know how to read and write in Korean? If so, how did they learn to read and write in Korean? How do their literacy skills measure up against their speaking and listening skills in Korean?
7. What difficulties have you had in teaching Korean to your children?
8. What difficulties have you had in teaching English to your children?
9. What kind of support do you need to tech Korean successfully to your children?
10. What kind of support do you need to teach English successfully to your children?
11. 아이가 태어난 곳, 나이, 몇 학년,
12. 언제 미국에 오셨나요?
13. 어느 곳에 사셨나요?
14. 왜 미국에 오셨나요?
15. 미국에 간다고 하니까 아이의 반응은 어떠했나요?
16. 미국에 거주한 기간은?
17. 앞으로 거주하실 곳은?
18. 한국에서 사실때와 미국에서 사실때 무엇이 가장 다른 점입니까? 예를 들면 한국어 v. 영어 사용; 문화의 차이; 사교나 지인과의 교제의 변화 등등
19. 아이의 양육이나 교육에서 미국과 한국이 차이가 있다면 어떤 것들이 있을까요?
20. 아이가 어떻게 한국어를 배운다고 생각하십니까? 언어를 배우는데 어떤 여건이 중요하다고 생각하십니까? 이를테면, 책을 많이 읽는다던지, 좋은 선생님을 만나야 한다던지, 아이가 머리가 좋아야 한다, 혹은 인내심이나 뚝심이 있어야 한다, 부모님이 잘 가르쳐야 한다 등등에서 어디에 우선 순위를 두십니까?
21. 아이를 왜 한국어 학교에 보내십니까? 한국어 학교에 다니면서 어떠한 면에서 아이가 한국어 실력이 늘었다고 생각하십니까?
22. 아이가 한국어 배우는데 힘들어 하지는 않읍니까? 예가 있다면 말씀해 주십시요.

APPENDIX B. continued

23. 아이가 어떻게 영어를 배운다고 생각하십니까?
24. 아이가 미국 공립학교에 다니면서 어떻게 공부와 적응을 하고 있다고 생각하십니까?
25. 아이의 친한 친구가 누구인지 아십니까?
26. 댁에서 주로 아이와 사용하는 언어는 무엇입니까?
27. 아이와 도서관에 가면 어떻게 책을 골라서 빌려옵니까? 한국어 책은 얼마나 자주 아이가 읽읍니까? 영어책은 얼마나 자주 아이가 읽읍니까? 아이와 책을 읽고 책내용에 관해 이야기를 나누십니까?
28. 아이에게 영어이름이 있읍니까? 있으면 어떠한 이유로 그 이름을 사용합니까? 없으면 왜 영어이름을 아이에게 지어 주지 않았읍니까?
29. 아이가 영어 배우는데 힘들어 하지는 않읍니까? 예가 있다면 말씀해 주십시요.
30. 부모님께서는 아이가 한국어와 영어를 모두 잘 사용하기를 바라십니까? 만약 아이가 한 언어만 사용한다면 어떤 언어를 사용하기를 바라십니까?
31. 아이가 부모님의 영어를 교정하거나 발음이 않좋다고 하면 어떻게 아이에게 말하십니까?
32. 학교 컨프런스에서 선생님께 아이에 관해 상담하시고 싶은 것들은 무엇입니까? [Getting ready for your child's conference…]
    What kinds of questions you want to ask for the teacher of your child?
    -School achievement? (test score?)
    -homework
    -getting along with other students
33. 아이가 한국말을 잘 하는 것이 미국학교에서 공부를 잘하는 데 얼마만큼 영향을 미친다고 생각하십니까? In your opinion, how important is Korean in your children's success in school and American society?
34. 아이가 영어를 잘 하는 것이 미국학교에서 공부를 잘하는 데 얼마만큼 영향을 미친다고 생각하십니까? In your opinion, how important is English in your children's success in school and American society?
35. 아이가 한국말을 잘 구사하는 것이 부모님께서는 얼마만큼 의미가 있읍니까? How important is it for you to have your children be proficient in Korean?
36. 아이가 영어를 잘 구사하는 것이 부모님께서는 얼마만큼 의미가 있읍니까? How important is it for you to have your children be proficient in English?
37. What do you do to support your children's development in Korean?
38. What do you do to support your children's development in English?
39. Do your children know how to read and write in Korean? If so, how did they learn to read and write in Korean? How do their literacy skills (reading and writing skills) measure up against their speaking and listening skills in Korean?
40. What difficulties have you had in teaching Korean to your children?
41. What difficulties have you had in teaching English to your children?
42. What kind of support do you need to teach Korean successfully to your children?
43. What kind of support do you need to teach English successfully to your children?

APPENDIX B. continued

44. When your child speaks to you in English and you don't understand, what do you do? (For example, do you ask them to speak again, ask to speak in Korean, ask to speak more slowly, as to write it down etc?)
45. When your child speaks to you in English and you don't understand, what does your child do? (For example, he/she tries to explain it in Korean, says it again more slowly, gives up after trying to explain it again, or says 'never mind', explains in simpler terms in English, tries to look up the word in the dictionary, spell it out, or such thing has never happened).
46. What do you think about Koreans living in the United States not able to use Korean? (possible answers: it is not good, I feel sorry for them, it's shameful, they need to learn Korean, it's understandable if the person has lived in the US for a long time, it's their parent's fault, it doesn't really matter, or I don't think they are Korean.)
47. What do you think about Koreans living in the United States not able to use English? (possible answers: they should learn English, it poses problems for living in the US, it's not good, I feel sorry for them, it's understandable, it depends on situation, it's shameful, it's unacceptable, it's understandable since English is difficult to learn, or they're not Korean).

APPENDIX B. continued

Part Two: Teachers' Interview Questions:

Introduction to a teacher who is about to begin an interview: Teacher's perception of children's English and native language competence and use; Teacher's expectations of language use; Teacher's beliefs about learning two languages (bilingualism): Korean and English

1. How long have you worked with ELL children in Elementary schools?
2. What subjects other than ELL/ What grades have you taught in elementary school?
3. How did you get education from the area you're teaching?
4. What do you teach? What is your main emphasis to teach ELL students?
5. How do you teach to read and write in English?
6. What do you think important things for you to teach English?
7. What do you think important things for you to teach the children?
8. How do you know when you know the children learn/follow what you teach?
9. What are your expectations as you have students from other countries who do not know any English?
10. Could you tell me about _____?
11. Could you tell me about _____ in terms of his/her language skills,
12. Could you tell me about_____'s social engagement with his peers,
13. Could you tell me about _____'s cultural curiosity of learning American culture?
14. What are the advantages that _____ holds as English language learners?
15. What are some weaknesses that _____ holds as English language learners?
16. Why do you think _____ and _____ speak Korean sometimes in class?
17. What do you think about that (mixing the languages)?
18. How much is enough for you to let them speak in Korean?
19. What do you think about code-switching (using both languages as they speak) while the two children speak?
20. How much English do you think _____have been improved since you've worked with him? How do you know? Could you tell me specific examples or instances?
21. In your opinion, do you have any ideas how children like _____ learn/ improve their native language, Korean, while living in the United States?
22. What do you think about keeping the native language of ELL students? –any academic benefits, cultural advantages?
23. In your opinion, how important is Korean in your children's success in school and American society?
24. In your opinion, how important is English in your children's success in school and American society?

APPENDIX C. FIVE TAXONOMIES OF DIFFERENT DOMAINS

Table C-1: Ways of Learning Korean language in Korean Classroom

Learning in Korean classroom	Two language	Korean language learning (reading & writing) (100%)	Instruction and pedagogy	Responding to the class (47%)
				Interacting with others (43%)
				Giving instruction (31%)
			Teaching philosophy	Expectations of language learning (40.3%)
				Attitude toward home language competence and use (22.5%)
		English language learning (reading & writing) (0.4%)		
		Language use and preference	Living in betweens- Description of transnational life (0.43%)	Language comfort zone (44.7%)
				Attitude toward home language competence and use (22.5%)

Table C-2: Ways of Learning English in Language Art Classroom at Tulip Elementary

Learning in language arts classroom	Two language	English language learning (reading & writing) (100%)	Instruction and pedagogy	Interacting with others (49%)
				Responding to the class (45%)
				Giving instruction (9.6%)
			Teaching philosophy	Expectations of language learning (33%)
				Perception of the children's English (10.6%)
		Korean language learning (reading & writing) (0%)		
		Language use and preference	Living in betweens- Description of transnational life (0%)	Language usage (25%)
				Language comfort zone (2%)
				Peer interaction (1%)

Table C-3: Ways of Learning English in ELL classroom at Broadway Elementary

learning in ELL classroom	Two language	English language learning (Reading & writing) (100%)	Instruction and pedagogy	Interacting with others (49.1%)
				Responding to the class (46.5%)
				Encouraging in the class (6.8%)
			Teaching philosophy	Expectations of language learning (34.4%)
				Perception of the children's English (11.2%)
		Korean language learning (reading & writing) (0%)		
		Language use and preference	Living in betweens- Description of transnational life (6.8%)	Language usage (41.3%)
				Peer interaction (12.9%)
				Language comfort zone (12%)

Table C-3 continued

Expectation of schooling, education, and language learning	Personal background information (9.8%)	
	Living in betweens- Description of transnational life (29.3%)	
	Parents' thoughts on bilingualism (20.1%)	Korean language learning and retention (34.6%)
		English language learning and development (30.9%)
		School adjusting (19.8%)

Table C-4: Mom's Expectations on Education, Schooling, and Language Learning

Expectation of schooling, education, and language learning	Personal background information (9.8%)	
	Living in betweens- Description of transnational life (29.3%)	
	Parents' thoughts on bilingualism (20.1%)	Korean language learning and retention (34.6%)
		English language learning and development (30.9%)
		School adjusting (19.8%)

Table C-5: Ways of Learning the Two Languages of Korean Immigrant Children (Living in Their Transnational Life)

Living in-between life of the children	Two languages	Korean language learning (Reading & writing) (14.6%)	Korean School (Classroom) (12%)	Responding to the class (7.7%)
				Disciplining in the class (4.9%)
				Encouraging in the class (3.5%)
				Interacting with others (3.4%)
				Reprimanding in the class (2%)
			Personal background information (12.9%)	Activities (pass down) while visiting Korea (10.3%)
				Memories/thoughts about S. Korea (8.6%)
		English language learning (Reading & writing) (8.6%)	American School (Classrooms) (31.8%)	Language usage (51.7%)
				Language preference (36.2%)
				Language comfort zone (27.5%)
				Friends and family (9.4%)

APPENDIX D. TWO EMERGING THEMES OF THEMATIC ANALYSIS

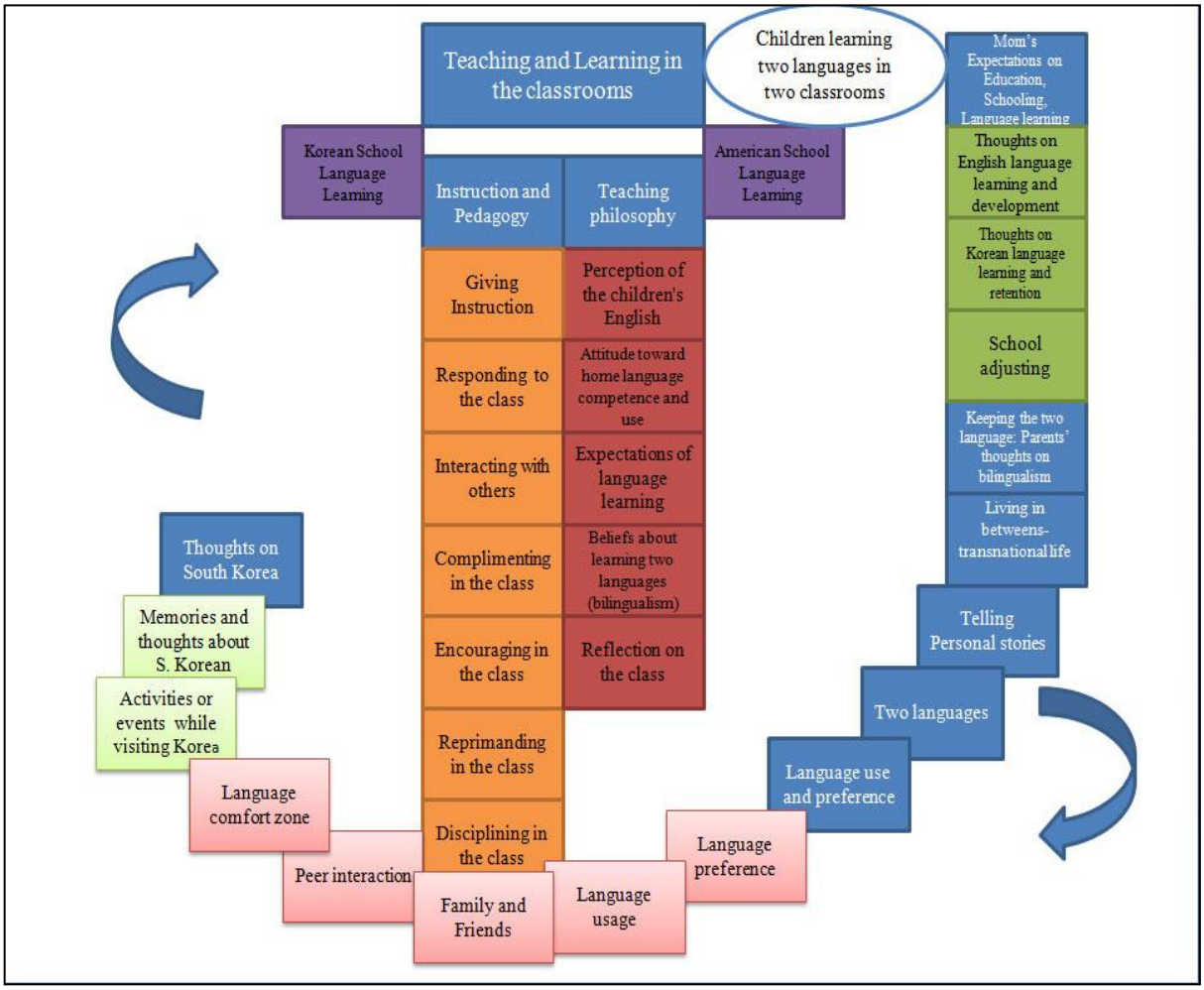
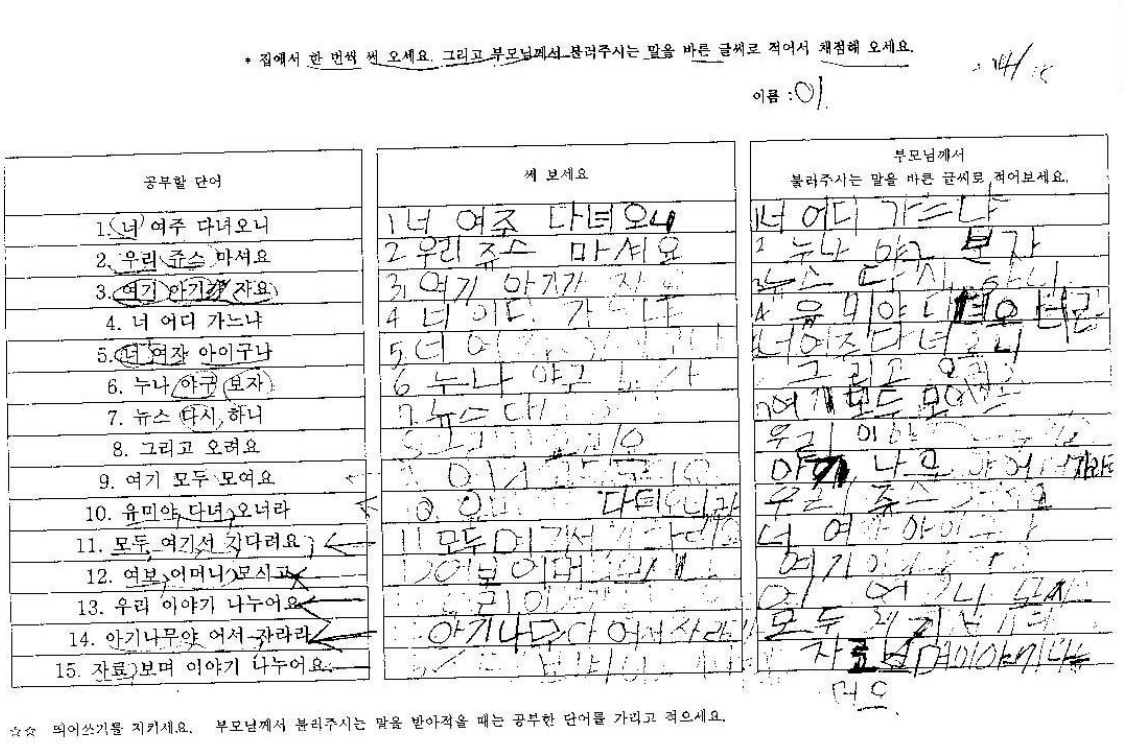


Figure D1. Emerging Themes from Data Analysis

APPENDIX E. THE KOREAN CLASS HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENT



* 집에서 한 번씩 쓰세요. 그리고 부모님께서 불러주시는 말을 바른 글씨로 적어서 채점해 오세요.

이름 : 이

공부할 단어	써 보세요	부모님께서 불러주시는 말을 바른 글씨로 적어보세요.
1. 너 여주 다녀오니	1 너 여주 다녀오니	너 어디 가느냐
2. 우리 주스 마셔요	2 우리 주스 마셔요	1 누나 먹 보자
3. 여기 아기랑 자요	3 여기 아기랑 자요	뉴스 다시 하니
4. 너 어디 가느냐	4 너 어디 가느냐	4 유미야 다녀오너라
5. 너 여자 아이구나	5 너 여자 아이구나	너 여자 아이구나
6. 누나 아구 보자	6 누나 아구 보자	그리고 오려요
7. 뉴스 다시 하니	7 뉴스 다시 하니	여기 모두 모여요
8. 그리고 오려요	8 그리고 오려요	우리 이야기 나누어요
9. 여기 모두 모여요	9 여기 모두 모여요	아기나무야 어서 자라라
10. 유미야 다녀오너라	10 유미야 다녀오너라	우리 주스 마셔요
11. 모두 여기서 기다려요	11 모두 여기서 기다려요	너 여자 아이구나
12. 엄부 어머니 보시고	12 엄부 어머니 보시고	여기 아기랑 자요
13. 우리 이야기 나누어요	13 우리 이야기 나누어요	엄 어머니 보시고
14. 아기나무야 어서 자라라	14 아기나무야 어서 자라라	모두 여기서 기다려요
15. 자료 보며 이야기 나누어요.	15 자료 보며 이야기 나누어요.	자료 보며 이야기 나누어요.

☆☆ 띄어쓰기를 지키세요. 부모님께서 불러주시는 말을 받아적을 때는 공부한 단어를 가리고 적으세요.

Figure E1 Homework Assignment Sample

APPENDIX F. PRACTICING CVC SYLLABLE BLOCKS IN HANGUL

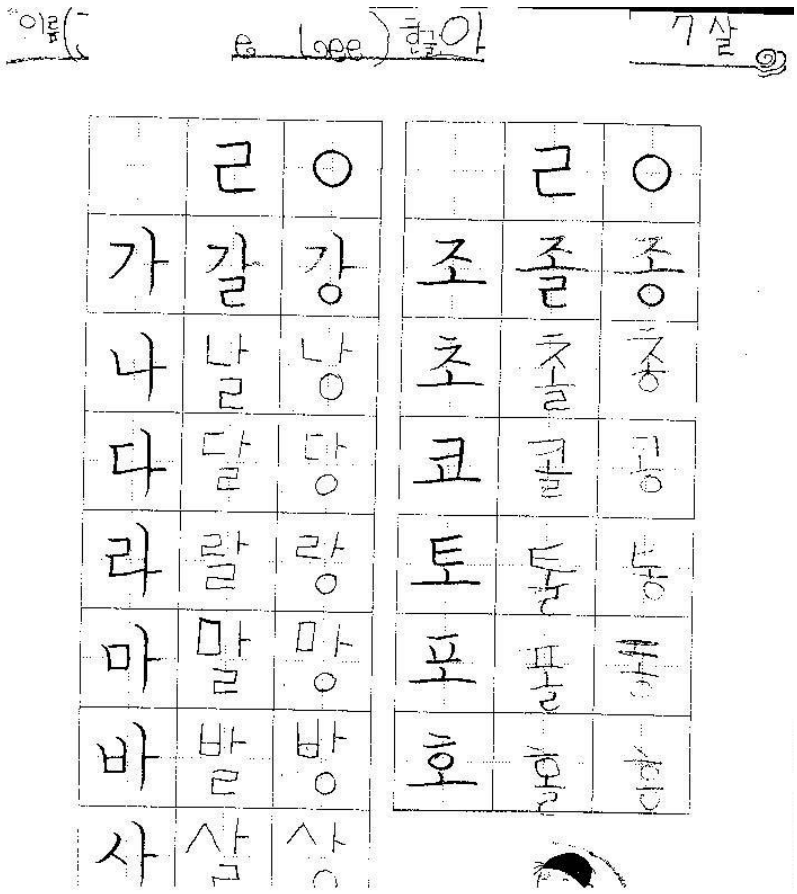


Figure F1. Hangul Practice in CVC Syllables

APPENDIX G. HANGUL CONSONANTS AND VOWEL CHART

Table G1. Hangul Chart

Consonants	14 Basic consonants	ㄱ /g/; ㄴ /n/; ㄷ/d/; ㄹ /l/; ㅁ/m/; ㅂ/b/; ㅅ/s/; ㅇ/ng/; ㅈ/j/; ㅊ/ch/; ㅋ/k/; ㅌ/t/; ㅍ/p/; ㅎ/h/
	5 Glottalized consonants	ㄲ/kk/;ㄸ /tt/;ㅃ/pp/;ㅆ/ss/;ㅉ/jj/
	11 consonant clusters	ㄳ/gs/; ㄵ/nch/; ㄶ /nh/; ㄺ /lg/; ㄻ/lm/; ㄼ/lb/; ㄽ/ls/; ㄾ/lt/; ㄿ/lp/; ㅀ/lh/; ㅄ/bs/
Vowel	6 simple vowel letters	ㅏ/a/; ㅓ/eo/; ㅗ/o/; ㅜ/u/; ㅡ/eu/; ㅣ /i/
	4 simple iotized vowel letters (Semi consonant-semi vowel)	ㅑ/ya/; ㅕ/yeo/; ㅛ/yo/; ㅠ/yu/
	11 diphthongs	ㅐ/ae/; ㅒ/yae/; ㅔ/e/; ㅖ/ye/; ㅘ/wa/; ㅙ/wae/; ㅚ/oe/; ㅝ/weo/; ㅞ/we/; ㅟ/wi/; ㅢ/yi/

APPENDIX H. THE KOREAN SPELLING SYSTEM *

Table H1 Spelling Practice in the Korean Classroom

	Standard/ Morphophonemic Spelling Word	Error in Phonemic Spelling	Type of Syllabic Block Formation
Teacher	멧돼지/metdaegi/ ; 스컹크/skunk/		Three syllable blocks
Hyunchul	스컹크/skunk/		Corrected in three syllable blocks
Heari		스코크/skouk/	Missed final position consonant /o/ in the second syllable
Minsu		스콩크/skongk/	Error in the second syllable: Misspelled /ㅋ/ to /ㅗ/
Yumi		매떼지/mettaegi/	Missed the first two syllabic block: Write as it sounded like
Heari		맷데지/metdyegi/	The second syllable vowel spelled /ㅐ/, /ㅖ/

*Types of errors students produced (Mismatch of sound and spelling)

APPENDIX I. HAERI'S CLASS "HOMEWORK" ASSIGNMENT

Figure I1 Sample of Heari (Ella)'s Class "Homework" at the Language Arts Class

APPENDIX J. HAERI'S BUTTERFLY BOOK PROJECT*

Table J1 Butterfly Instruction Composed by Haeri (Ella)

Ella's mini book about butterflies is,

1. A female butterfly lays some eggs.
2. A tiny caterpillar, or larva, crawls out of an egg
3. The larva eats and eats. It sheds its skin and grows
4. The caterpillar becomes a pupa covered by a hard shell called a chrysalis.
5. A new butterfly breaks out of chrysalis. Soon it will fly away.

(Tulip Classroom Observation, 10/14/09)

* As she colored in her butterfly book, Haeri used a dark green color for the body of caterpillar, and then when we had a time for chat I asked Heari (Ella) about the process of becoming a butterfly. I found a process of to become butterflies in her activity sheet (Tulip Language Arts Observation note #1, Oct 14, 2009).

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