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EDITORIAL

It is our pleasure to present the compilation of four scholarly papers for the fourth issue of the *KAERA Research Forum*, an open access online scholarly forum published by the Korean-American Educational Researchers Association (KAERA). This issue explores the important role of second language acquisition, particularly as it relates to Korean and Korean American education, culture, and language. The articles in this issue address the need to understand the role of language acquisition in various contexts in order to promote second language acquisition, heritage language maintenance, and identity development. We hope you find that the articles offer relevant and timely information on future research for second language acquisition and teaching language minority students.

The first article "A Motivational Perspective on Second Language Acquisition and Literacy with Korean Students" focuses on the motivation of Korean second language learners. The authors discuss research and theories utilized for studying L2 language and literacy motivation of Korean students including English-as-a-Foreign Language learners. They conclude by proposing future research directions and instructional practices to better understand and promote the L2 motivation of Korean students.

The second article "A Case Study of Korean Female Students' ESL Identity Development: The Process of Becoming" explores how educational experiences of three Korean women in the United States affect their identity development. The author discusses the importance of self-consciousness and self-identity development in English as nonnative language contexts in the form of strategic identity.

The next article, "Adult Children of Korean Immigrants: Maintaining Language and Negotiating Ethnic Identities through Generations" focuses on 1.5 and second generation Korean Americans living in the greater San Francisco and Los Angeles areas. This study was part of a research project that chronicled and analyzed themes of aging, immigration, family, culture, and care giving from the perspective of adult children of Korean immigrants.

The final article, "The Cure for English Fever? Stories and Self-Selected Reading in English" focuses on teaching English as a foreign language. The authors explore and argue the current approaches to teach English are not efficient or practical. Their study demonstrates the extent to which having more books in English as an effective and efficient way of teaching English.

We enjoyed editing this journal, and we hope this issue will inform and influence all educators teaching not only Koreans, but second language acquisition and literacy. We also encourage your feedback and any other topics for future issues.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

A Motivational Perspective on Second Language Acquisition and Literacy with Korean Students

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Introduction

In this article we focus on the motivation of Korean second language (L2) learners. We begin by providing an overview of motivation and subsequently, we discuss research and theories utilized for studying L2 language and literacy motivation of Korean students including English-as-a-Foreign Language (EFL) learners. Lastly, we indicate gaps in extant research and propose future research directions and instructional practices to better understand and promote the L2 motivation of Korean students.

Motivation is an important factor in the learning of all students (Wolters, Denton, York, & Francis, 2014), but research has indicated it is particularly salient for linguistic and cultural minorities in the U.S. (Lewis et al., 2012). In particular, as part of the growing Asian population in this country, the Korean American experience of motivation in academics, particularly L2 learning, is worthy of examination. However, before delving more deeply into motivation, we offer a brief profile of the Asian and Korean populations in the U.S.

The Asian U.S. population had the fastest growth between 2000 and 2010 compared to other racial groups (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012). According to the U.S. Census the Asian population has increased by 43%, growing from around 10 to 15 million during this period (Hoeffel et al., 2012). In 2012, the number of public school Asian students enrolled in prekindergarten through grade 12 was 2.5 million, and this number is projected to increase to 2.9 million by 2023 (Kena et al., 2014).

Especially significant in this Asian population growth has been the Korean community. Koreans experienced a 38.9% growth from 1.2 million in 2000 to 1.7 million in 2010 (Hoeffel et al., 2012). Currently, Koreans represent about 10% of the total Asian population and about 11% of those Asians living in poverty. In linguistic terms, among the 1.1 million Koreans age five and older, 44.5% speak English "very well", whereas 28.4% speak English "not well" or "not at all" (Ryan, 2013). Because a large percentage of Koreans reported speaking English less than well, it is important to examine English language learners (ELLs) achievement.

ELLs tend to perform lower across content areas compared to non-ELLs (Kena et al., 2014). For example, the 2013 National Assessment Education Program (NAEP) reading achievement gap between ELLs and non-ELLs was 38 and 45 points in grades four and eight, respectively (Kena et al., 2014). This gap was similar to the reading gaps in 1998 and 2011. Math achievement gaps, which were similar in size to the reading achievement gap, also exist and have not narrowed from prior years. The fast growth of the Asian population including Koreans, the large proportion of Koreans who are not proficient in speaking English, and the general lower achievement of ELLs, highlight the likely achievement needs of Korean ELLs in particular. The academic needs of Korean ELLs is a concern because of the relationships

between achievement and other future outcomes, such as graduation, college remediation, and income (Flores & Drake, 2014; Hu & Wolniak, 2013; Zwick & Sklar, 2005), but also because of its reciprocal relation to motivation (Williams & Williams, 2010).

Motivational Factors in Academic Outcomes

Motivation is commonly defined as "the process whereby goal-directed activity is instigated and sustained" (Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2008, p. 4). Essentially, motivation addresses questions related to the possible factors that move or drive individuals, and the tasks toward which individuals are driven (Pintrich, 2003). Contemporary research on motivation is strongly influenced by the social cognitive perspective (Zusho, Anthony, Hashimoto, & Robertson, 2014). More specifically, individuals' thoughts, goals, and beliefs about tasks and themselves, as well as personal, social, cultural, and contextual factors impact their motivation (Zusho et al., 2014; cf. Wigfield & Cambria, 2010). Indicators of a person's motivation are assessed through the individual's choice, persistence, and effort (Schunk et al., 2008). Some characteristics of motivation include: its domain and context specificity, meaning that motivation is closely tied to the context of activity; its reciprocal relationship with achievement-related outcomes; and its change across developmental periods, specifically its decline as students become older and transition to different school structures (e.g., from elementary to middle school) (Bong, 2001; Jacobs, Lanza, Osgood, Eccles, & Wigfield, 2002; Linnenbrink & Pintrich; 2003; Wigfield, Cambria, & Eccles, 2012).

Several social-cognitive constructs characterize motivation. For example, beliefs about reasons for success and failures (attributions, Weiner, 1974), and confidence in doing a task at a particular level (self-efficacy, Bandura, 1997) influence motivation (Pintrich, 2003). Other constructs including interest (psychological state and tendency to engage repeatedly with a specific content over time, Hidi & Renninger, 2006), intrinsic motivation (doing a task for its own sake, Deci & Ryan, 2012), value (ways in which tasks meet individuals' needs, Wigfield & Eccles, 1992), and goals motivate students as well (Pintrich, 2003). Various motivational theories incorporate these constructs into their frameworks. Importantly, a few of these frameworks have informed L2 learning motivation and are discussed in more detail in the discussion that follows.

Motivation is an important construct in L2 learning (Ushioda, 2010). In this chapter, we utilize the term second language learning to broadly include foreign language learning, and L2 learning, which occurs when an individual learns the societal language that is different from one's native language (e.g., when a student from Chile, whose native language is Spanish, learns English after he or she immigrates to the U.S.). We selected this broader conceptualization of L2 learning because scant research exists on motivation in the context of learning the societal language (Dixon et al., 2012), specifically by Korean L2 learners. Although research on Heritage Language (HL) learning of Korean students exists (see Lee & Shin, 2008), we do not examine this research here because some studies have reported motivation differences between HL learners—individuals who have various levels of proficiency on a language to which they feel culturally attached to (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003)—and Foreign Language (FL) learners. For example, HL learners compared to non-heritage language learners (FL or L2 learners) reported with higher frequency that they were learning an L2 because it was an aspect of their self-concept, they felt pressure to learn it, and it facilitated communication with their family and community (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wen, 2011).

Research on L2 Motivation with Korean Students

Limited research on the motivation of L2 learners within majority second language contexts, such as the U.S., exists (Dixon et al., 2012) including for Korean L2 learners (e.g., T. Kim, 2005). The extant research mainly focuses on the motivation of Korean English-as-a-Foreign Language (EFL) students, such as Korean students learning English in Korea (e.g., Hsieh & Kang, 2010; T. Kim, 2011; Yang, 2009). The research references several L2 motivation models and constructs that have guided investigations on L2 of Korean EFL students, including willingness to communicate (e.g., Liu & Park, 2013), linguistic confidence (e.g., Pae, 2008), and foreign language anxiety (S. Kim, 2009; Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008). Here, we specifically focus on the Socio-Educational model (Gardner, 1985), and identity-based frameworks, such as the L2 Motivational Self-System (Dörnyei, 2005). We highlight these models in the next sections because they have tended to dominate the research and have received the most attention.

Socio-Educational (SE) Model

The SE model has received much empirical support (Gardner, 1985; Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret, 1997), including in studies exploring L2 motivation of Korean EFL students (T. Kim, 2010, 2011; Kim & Kim, 2012; Liu & Park, 2013; Park, 2012). The SE model represents relationships among several factors in the process of learning a second language including contexts, individual differences, language acquisition settings, and outcome variables (Gardner, 1985, 2006). Motivation is defined as the "combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes [affect] toward learning the language" (Gardner, 2010, p.10) and it is assumed to be the key component that impacts achievement (Gardner, 2010). Within the SE model, learning situation attitudes, integrativeness, and instrumentality are seen as key constructs and important determinants of motivation (Gardner, 1985, 2006). Integrativeness refers to an individual's personal affect toward interaction with a cultural group, as well as the individual's openness to adopting the group's linguistic and cultural traditions (Gardner, 2010). Instrumentality refers to practical reasons for learning a language, and both constructs have received much research attention.

The SE model has informed studies examining changes in instrumental and integrative motivation (e.g., Kim & Seo, 2012), and relationships between integrative and instrumental motivation with English proficiency (e.g. Kim, 2010, 2011; Kim & Kim, 2012). Specifically, Kim (2010) investigated the relations among socio-cultural factors, such as college entrance exam, peer group cohesion, and EFL motivation and attitudes of 1,037 Korean high school students. Through student questionnaire and assessments, the author collected EFL motivation and attitude data, and English proficiency and achievement, respectively. Kim (2010) found that instrumental and integrative motivation were among the seven motivation factors extracted from a motivation measure the author developed specifically from Korean students' open-ended responses to the reasons for learning English. Through stepwise regressions, the author found that attitudes towards English learning, integrative and instrumental motivation, and cultural-exchange—desire to become more sensitive towards other cultures and promote the Korean culture—motivation predicted English proficiency and achievement. Although Kim (2006, 2010) developed some motivation items that were culturally bound based on the open-ended responses, one possible shortcoming of the measure was its limited scope. Kim (2006) indicated that in

selecting items for the final motivation measure the author had excluded open-ended responses related to learning English because of students' past learning experiences and external influences (e.g., "I have to learn English because it is a mandatory school subject;" "I should master English because my parents want me to do so").

The SE model was the first attempt to describe and empirically test the relationship between motivation and L2 outcomes (Gardner, 1985). Among the SE model's strengths are its parsimony and flexibility, its provision of mechanisms underlying testable relations among variables, and its emphasis on social influence (Gardner, 1985, 2006). Despite these strengths, the SE model has been criticized for several limitations, including its omission of motivation constructs from general psychology research and other reasons for language learning; its use of confusing labels; its limited applicability to certain L2 contexts, especially with the globalization of the English language; and its inability to distinguish engagement and motivation constructs (Oxford & Shearin, 1996; Unrau & Quirk, 2014; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). In response to the SE model's limitations, another framework for studying motivation in the L2 learning context has been developed, the L2 Motivational Self-System.

L2 Motivational Self-System (L2 MSS)

The limitations of the SE model prompted Dörnyei (2005) to reinterpret the integrativeness construct and to develop an L2 motivation framework that is based on possible selves research. Possible selves refer to "specific and vivid senses, images, or conceptions of one's self in future states and circumstances and are viewed as essential elements in the motivational and goal-setting process" (Oyserman & Markus, 1990, p. 113). Dörnyei (2005) proposed the L2 Motivational Self-System (MSS) construct, which is composed of three dimensions: ideal L2 self, ought-to-L2, and L2 learning experience. Ideal L2 self refers to the part of the ideal self that is specific to L2. That is, the ideal L2 self is a future self-guide that possesses L2 attributes a person would like to have, such as L2 proficiency. Ought-to-L2 self refers to the characteristics one should endorse in order to prevent negative outcomes, and L2 experiences are defined as motives that are situation-specific and connected to the learning experience and context. Based on the Higgin's (1987) self-discrepancy theory, Dörnyei (2005) suggested that the L2 ideal and ought-to-L2 selves were motivating because individuals attempt to decrease the discrepancy between the actual and possible selves (ideal and ought-to-selves). The L2 MSS framework has guided more recent studies on L2 motivation of Korean EFL students (e.g., T. Kim, 2012; Kim & Kim, 2012; Kim & Seo, 2012; Roger, 2010; Yang, 2011). A group of these studies has explored the relationship between ideal L2 self, ought-to-L2 self, and English proficiency (T. Kim, 2012; Yang, 2011), and others have specifically compared and contrasted the L2 MSS and SE models (e.g., T. Kim, 2012). For example, Kim (2012) compared the predictive powers of constructs from L2 MSS and SE models with a sample of 2,783 Korean students from grades three through 12. The author measured ideal L2 self, ought-to-L2 self, instrumentality, integrativeness, motivated behavior, demotivation, cultural influence and attitudes towards learning English and L2 communities through student questionnaire. Although ideal L2 self, ought-to-L2 self, motivated behavior, demotivation, attitudes towards learning English and cultural interest predicted English proficiency, instrumentality and integrativeness were not significant predictors while adjusting for these variables.

Some of the strengths of the L2 MSS are its empirical support within various contexts, incorporation of mainstream psychology theory and constructs, and relevance for settings in

which English is not a language for a specific cultural group (Csizér & Dörnyei 2005, Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; MacIntyre, Mackinnon, & Clément, 2009). The framework is limited in that it reinterprets integrativeness, which is an affective construct, as a cognitive construct—ideal self-- (Gardner, 2010), and research is very limited in several areas, such as the broadness and development of self-guides, relationships between L2 and L1 selves, and congruence of L2 self with other identities (MacIntyre et al., 2009). In addition to Dörnyei, other researchers (e.g., Bong, 2005; Hsieh & Kang, 2010; Lee, Bong, & Kim, 2014; Noels, 2001) have adapted and applied motivation theories from general psychology to the study of L2 motivation within the Korean EFL contexts. These theories and research are discussed next.

Motivational Theories Adapted from General Psychology

Several motivational theories developed within general psychology have more recently been adapted to study the L2 motivation of L2 learners including Korean EFL students (e.g., Lee, Bong, & Kim, 2014; Wang, Kim, Bong, & Ahn, 2013a; Yang, 2011). Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2012) and motivation theories based on Bandura's Social Cognitive Framework (Bandura, 1986), such as Achievement Goal (Kaplan & Maehr, 2007), Expectancy-Value (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002), and Attribution theories (Weiner, 2010) have guided some recent work on Korean EFL students' L2 motivation (Bong, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005; Bong & Hocevar, 2002; Hsieh & Kang, 2010; Lee, Bong, & Kim, 2014; Pae, 2008; Wang, Kim, Bong, & Ahn, 2013b; Yang, 2009). Because of space limitations, we narrow our focus to the discussion of self-determination and achievement goal theories and self-efficacy construct.

Self-Determination Theory in L2 Learning

The heuristic model of the L2 motivation process developed by Noels (2001) builds on Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 2012) by including several SDT constructs, such as needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness, as well as intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (e.g., orientations). Noels' (2001) model hypothesizes that the immediate social contact impacts the fundamental needs of an individual. In turn, these needs impact integrative and intrinsic/extrinsic orientations, which together influence intention and engagement. More specifically, L2 orientations are distinguished into amotivation, extrinsic, and intrinsic orientations (Noels, 2001). Amotivation refers to the lack of motivation to engage in a behavior (Deci & Ryan, 2008). Intrinsic orientations are operationalized as reasons for learning a second language that originate from the interest in the activity itself (Noels, 2001). In contrast, extrinsic orientations are reasons for learning a second language that are derived from outcomes other than the enjoyment the activity itself brings. Noels (2001) further divides extrinsic and intrinsic orientations into subtypes. The subtypes of intrinsic orientation include knowledge, stimulation, and accomplishment, whereas the subcomponents of extrinsic orientation consist of external, introjected, identified, and integrated regulations, which are defined and characterized similarly as in SDT (see Noels 2001).
      The SDT model and its adaptation by Noels (2001) have informed studies on Korean EFL students' motivation (e.g., T. Kim, 2010, 2011; Kim & Seo, 2012; Pae, 2008; Yang, 2011). Some studies have examined the relationship among constructs within SDT and English proficiency (e.g., Yang, 2011), whereas others have explored the relationships among these constructs and those proposed by the SE model (e.g., Pae, 2008). For example, Pae (2008)

investigated the distinctiveness among intrinsic motivation; extrinsic, introjected, and identified regulations; and integrative and instrumental orientations, as well as the structural relations among these motivation constructs and English achievement in 315 Korean college students. Using a Chi-square invariance test Pae (2008) reported that instrumental orientation was distinct from introjected and identified regulation, and intrinsic motivation, but not from external regulation. In contrast, integrative orientation was distinct from intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, as well as external, introjected, and identified regulations. In addition, Pae (2008) found that the intrinsic motivation factor predicted both motivation (a factor combining motivational intensity, desire to learn English, and attitudes towards learning English) and self-confidence factors (a factor composed of perceived self-confidence, English class anxiety, and English use anxiety). In turn, motivation and self-confidence factors predicted English achievement in the Test of English International Communication.

Noel's (2001) model has several strengths including its theoretical foundation on SDT, which was developed in general psychology and has received much cumulative empirical support (e.g., Comanaru & Noels, 2009). Other strengths of this model include its expansion of L2 orientations; its integration of different frameworks (SDT and SE models); and its representation of explicit mechanisms that can change L2 motivation (e.g., meeting of fundamental needs; Ellis, 2008). Some limitations of Noel's model can be found in its omission of additional constructs that have been shown to be related to L2 achievement, such as aptitude and anxiety (Noels, 2001) and its emphasis on orientations (e.g., purposes) rather than motivation (Gardner, 2010). Additionally, research on the transition from one subtype of motivation to another (e.g., from extrinsic to identified regulation) has been criticized as very limited (Vallerand, Pelletier, & Koestner, 2008). The limitations of L2 motivational models developed by Gardner and Noels, as well as the call for integrating the second language and general psychology fields, may have led to the application of Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1986) in L2 learning contexts (e.g., Rueda & Chen, 2005; Sturtevant & Kim, 2010), particularly in relation to Korean EFL students.

Social Cognitive Theory in L2 Learning

Another framework from general psychology that has informed much of the recent work in L2 motivation is the Social Cognitive Theory (SCT, Bandura, 1986). SCT assumes that behavior, cognition, and environment interact and influence each other through a process known as reciprocal causation (Bandura, 1986). The theory additionally posits that humans have agency, which, for instance, means that they have the ability to symbolize and form action plans, engage in forethought, learn vicariously, regulate the self, and reflect on the self (Bandura, 2006). In other words, individuals are not only influenced by the environment, but they also impact their environments. One significant construct within SCT, self-efficacy, is the foundation for human agency and relates to a person's choice, persistence, and effort (Bandura, 1997, 2006). In particular, Bong and her colleagues have extensively investigated Korean students' self-efficacy and task value in learning English-as-a-Foreign Language (Bong, 2005, Lee, Lee, & Bong, 2014; Lee, Bong, & Kim, 2014; Wang et al., 2013a, 2013b). For example, Lee, Bong, and Kim (2014) examined the moderating role of self-efficacy in the relationships between task values and maladaptive achievement strategies, such as pessimism, cheating, procrastination, and self-handicapping for 574 Korean secondary students within EFL contexts. These researchers found that interactions between intrinsic value and self-efficacy predicted defensive pessimism,

academic cheating, and procrastination. When intrinsic value was high, defensive pessimism, academic cheating and procrastination were low for students with high self-efficacy, but high for students with low self-efficacy. In contrast, the interaction between self-efficacy and utility value only predicted procrastination. That is, utility value predicted procrastination only for students with low self-efficacy, but not for students with high self-efficacy. In addition, Wang and colleagues (Wang et al., 2013a) have recently developed a self-efficacy measure for English learning as a second language, which appears to generalize to the Korean EFL context. However, because of the low discrimination of some of the measure's items and its initial development based on an U.S. ELL elementary school sample, future research could refine this measure and further test its application within Korean EFL contexts and across a wider range of grade levels.

Another motivation model based on SCT that has guided research on the motivation of Korean EFL students is Achievement Goal theory (Kaplan & Maehr, 2007). Achievement goals refer to purposes of one's actions (Anderman & Maehr, 1994), which are generally classified into mastery-approach (desire to develop mastery with possibility of positive outcome), mastery-avoidance (desire to develop mastery by preventing incompetence), performance approach (desire to demonstrate ability compared to others), and performance avoidance goals (desire to avoid incompetence compared to others) (Elliot, 2005; Elliot & McGregor, 2001). Some research has focused on the achievement goals of Koreans in their EFL learning (Bong, 2001, 2004, 2005; Bong, Hwang, Noh, & Kim, 2014; S. Kim, 2009). For example, Bong and colleagues (2014) studied the mediating role of self-efficacy and achievement goals in the relationship between perfectionism and achievement related outcomes of 306 Korean middle school students. Utilizing self-report measures of motivation and path analysis, the authors reported that mastery approach goal in English as EFL mediated the relationship between self-oriented perfectionism and cheating. In contrast, other mediation paths were not significant in the relationship between perfectionism and achievement-related outcomes. Furthermore, self-oriented perfectionism predicted mastery and performance approach goals, whereas socially prescribed perfectionism predicted performance approach and avoidance goals. Academic self-efficacy in English mediated self-oriented perfectionism's relationships with both mastery approach and performance avoidance goals.

Very limited motivation research has been conducted with Korean students within contexts where L2 is the societal language. A few studies have examined the motivation of Korean English-as-a-second-language students in Canada (e.g., T. Kim, 2005). To our knowledge, the L2 motivation of Korean L2 learners in the U.S. has not specifically been investigated. However, a few studies include Korean ELLs within larger Asian ELLs sample while examining motivation in relation to L2 achievement (e.g., Taboada, Townsend, & Boynton, 2013). For instance, Taboada and colleagues (2013) explored the mediating role of reading engagement within two relationships: first, in the relationship between English language proficiency and reading comprehension, and second, in the relationship between science vocabulary and reading comprehension of 5th and 6th grades Asian and Hispanic students separately. The primary languages of the Asian samples were Chinese, Japanese, and Korean. Reading engagement, which consisted of motivational, cognitive, and behavioral processes, fully mediated these relationships for the Asian ELL sample. However, because ELLs are not a homogenous group (Flores & Drake, 2014), studies focusing specifically on Korean ELLs' L2 motivation are needed. In addition to this limitation, other gaps in the literature on motivation of Korean L2 learners exist, and are explored in the section below.

Gaps in the Current Research

Although the SE model has received much attention in the past decade, other theories of L2 motivation have been the focus of more current research, including the L2 Motivation Self-System, Self-Determination Theory, and theories based on Social Cognitive Theory. The debate continues around which framework is most optimal for studying the motivation of L2 learners including Korean EFL students (cf. T. Kim, 2012; Pae, 2008; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Yang, 2011).

The existing research on Korean learners' L2 motivation suggests the following general conclusions: (1) L2 motivation research on Korean L2 learners, specifically Korean students within contexts where L2 is the societal language, is scant; (2) extant L2 motivation studies tend to focus on general academic achievement rather than second language or literacy; and (3) L2 motivational studies tend to treat culture as an independent variable–by including Asian or Korean Americans in the subject pool, but not by investigating the cultural dynamics (e.g., within-group variability) impacting motivation (c.f. Bong, 2006; Zusho & Clayton, 2011). More specifically, scant research exists that includes culture as part of a person's psychological process, examines how an individual's involvement in the group's cultural practices influences this person's beliefs and actions, and uses culturally relevant methodologies (see Zusho & Clayton, 2010).

Future Instructional and Research Issues

Commonly used approaches for addressing some of the academic language and literacy needs of ELLs' include language education programs focused on English (e.g., transitional bilingual and English immersion), dual language programs with emphasis on proficiency in both languages (Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2012), and strategy instruction, such as the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP, Echevarria, Short, & Powers, 2006) model. The SIOP model is a framework that includes instructional strategies educators can use to increase ELLs' comprehension of new information (Echevarria et al., 2006). Instructional accommodations, such as summarizing content material and including redundancy, can support ELLs' learning as well (Goldenberg, 2006). However, most of these approaches primarily focus on cognitive aspects of learning (see DiCerbo, Anstrom, Baker, & Rivera, 2014), despite the importance of motivation in learning and achievement (e.g., Bong, Cho, Ahn, & Kim, 2012), and motivation's malleability through instructional practices (Guthrie, Wigfield, & Perencevich, 2004a) especially within L2 learning contexts (Ushioda, 2010).

One literacy program that includes motivation as a main component and has received research support is Concept-Oriented Reading Instruction (CORI; see Guthrie, McRae, & Klauda, 2007; Guthrie, Wigfield, & Perencevich, 2004b). The CORI model is an implementation of a comprehensive model of reading engagement that incorporates motivation, engagement, and cognitive strategies (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000). More specifically, the engagement model of reading comprehension development, which defines engagement as a construct composed of conceptual knowledge, strategy use, social interaction, and motivation, guided the development of CORI (Wigfield et al., 2008). The model additionally represents the mediating role of engagement in the relationship between reading outcomes (i.e., achievement, knowledge, and reading practices) and instructional practices (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000). In the CORI implementation of the reading engagement framework, these instructional practices include the use of learning goals and interesting texts for instruction; the provision of student choice and

control over tasks and texts; and the utilization of hands-on (observations and experiments) and collaborative activities—all of which are meant to support motivation and engagement processes. The CORI approach additionally provides strategy instruction, where students are taught how to active their prior knowledge, generate guiding questions, locate and summarize key information, organize this information in graphic formats, and recognize story structures (Guthrie, Wigfield, Barbosa..., 2004). Teachers then model and scaffold these strategies within contexts that integrate science inquiry with reading (see Guthrie, Wigfield, & Perencevich, 2004b).

CORI is a useful model to promote literacy because CORI is a research-based literacy framework with a strong empirical foundation, and it has been shown to have positive outcomes in cognitive and motivational areas, such as standardized reading comprehension, reading strategies, curiosity, preference for challenge, and self-efficacy (Guthrie et al., 2007; Wigfield et al., 2008). Although the effects of the CORI program have not been specifically examined with Korean L2 learners, we would argue that the general principles underlying this model might hold particular promise for this student population, although adaptations of specific components might be required in various social contexts. Because the implementation of CORI and other similar programs (see Barber et al., 2015) has been associated with positive impacts on the achievement and engagement of second language learners in general (see Barber & Buehl, 2013; Guthrie et al., 2009;Taboada, Kidd, & Tonk, 2010; Taboada & Rutherford, 2011), we posit that CORI may also benefit the learning of Korean students' L2. A study by Guthrie and colleagues (2009) provides an example of the potential efficacy of the CORI model. In this investigation, researchers compared the effects of CORI and traditional instruction on fifth grade low and high achievers' fluency, reading comprehension, ecological knowledge, inferencing, and word recognition. Five percent of the sample was English language learners. Students receiving CORI scored significantly higher on reading comprehension, ecological knowledge, and word recognition compared to students receiving traditional instruction. However, no significant differences were found for reading motivation, inferencing, and fluency. Unfortunately, because of the limited number of ELLs, separate analysis for this subgroup was not conducted.

In addition to these studies, Barber and colleagues have conducted research on the effectiveness of interventions based on the engagement reading model (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000), which included similar instructional practices as CORI and additional strategies specifically targeting ELLs' academic related-outcomes and motivation (Barber & Buehl, 2013; Taboada et al., 2010; Taboada & Rutherford, 2011). For instance, seeking to improve ELLs' comprehension and engagement, Barber and colleagues (2015) developed a social studies intervention for middle school students that included strategies such as explicit instruction, modeling, scaffolding, and access to authentic texts at lower grade levels, in addition to some of the strategies from the reading engagement model. About half of the participating sixth and seventh graders were ELLs, most of whom spoke Spanish as their first language. The intervention had positive effects on history and general reading comprehension, as well as on reading self-efficacy of native English speakers and ELLs. However, students' behavioral and emotional engagement declined after the intervention. Although most of Barber and colleagues' studies have examined the motivation of Spanish speaking ELLs, and ELLs do not encompass one homogenous group, we speculate that these interventions might hold similar effects for Korean ELLs, given their congruities of learning a societal language as a second language and schooling experiences with other ELLs in the U.S., such as enrollment in schools with high proportion of ELLs (Consentino de Cohen, Deterding, & Clewell, 2005).

We see a need for future research in several areas related to the L2 motivation of Korean students. Future inquiry could explore the L2 motivation of Korean learners within L2 majority context, such as the U.S., and juxtapose their L2 motivation with that of Korean EFL students. Studies could also examine the relationships among L2 motivation and other academic-related outcomes, such as second language or literacy outcomes, and L2 motivation constructs developed across different research areas (c.f. Pae, 2008). Furthermore, future research could focus on developmental changes in Korean students' L2 motivation using longitudinal designs and examine how cultural dynamics impact their L2 motivation and its changes (c.f. Bong, 2006). Lastly, there is a need for L2 motivation interventions to investigate the causal relationship between L2 motivation and L2 achievement, improve L2 motivation, and ultimately influence L2 achievement specifically of L2 Korean students.

Given the rising Korean population in the U.S. and the limited English proficiency of some Korean students, we see the attention to motivation and language learning as crucial to the future success of this group of students. In particular, the implementation of the Common Core Content Standards, which place greater emphasis on academic language skills (Council of Chief State School Officers, 2012), appear to highlight the academic and motivational opportunities (Filmore, 2014) and challenges Korean L2 learners face as they simultaneously learn a second language and content knowledge to become college- and career-ready.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

A Case Study of Korean Female Students' ESL Identity Development: The Process of Becoming

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Abstract

This study explores how educational experiences in the United States affect the identities of three Korean women. The conceptual framework is an integration of sociocultural theory and feminist research methodology. The findings are used to discuss the importance of self-consciousness and self-identity development in English as nonnative language contexts in the form of strategic identity. The discussion illuminates issues and arguments that are often subsumed in the fields of language, culture, education, and identity in which ESL students' learning processes of higher education should be, but often are not, explicitly theorized.

Introduction

In recent studies focusing on English as a second language (ESL) learners' identity, a considerable amount of emphasis has been directed at examining within the process of ESL acquisition alone rather than within the process of negotiating between their L1 linguistic, cultural, and educational experiences and those encountered in the host L2 environment. Hall (1996) emphasizes that identities are "about questions of using the resources of history, language, and culture in *the process of becoming* rather than being" (p. 4). The emphasis on "what we might become, how we have been represented, and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (p. 4) has been lacking in studies on ESL students.

One area in particular that has been lacking is in regards to the variables affecting female ESL students in higher education. Research that has been conducted on this specific demographic has been predicated on the assumption that female ESL students have been viewed as model students due to the fact that their academic success rate, as measured by cumulative grade point averages, is often higher than their male counterparts (Qin-Hillard, 2003). The failure, however, to take a more fine-grained approach to female ESL students in higher education, to go beyond just aggregate grade point scores as an indicator of success, overlooks some of the important variables that affect their learning processes as well as the longevity and sustainability of their accomplishments. The persistent lack of attention given to many ESL students' individual characteristics, such as treating them as a homogeneous group and failing to examine how those variables can and do affect the students' integration and academic success in their host country and/or educational institutions, has remained a largely unexplored question. This lack of focus or attention often spills over into how these students are portrayed with generalizations and positive stereotypes being used in lieu of concrete substantive analysis of the factors that affect this growing demographic group. The result is a general degree of insensitivity

about female ESL students, which has resulted in both misunderstanding and subsequent misrepresentation of these students.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the critical issues and arguments that affect female ESL students' learning processes, the resulting conflicts and confrontations of ESL, the ensuing negotiations of graduate educational systems, and their subsequent construal of their roles in higher education. This research explores how their social interactions and related graduate academic experiences impact their identity as Korean women, and what changes, if any, have occurred in their self-described construction of self as they have progressed through their studies. The principal question guiding this research is: In what ways are female ESL students' identities altered by the experience of graduate studies in the United States? The ultimate goal of this study is to draw our attention to how these Korean students' identity is transformed by those new linguistic, cultural, and educational experiences.

Literature Review

This study draws attention to second language and discourse practice in the host country as L2 students' *social practice* (Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner, & Cain, 1998). In this meaning of social practice, discourse includes "societal meaning-making systems, such as institutional power, social differentiation of groups, and cultural beliefs that create individuals' identities" (Young, 2009, p. 2). Holquist (2002) elaborates on the function of discourse as social practice: "Each time we talk, we literally enact values in our speech through the process of scripting our place and that of our listener in a culturally specific social scenario" (p. 63). A common conceptualization found among these scholars' work stems from Vygotsky (1978) and Bakhtin (1986). Vygotsky's work centers on the nature of the relationship between the use of language and its cultural influence on one's cognitive development. The individual's cognitive development is not an automatic result of passive social interactions. It is a result of the individual's elaborate or conscious use of *mediated tools*, such as language, cultural signs, meanings, and linguistic features. Vygotsky's notion of mediated tools are said to be dynamically changed, developed, and co-constructed. While interacting with others by the mediated tools, the meaning of words gradually grows and changes depending on the individual's situation in action that drives one's development (Vygotsky, 1986). Developmentalism thus results from the process of *meaning making* social actions (Mahn, 2008). In this view, not only does language (either L1 or L2) play a significant role in one's cognitive development, but social interaction among language learning, practice, and surrounding factors affect the person's development. Vygotsky indicates that the process of internalizing external social activities brings about the transformation needed for one to grow. The internalization process involves "a link between psychological processes within the individual and cultural forms of behavior between individuals" (Kramsch, 2000, p. 134). In other words, developmentalism happens through the dynamic interdependence between social environments and the individual (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996).

Along similar lines as Vygotsky's emphasis on the social interaction in one's development and meaning making, Bakhtin's emphasis on the personal growth in development of a person's self-consciousness in dialogic mode plays a significant role in describing one's identity formation. Bakhtin's (1986) idea, "your voice and own discourse can liberate you from the authority of the other's discourse," (p. 348) is strongly related to the formation of meaning construction and therefore identity construction. It is because "the process of authoring selves

awakens individual's consciousness" (p. 348). Zavala (1990) interpreted this idea as "consciousness is saturated with the semantic and that social relations consist of dialogical interactions" (p. 83). In this view, the relationship between the individual and social is not "dialectical either/or; it is rather viewed as different degrees each individual possesses of other's otherness" (Holquist, 2002, p. 51). What Holquist meant by the possession of other's otherness is that, during dialogic activities, the individual constructs meanings that make sense to himself or herself through the other's presence and responses. It is a process of creating "spaces for ourselves as individual actors within the Other" (Hall, Vitanova, & Marchenkova, 2005, p. 3).

Bakhtinian dialogism is founded in this Self – Other relation through language and discourse. In other words, an individual does not exist without having dialogic interactions between the Self and Others. This dialogic interaction is formed through *answerability*, another term used by Bakhtin: "the necessity or moral responsibility for selves to answer each other's voices in a discursive event and reflects his or her view of human agency" (Vitanova, 2004, p. 263). Bakhtin asserts that one feels great moral responsibility to respond to others in particular situations, and vice versa. Discourse interaction is the meaning made by an individual as he or she acts in response to or while engaging with others. The idea of answerability strongly supports a mutual and lively dialogic fashion through discursive practice. This dialogism makes clear that "what we call identities remain dependent upon social relations and material conditions" (Holland, et al., 1998, p. 189).

These sociocultural lenses give us insights into an individual ESL student's learning process and identity formation within the host social, cultural, and educational environs. The individual ESL student's personal and social network is at all times interrelated to make meanings and shape his or her sense of self. The process of integrating acting, talking, thinking, feeling, believing, and valuing (Gee, 1990) is not simple for ESL students in the host country. Their ESL identities derive from the process of dealing with their conflicts, problems, and challenges. In the similar vein, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) investigate the metaphors of *becoming* and *border crossing* through narratives produced by US immigrants of adult L2 speakers, looking for the influence of language on self-identity shift. They reached the conclusion that the late bilinguals (in terms of age) struggled to reconstruct their selves: "They physically and symbolically crossed the border between one way of being and another and perceive themselves as becoming someone other than who they were before" (p. 175). Their study supports the idea that the process of adopting new concepts while learning and using an L2 is a way to rediscover a learner's self in relation to others in the host society.

In closing, learning a second language means not only acquiring linguistic knowledge but also acquiring socially situated knowledge. A great deal of the literature in L2 learning highlights the fact that L2 learning and practice in a host country is a negotiation process, negotiating between two competing languages, cultures, and human agencies themselves. This negotiation process changes the L2 speakers' thoughts, perspectives, and attitudes, and therefore, their identities are shifting and re-forming to different shapes, as in the emphases of sociocultural theory and standpoint view altogether that "human personalities are made up of different roles that get played out in dialogic situations" (Kramsch, 2000, p. 152).

Methodology & Data Analysis

The methodological and analytical approach utilized in this study integrates feminist research methodology (FRM). A central point differing from traditional qualitative methodology

is "Feminist methodology seeks to break down barriers that exist among women as well as the barriers that exist between the researcher and the researched" (Bloom, 1998, p. 1). Hesse-Biber and Leckenby (2004) propose a *synergistic* approach in order to understand FRM: "While traditional research employs the components of research: method, methodology, and epistemology, the synergistic engagement of these components in feminist research interrogates the status quo, aiming to raise our consciousness about how we do research" (p. 210). Harding (1987) also asserts that FRM should contain (a) recognition of women's experiences as resources; (b) doing research *for* women; and (c) bringing a researcher's own experiential knowledge in doing research along with race, class, gender, among others. Sprague (2005) states, "Researchers' choices of how to use these methods constitute their methodology; and each methodology is founded on either explicit or unexamined assumptions about what knowledge is and how knowing is best accomplished" (p. 5). Together, a feminist standpoint perspective brings about pragmatic, reflexive, and situated research.

   This particular emphasis on situated knowledge, place, and positionality is all connected with respondents in this study who share common aspects, such as geographic border-crossing (Korea-U.S.), language diversity (Korean-English), and cultural complexities (Korean culture-American culture). However, each respondent in different contexts produces different experiences and knowledge. Individual participants' worldviews are all dependent upon their situation. Therefore, multiplicity, fragmentation, and differences are strongly supported by the characteristics of FRM (Hesse-Biber & Yaiser, 2004; Letherby, 2003; Ramazanoglu, 2002). The strength of FRM is to develop a relationship, from the beginning of data gathering to the analysis stage, through dynamic interactions and mutual dependence, between the participants and the researcher. FRM allows the researcher to apply multiple paradigms, respecting diversity and difference and to mingle her own experiences with those of the respondents. This was the reason I believed this methodological leans was most appropriate for this study of identity.
Data Collection and Analysis

   Three participants were selected via a *purposeful sampling* method (Merriam, 1998), which is "based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (p. 61). Two were in their 20s and one was in her 30s. They were born and raised in three different cities in South Korea and had been in graduate programs in the southwestern United States for eight months, four years, and six years respectively at the time of data collection. Interview data was collected for a year from January 2006 to February 2007. The participants' vignettes are as follows.

   Youngmi (pseudonym) had two years of previous living experiences in the United States prior to her current study. The purpose of coming back to the United States was to succeed in her future career. She said: *Living in a foreign country without friends and families is a challenge. Dealing with loneliness is unbearable. Communicating and studying in my nonnative language is unimaginably hard. Because of that, I had regretful moments at first. Now, I get used to this life style. I even enjoy this life. I've overcome many difficulties for my success in the future* (Youngmi, February 17, 2006).

   Bonny's (pseudonym) desire to study in the United States was to challenge her ability to make a difference in her life. In her own words: *I'm grateful for my choice and decision to study in America. My English and lack of background knowledge are the biggest barriers, but I think I can make it through. My shaky life back in Korea has been the strength and motif for me to stay*

up tight in America, and that is the power of not giving up on what I'm doing today. My past life keeps reminding me of a reason I'm here (Bonny, April 16, 2006).

Hehjung's (pseudonym) primary purpose in coming to the United States was to take intensive English courses. After a semester in the intensive English program, she decided to stay and study more at an American university. She said: *A first couple of months in an American college were the hardest time ever because of my poor English. I was depressed. I didn't go out for a month. I didn't want to meet people. And I was losing my interest in the study. I lost my confidence. Nothing was meaningful to me at that time. I kept wondering: why am I here? What am I doing in this foreign country? All I earned was pain from the language. I almost quit school. At that time, one side of my mind said that I should quit. The other side of my mind kept telling me that I needed to continue. I decided to keep going simply not to be a loser. If I quit, I would become a loser and nowhere to go. One phrase that kept me going – "Don't be a loser"* (Hehjung, January 22, 2006).

The qualitative data analysis software, Atlas.*ti* (2003-2008), was utilized in order to transcribe, code, and identify emerging themes. I synchronized narrative research analysis tools: the "three dimensional inquiry space: interaction, continuity, and place" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 54) and the "progressive-regressive" method, which is an analytic process for moving forward and backward through a personal narrative to chart significant events that recur in a person's life in different forms over time (Bloom, 1998, p. 64). The integration of these two tools helped me to analyze the complex and rich stories of the respondents and to see how the participants positioned themselves in their own narratives. The analysis process was a reminder that the knowledge is within us and is derived from our own experiences of everyday life. The way the participants understand their lives creates their own knowledge, and that is the source of knowledge for others. The difference between individuals truly matters in creating knowledge. Epistemology resulting from this study contains an individual student's voice that needs to be theorized and woven with existing epistemology for linguistically and culturally diverse female ESL students in American universities.

Findings

This study found that the participants' graduate education in American universities provided them the opportunity to reexamine their sense of self. Youngmi revealed that her graduate education in the United States helped her build an assertive voice and, through her new self-authority, she believed that she was able to stabilize her self-esteem. Bonny found it possible to deconstruct her preexisting persona and is now in the process of reconstructing her new persona. Finally, Hehjung's graduate education in the United States awakened her self-consciousness about freedom of choice and equality. This consciousness led her to reexamine her self as a Korean woman and increase her self-value.

Identity shift is likely to take place through second language practice. The participants revealed that second language discourse styles influenced them to develop second language persona. The direct and detail-oriented spoken and written English discourse patterns made them think more specifically and explicitly. The participants came to a realization that indirect answers are treated as impolite, confusing, and ambiguous in American educational context. They feel *honest, comfortable, and convenient* when initiating conversation in English. Accordingly, they feel their personality changes when they speak in English. This shift was not something they expected when they came to the United States.

The participants reported that the concept of equality through the L2 practices has gradually settled in and has influenced their perceptions of whom. The equal stance with interlocutors made them feel a sense of self-worth, which brought them a great deal of self-confidence. The participants' language struggles went hand-in-hand with their emotional struggles. They reported that emotional stress caused by the English language, such as fear, anxiety, and depression, resulted in negative effects. As a consequence, they avoided people, lost their motivation, and achieved low academic accomplishments. Hence, gaining self-confidence and the search for self-value meant a lot to the participants because these gains played a role in removing their negative feelings about their selves. These findings are aligned with Tse's (1996) case study result that the participant's growth of self-confidence in comprehending American literature revealed a shift of her persona from a "quiet" student to a person who "expresses her opinions" (p. 23). In the light of Tse's study as well as my research, these women students' volition to change their lives also made this a positive transformation. An important aspect to keep in mind is that this transformation was not an automatic consequence of their living in the United States but the outcome of struggles and scuffles in the course of surviving in the host country.

The participants pointed that asymmetrical academic power between professors and foreign students strongly exists in the American institution. Asymmetrical power relations in academe are nothing new to these students. However, this point seems to be more relevant to their expectations that the relationship between the professor and the student is close to equal in American institutions. Thus, discovering the hierarchical academic relationship in American institutions was a surprise to these students. Whereas the practice of the English language has given them the opportunity to develop a sense of egalitarianism, the institutional stance evoked feelings of disparity and oppression. These feelings were compounded by subsequent self-blame and self-doubt. In the process of overcoming emotional disparity and oppression, and in making an effort to alter uneven power positions in American institutions, the participants used strategies of adaptation, resistance, interaction, and self-reflection. Consequently, the participants seemed to develop multiple social positions through the second language and cultural experiences in American institutions. Such social positions are an ELL, an Asian student, a Korean woman, an international student, an alien, or an outsider. These multilayered subject positions, as Hall (1996) wrote, become *concepts* of L2 identities that emerged within the play of L2 modalities of power in American institutions. The students' second language identities are situational and ever-changing. A great majority of these aspects, as presented by the participants, are explained by Rogoff (2003): "Individual and cultural processes are mutually constituting. . . . Human development is a process of changing people's participation in sociocultural activities that themselves develop with the involvement of people" (p. 51). Identity has never been a unified outcome of activities; it is, as this study has demonstrated, a diverse concept that each participant produces as part of an ongoing, reciprocal process with others (Hall).

Through this research, I was able to unpack how the process through which female Korean students have been affected by their L2 and American cultures, and how their experiences have impacted the subsequent representation of their identities as women, as educators, and as bilingual/bicultural members of their home and host societies. In the course of my research I have found that the female L2 students are constantly faced with the challenge of reexamining their self-identities, as well as the way in which they are viewed by others both inside and outside their respective social, cultural, and/or academic communities. The experience of living in a host country provides the opportunity and motivation to pay more attention to each

L2 learner's own interests and to reexamine self-identities. The process of consistent and perpetual self-examination in L2 contexts may also be closely related to the result of "becoming who they are" (Hall, 1996, p. 4) and the confrontation between how they *want* to be represented and how they *are* represented by others, all of which evidently affects the students' identity.

Discussion

The findings of this research reinforce the idea that when people are physically transferred to new sociocultural environments, they are also cognitively transferred into different social settings (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; Rose, 1995). The use of the second language, as it relates to the geographical changes, seems to be closely related to changes of ESL students' perception. When L2 students endeavor to transfer into new social and institutional settings, findings from this study propose that their transference seems to be temporary, conscious, and strategic. This temporary, conscious, and strategic process affects them to develop an L2 identity – what I refer to *strategic identity*. The participants consciously developed their own idiosyncratic strategies that were deliberate and temporary: separating, decorating, mimicking, adopting, passing, and resisting. In their L1 situation, the participants did not need to develop these strategies. They needed to develop these strategies in order to succeed in L2 contexts. This standpoint suggests that if the participants' language and institutional environment change, their strategies to deal with the new language and environment would likely change.

This discussion suggests that the changes ESL students make in the course of their studies are most likely a tentative and conscious process. Paralleling my discussion, Stritikus and Nguyen (2008) use the term *strategic transformation* found among Vietnamese students. In their description, female ESL students tended to "employ strategic transformation, which refers to the process in which students intentionally define gender or cultural identities as ways to leverage social status and power within specific situations" (p. 889). Shin (2005) also discussed that Korean and English bilingual speakers strategically and purposefully choose their language or code-switch for their communication, which eventually affects their development of bilingual identity. Stritikus and Nguyen's study, Shin's discussion, and presumably a number of studies about ESL learning, have revealed that ESL students' use of strategies is a common approach. I argue that it is important to treat it as L2 students' strategic identities because the result of their strategic process is a representation of who they are and a reflection of *who they have become* (Hall, 1996).

Vygotsky's (1978) stress that one's thought process and the use of language is inseparable. ESL students' use of strategies in their L2 is definitely a learning and thought process. A long term and repeated use of particular strategies in different situations, using their L2 as a mediated tool, is evidence that L2 students' thought processes are interrelated with their L2 discourses, and the process of internalizing L2 strategic activities brings about the transformation needed for L2 students to grow. Each time L2 students use their strategies through talk, they value themselves. In other words, L2 students' internalizing strategic process and valuing themselves are unified with the growth and formation of their selves. The interconnectedness between internalizing strategic activities and the growth of self is a result of each L2 student's conscious process in the L2 dialogic mode (Bakhtin 1986). Since Bakhtin urges that this consciousness affects the person to form identity, and L2 students' conscious

strategic movement is, eventually, to form meaning construction in their L2 positions, I posit that L2 students' conscious strategic process forms strategic identity.

Identity is not static; it moves, grows, and is ever-changing. Identity also reflects the sociocultural, political, and institutional traits of the society. An individual nonnative English speaking student's way to deal with this complex L2 society differs from individual to individual in different situations and positions. Their conscious process within the L2 dialogic mode is "a form of life" (Gee, 1990, p. 175), their strategic activities and practices in their L2 position is a form of life and is, therefore, identity. Strategic identity proves an explanation for the position that L2 identity is in flux and idiosyncratic – it is not something we have, but something we *do* in different space and time (Gal, 1995). It is not someone we are, but someone we *become* (Hall, 1996).

L2 discourse practice contributes to the whole process of constructing the students' subjectivities. One of the more prominent results to emerge is a change of how these participants perceived their self-values as Korean women. Their gendered social position as *Korean women* in America was reflected in L2 language and cultural interactions. Even though the study participants learned English in Korea, the language impact on self-reflection of their values as Korean woman merely occurred to them. The changes in their perceptions about gender equality and self-values apparently started to occur when they began living in the United States and interacting with people in the English language. This suggests that language is not the only creator of the student's identity. Their physical and geographical movement along the lines of the language use and cultural shift may affect this to happen. This discussion supports work done by previous researchers (Norton & Pavlenko, 2004; Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000) who conclude that (a) the ideas and meanings connected to gender roles, norms, and expectations continue to be reshaped as L2 students encounter new cultural practices and discourses, and (b) social interactions and personal experiences of the language affect the construction of female ESL students' identities. Although linguistic characteristics contribute to the shape and construction of speakers' identities, my argument is that L2 students' language in identity construction must be viewed in "the dynamic interdependence of social and individual process" (John-Steiner, 1998, p. 1).

Conclusion

The primary motivation for exploring the subject of female postgraduate ESL students at American universities and their identity transformation was to understand my own Self and make sense of the changes in my own worldviews. By studying the experiences of the participants, I felt I could better understand myself. I found that the dynamic changes and re-formation that I experienced was a common change. This study helped me understand the challenges that each of the participants faced, as well as helping me realize that the process I have gone through, in forming identity in the context of others, was a road to developing my own epistemology.

In retrospect, the opportunity to live and study in a culturally diverse American university environment exposed me to a wide range of cultural norms and perspectives. This, in turn, has changed the way I view my own values and roles as a Korean woman. Reexamining my preexisting Korean woman's worldview and its priorities was the greatest challenge. My discussion about ESL students' strategic identity highlights and offers some explanation of this challenge. The cross-cultural and linguistic contacts she experienced made a real impact upon me for *becoming who I am* (Hall, 1996). My efforts to survive L2 challenges and institutional and

cultural differences created my L2 strategic identity, much like those of my participants. The construction of my bilingual and bicultural self was a result of English discourse in American institutional space and place. This exemplifies the idea that epistemology is built upon our ordinary daily lives. My awareness about this harmonizes with bell hooks (1994): "theory emerges from the concrete, from my efforts to make sense of everyday life experiences, from my efforts to intervene critically in my life and the lives of others" (p. 70). The epistemology derived from the process of theorizing my own and my participants' ESL experiences was not far from where we were – it was right there by us in every moment of our existence. The way I theorized my own self through and with the participants' lenses was indeed feminist epistemology gained through this research process.

In conclusion, by theorizing the female ESL graduate students' personal experiences in American universities, this study contributes to further diversify American higher educational practices by giving American educators a resource for better understanding the challenges faced by female graduate students from non-English speaking countries or from communities and minority languages and cultures. The study can also help us expand our understanding and theorizing of the relationships among language, culture, education, and gender in accordance with identity construction. This will present another important way of knowing female ESL students in higher education. Finally, the present study may be used as a platform for many women students who find themselves in similar American graduate level contexts, to better understand ourselves and our experiences through other women's narratives.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Adult Children of Korean Immigrants:
Maintaining Language and Negotiating Ethnic Identities through Generations

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Introduction

By 2008, almost one-third of young adults between ages 18-34 in the U.S. had migrated as children or was born in the U.S. of at least one foreign-born parent. Scholars predict that as they transition to adulthood, this large group of new Americans will impact society increasingly and widely felt throughout the society (Rumbaut & Komaie, 2010). These children of immigrants are coming of age at a critical time, as the U.S. experiences dramatic demographic shifts through immigration and aging; international migration resulting from the liberalization of U.S. civil rights and immigration laws in the latter half of the twentieth century fueled ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic diversity (Myers, 2007; Settersten, Furstenberg, & Rumbaut, 2005).

More than 1.3 million Korean Americans reside in the United States, the majority of them foreign-born immigrants and their children who have arrived since 1965. Migration brings changes to socioeconomic status, cultural views and language, and new challenges, and studies of Korean immigrant families have focused on the experiences of the first generation and their economic and social adaptation to the United States, as a result of ethnic entrepreneurship, labor participation, and changing gender roles and relations (Light & Bonacich, 1991; Min, 1998; Park, 1997; Song & Moon, 1998). Studies of the second generation have thoughtfully explored racial, ethnic, class, political, and religious identity formations (Chung, 2007; Dhingra, 2007; Kibria, 2002; Park, 2005).

Drawing from in-depth interviews with 137 Korean Americans living in the greater San Francisco and Los Angeles areas, this article focuses on identity and language maintenance in the lives of adult children of Korean immigrants. This article analyzes a subset of data from a large study on generations and the Korean American family that chronicled themes of aging, immigration, family, culture, and caregiving (Yoo & Kim, 2014).[1] An in-depth analysis of how

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[1] See Yoo, G. J., & Kim, B.W. (2014). *Caring across generations: The linked lives of Korean American families.* NY: NYU Press. Interviews were conducted by the authors or by trained student interviewers in English and audio-recorded with the permission of the respondent. An average interview took 1.5 to two hours. The in-depth semi-structured interview covered topics such as family's immigration experiences, racial and ethnic identities, parenting and marriage, and care giving expectations and practices regarding parents. Respondents were Korean Americans age 18 or older who had at least one immigrant parent over the age of 55 and resided in the greater San Francisco or Los Angeles metropolitan areas at the time of the interview (the study eventually included few

identity was continually negotiated and how language was adopted and passed on to future generations was not fully explored in the previous manuscript.

This article specifically explores themes raised by respondents in how they maintained their identity and Korean language as adults beyond their college years. Most studies have focused on the role of colleges in shaping contemporary racial and ethnic identity formations for Asian Americans as they offer resources such as the potential availability of Asian American peers; Asian and Asian American Studies and language courses; social, cultural, political, and religious student organizations formed around racial and ethnic groups; and study abroad opportunities in Asia (Kibria, 2004; Thai, 1999). We know so little on how language and identity is maintained for adult children of Korean immigrants outside of college and with the next generation of Korean Americans.

Ethnic identification is made up of many components and factors. Nagel (1994) explains how ethnicity was constructed from culture, which encompasses "the material of language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry, or regionality," and identity, structured by boundaries that define one's belonging to a group" (p. 152). Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway (2008), in their comparative study of second-generation American groups in New York City, posited that ethnic groups shaped and expressed three aspects of difference among people – subjective identity, social networks, and historical accumulation of specific traits – even as members within the group vary in their experiences and identification with ethnicities. Experiencing and expressing culture and ethnicity is a part of everyday life, especially for children of immigrants who negotiate their ethnicity and in that process, may redefine what it means to be American as well as limitations of who may be accepted as "true" Americans due to race, ethnicity, and/or culture (Alba & Nee, 2003; Kasinitz et al., 2008; Tuan, 1998). Studying the racial and ethnic options of children of immigrants remain significant; debates about the economic, political, social, and cultural incorporation (or the lack of) process of contemporary immigrants continue while immigrants and their offspring may ask how racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic diversity will shape and/or hinder their belonging as new Americans. One important distinction of this cultural difference for immigrant ethnic groups, both from the perspective of the ingroup members and the dominant society, is language and how it is learned, retained, and/or taught (Kasinitz et al., 2008)

Language Ability Associated with Cultural Authenticity

While many immigrants to the U.S. become fluent in English, others do not; maintaining heritage language in the immigrant household may foster ease of communication among its members. Studies show that children of immigrants quickly become English-fluent and often English-dominant in the U.S. (Kasinitz et al., 2008; Park & Sarker, 2007). Many immigrant parents try to maintain their homeland language by using it in the home and enrolling their children in afterschool, weekend, and/or immersion language programs (Zhou & Cai, 2002).

respondents whose mother was under age 55 but needed caregiving due to severe illness or medical conditions). Potential respondents were recruited through announcements and snowball sampling via social networks, a national Korean American monthly magazine, and Korean American civic, religious, and professional organizations. Recruiting through professional and civic organizations, respondents reported high education, income, and occupational attainments. However, the respondents reported a wide range of parental occupations and family socioeconomic backgrounds.

While the pioneer generation arrived over 100 years ago, the contemporary Korean American community is composed mainly of foreign-born persons and their children. It is also a transnational one connected socially, economically, and politically to the Korean peninsula and diasporic communities around the world (Chang, 2003-2004). As a result, language ability is often associated with identity and cultural "authenticity," and many children of immigrants who are born and/or raised in the U.S. reported how they are praised or judged by coethnics[2] based on heritage language fluency (Kasinitz et al., 2008; Kibria, 2002; Louie, 2004).

Table 1 provides the demographic profile of the participants in the study. Almost three in five (59.1 percent) of the respondents were foreign-born. The mean age of the respondent was 34 years. About six out of 10 (59.1 percent) respondents were born in Korea and immigrated to the U.S. between ages one and 15.

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Korean American Respondents (N=137)

Age	Range of Years (Mean)
Respondents	22-50 (34)
Respondents' Mean Age of Arrival in the U.S.	1-15 (7)
	Number (Percentage)
Place of birth	
Korea	81 (59.1%)
U.S.	52 (38.0%)
Other	4 (2.9%)
Gender	
Female	73 (53.3%)
Male	64 (46.7%)
Highest Educational Attainment	
Some high school	1 (0.7%)
Some college	9 (6.6%)
College graduate	43 (31.4%)
Marital Status	
Single	61 (44.5%)
Married/Partnered	73 (53.3%)
Divorced	3 (2.2%)
How well do you speak Korean?	
Not at all/ Not too well	46 (33.6%)
Well/Pretty well/Very well	83 (60.6%)
Missing response	8 (5.8%)
How well do you read Korean?	
Not at all/ Not too well	75 (54.7%)
Well/Pretty well/Very well	54 (39.4%)
Missing response	8 (5.8%)
How well do you write in Korean?	
Not at all/ Not too well	75 (54.7%)
Well/Pretty well/Very well	54 (39.4%)
Missing response	8 (5.8%)

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[2] We use "coethnics" to refer to other members of one's ethnic group.

Almost 60 percent of the study respondents reported that they spoke Korean "well," "pretty well," and "very well" on the self-administered demographic survey while 39.4 percent indicated that they read and wrote Korean "well," "pretty well," or "very well." One-third (33.6 percent) of the respondents reported that they spoke Korean "not at all" or "not too well," while slight more than half (54.7 percent) said that they read and wrote in Korean "not at all" or "not too well." The next section provides respondents' discussion of how they learned or maintained Korean language and changes in levels of desire and opportunities to do so in childhood and adulthood. They also discuss the meaning of Korean language in the context of their own ethnic identities and the lives of their third generation children, as applicable.

Language Maintenance and Acquisition in Childhood

Participants reported different levels of parental pressure or encouragement to maintain or learn Korean in childhood years. Although many respondents reported attending language schools as children, they did not attend regularly – those who attended mentioned one month to one year; they also did not mention language schools as the source of learning or developing their heritage language skills. Some were encouraged or required to speak Korean at home; others said that their parents did not stress the use of Korean in the home.

Many 1.5-generation participants who came as young children reported that they retained Korean from the years they had lived in and attended school in Korea before immigrating. They reported that in adulthood, their Korean ability stayed about the same level as they had at the time of immigration. For example, Daryl, whose family immigrated in 1979, described his Korean language skills as static. "I finished 6th grade in Korea. It was basically what I… watched on TV or read it from a book or something, but not necessarily anything formal… So, my Korean is somewhere, around 12 – 6th (laughing) grade."

Angela, whose family also immigrated in 1979, came at age seven. She described how her mother and father disagreed on using Korean in the household:

> My dad was like, you need to speak English to get ahead. I want you to write in English, speak the language, and get ahead. There [were] two schools of thought in one household. And that's what was going on all the time; my mom was always yelling at my dad, "speak in Korean!"

Teresa was born in the U.S. but also lived in Korea for nine years before her family moved back when she was a high school student. She persuaded her parents to send her to an international (English-speaking) school most of the time in Korea because she found it too stressful. She explained that as a result, her Korean speaking and writing abilities developed at different paces, saying "you can tell from a mile away that my Korean writing sucks. So in my Korean handwriting, that had typographical errors. My handwriting never changed."

Susie, whose family came to the U.S. via Latin America, echoed many children of immigrants when she stated, "I think one thing good is the fact that I can speak Korean. I think it's important because it's helpful for my parents, so I would say that." Timothy describes himself as a 1.5 generation in relation to his Korean skills: "I can still relate to my parents and communicate with them and communicate with a first generation adult and understand where they're coming from."

Helen came to the U.S. as a child, but she attended schools in both Korea and the U.S. because her father's career moved the family between the two countries. Now in her mid-40s, she described how her Korean fluency led to the particular friends she made in college, many of whom found jobs in Korean communities after graduation due to their language ability:

> They are all 1.5 generation, so like me. And they all came here around the same age. We were 14 or 15. And those are the friends that I became close to. There were [Korean] people who had been here longer or who came here at an earlier age. And I just didn't relate to them.

Respondents who had parents who immigrated to the U.S. in the 1970s and earlier, to areas with no or few other Koreans, and had professional occupations tended to report that their parents spoke English fluently and used it as the primary language of communication in the household. Those who grew up as one of few or only Koreans in town recalled wanting to become fluent in English as soon as possible so that they could fit with their peers; their parents also prioritized English acquisition so that they could catch up in school. With few coethnics in their schools and town, maintaining or learning Korean became a lesser priority.

Gracie, a second-generation in her late 30s who grew up in a Midwestern city with very few Koreans or immigrants in general, recalled:

> My sister, four years older than me, spoke only Korean until she went to kindergarten. Because the community… is so homogenous, having a child that didn't speak English was pretty novel for the school. My sister was completely traumatized. From then on, my parents spoke only English to us. Also, back then, there wasn't the movement that there is now to embrace other cultures. Back then it was all about assimilation, especially in [the state] where our parents were the first immigrants. Most of the Korean friends that I grew up with speak only English or really elementary Korean.

Gerald's parents also immigrated in the 1960s. A second-generation in his 40s, he also recalled how he experienced prejudice and bullying as the first Asian and Korean child on his block, and how that affected his Korean language skills and identity.

> My mother did try to teach me and my grandparents try to teach me [Korean] but I did not want to learn. You got to remember, kids can be so cruel. I got picked on enough just for being Asian, I didn't want to learn how to speak it and give them more reason. But I regret that… I can recall throughout my childhood even as a young adult saying to myself it isn't fair. It wasn't my choice to be Korean. I didn't choose to be this. I wanted to so badly to change my last name. I wanted to lose any identity of being Korean. I thought that the prejudice that went on was unfair and cruel. It was unjust.

Dylan's parents came to the U.S. and settled in a small town in the Midwest. Now in his late 40s, the second-generation discussed growing up Korean at a time and a place where none of his peers or neighbors had a concept of Korea as a country or ethnic group, and the only "Korean value" that his parents emphasized in their household was to earn straight A's in school. "What it

meant to be Korean up until I was about in the sixth grade meant… your house smelled funny. That you took off your shoes at the front door and people would ridicule that… [B]eing a minority in a White school in [the Midwest in the 1960s] meant that I got beat up regularly." It was not until college where Dylan took an Asian Studies course where he was taught Korean history for the first time. It inspired him to learn Korean at age 21. "So I spent a year in Korea, basically and I learned Korean and that was a watershed event for me."

Caron, a second-generation born and raised in southern California in a city with a large Korean population, learned Korean through family and classes, but describes her ability as "really bad."

> …my parents [spoke] Korean and English while I was growing up. I didn't speak it. I realized this when my cousin in Korean came to live with us… But since she lived with me, I learned Korean through her. And then I also took Korean class [in high school] and I took Korean class [in college]. So, that's how I know how to read and write and I'm better in conjugation, you know, so. I think that helped but before I was really bad. I'm not that good because I never practice it.

Other second-generation respondents also learned Korean from relatives who immigrated and lived in the same household for some time. Yunjung's parents, the first to arrive among their extended kin, opened their home to grandparents, uncles aunts, and cousins who immigrated later to the U.S.; Yunjung learned Korean by living with kin and attending family Bible studies conducted in Korean. Regina described that she learned Korean "naturally and organically growing up." She spoke with her parents in Korean and English, and asked family members to teach her Korean as she grew older because she wanted to learn it; she spoke with her parents and family members such as her grandmother, and wrote them letters and cards.

Joe came to the U.S. when he was three years old, and said he learned from his mother and sisters. He mentioned attending Korean language school for one or two months as a child before stopping because "it's not what I wanted to do." But he took Korean in college one year because "I really wanted to learn Korean again." Norbert, a second-generation who family lived in the East Coast and the Midwest, remembered attending Saturday Korean school. His parents spoke Korean to him until about age 10, but then switched to English. They now communicate primarily in English: "Well, they sometimes speak to me in Korean, I can understand it but I don't speak all that well."

Jordan, a second-generation in her 30s, grew up in a predominantly white city in southern California with professional parents. Jordan and her parents somewhat humorously blame each other for why Jordan does not speak Korean as an adult. Her parents, who attended graduate school in the U.S. and worked in professional fields, spoke English in the home. The family also resided in a city in Orange County in southern California with very few Koreans. Decades later, Korean immigrants have settled in parts of Orange County and have established a visible demographic, cultural, commercial, and political presence; in 2014, Orange County was home to the third largest Asian American population (after Los Angeles and Santa Clara counties) in the U.S. (Do & Goffard, 2014).

The contemporary Asian American population has increased in number and diversity and settled throughout the U.S.; race and space has historically intersected to construct and in some cases deconstruct Asian American identity and community formations (Kim, 2015). Among respondents, many second-generation and those who came as very young children who were in

their 30s and 40s at the time of the interview described what it was like to be one of the few (or the only) Korean and/or Asian family in town, including in southern California. However, the ones who were born and/or raised in southern California (like Jordan) attracted the most curiosity (or worse) from co-ethnics if they did not speak Korean. The assumption that they encountered was that Korean Americans, particularly natives of southern California, *must* understand or know how to speak Korean, because there have *always* been a critical mass of Koreans, Korean language resources, and access to Korean media and cultural content in the area. As a result of this idea, many respondents in their middle adulthood found that their ethnic/cultural identity became tied to Korean language ability even as they sought to work out complex and multiple ways of defining and understanding what it means to be Korean from family, coethnics, ethnic/racial organizations and communities, Korean language and other coursework in schools, popular culture, traveling to/living in Korea, and the broader U.S. society (Yoo & Kim, 2014).

Language Maintenance and Coethnic Pressures

As previously stated, this study draws from Korean Americans who resided in the greater San Francisco Bay and Los Angeles areas at the time of the interviews; some are lifetime residents while others have relocated to two of the largest Korean-populated places in the U.S. that continue to serve as immigrant gateways (Yu & Choe, 2003). Moreover, immigrant communities everywhere have become more transnational due to developments in communication and transportation which allow easier and more affordable ways to maintain social, cultural, political, and economic ties (Ong, 1999; Kasinitz et al., 2008). Those who did not speak Korean (33.6 percent of the respondents) discussed instances in which co-ethnics, spanning different age groups and generations, challenged or criticized their Korean identity. Meejin, a second-generation, grew up with a strong awareness of her Korean American identity as a result of always being reminded about this racial/ethnic "otherness" in predominantly white hometowns. However, she observed that "as I'm getting older, even if I'm in a Korean restaurant – because I don't know Korean and I can't order in Korean all the time, they look down on me." She shared how co-ethnics seem to judge her sense of ethnic attachment and identity on how well she spoke Korean.

Lauren came to the U.S. at the age five and grew up in Koreatown in Los Angeles, but she grew up among Spanish-speaking Latino neighbors who make up a large proportion of its residents. "Growing up, my grandparents were here for a while, and they would say, 'aren't you ashamed of yourself? You speak Spanish and you can't speak Korean.' And I would say, 'Whatever!'" Lauren was a bilingual social worker who had English and Spanish-speaking clients. While she spoke enough Korean to provide basic interpreting when her bilingual Korean colleague was out of the office, Lauren struggled with knowing and using honorific Korean grammar structure and vocabulary. She explained how Korean-speaking clients would often give her amused or baffled looks. "People always ask me, 'you don't really look Korean, you speak Spanish, and what are you?' When she was younger, Lauren thought about living in Korea for a year to learn Korean so that she could communicate with her grandparents. It did not happen because she was too busy going to school and trying to become professionally and financially stable for herself and her parents. While she wanted to learn Korean, learning and speaking Spanish came more naturally to her in her neighborhood; as a Korean American social worker, coethnics expected to possess Korean language fluency that matched her age and occupation.

Kenneth, a second-generation in his early 40s, had similar experiences from both "older Koreans" and other second-generation persons who used language to judge him.

> I don't think I have [to] try to prove myself. I know sometimes – I don't speak Korean and when other Koreans do come around who do speak Korean, they look at me – especially older Koreans, older than me – they kind of frown upon me, or they look down on me because I don't speak Korean. If I'm with other Koreans, Korean Americans, second generation or whatever, sometimes maybe I do feel that you know maybe I'm not Korean enough for them or something.

Joy's parents came to study in the U.S., found jobs working in mainstream American companies, and spoke English with their children; Joy, also a second-generation whose parents studied in the U.S., worked in mainstream American companies, and spoke English fluently, recalled, "Even my parents didn't really teach me about Korean heritage. I chose to learn it later." She was active in Korean American student organizations in college and took Korean and Asian Studies courses. She shared that she rarely speaks Korean but is not apologetic about her language skills.

Dylan, one of the respondents, joked that, "My own…my own personal opinion is sending to Korean school is for the quickest and surest way to make sure that they'll hate learning Korean," many, especially those who grew up in the East Coast and Midwest, attended language schools as children. Most forgot the Korean that they learned there as children. Jeremy, who came when he was one year old, commented, "I'm almost surprised I don't know my language better than I should because I did take Korean school and the majority of my friends were Korean." Lina, whose family settled in the East Coast to attend graduate school, attended Korean school for five years before her father pulled out her in the fear that it would hinder her English ability. Gillian, whose parents immigrated to the Midwest in the 1960s, attended Korean school that her mother helped found; she described her Korean as "bad. Also being the youngest… I didn't have a grandparent around; there was no natural way to enforce the language." Yet, her mother helped run the school for more than 30 years, indicating its continued significance as a community institution.

Many respondents did take the time and effort in young adulthood to learn or improve Korean by studying language courses in college, studying abroad, and/or working in South Korea. With the rise of Korean popular culture since the late 1990s and the global popularity and accessibility of goods, respondents mentioned that they are learning or practicing Korean through television dramas, music, and films, resources that the younger Korean Americans have now that were not readily available in their own childhoods (Kim, 2013).

Overall, 60 percent of the respondents reported that they speak Korean well to very well. How do adult children of immigrants plan to pass on, if at all, Korean language to their own children, the third generation? How do these attitudes and practices toward heritage language acquisition differ between those who speak Korean fluently and those who do not? The next section explores their wishes and practices as they navigate the landscape of language and "Koreanness" for the next generation.

The Third Generation

Lina, who attended Korean school as a young child but did not retain the language, would consider Korean school for her own children, if she became a parent so that they could

communicate with relatives who still live in South Korea. "I plan to pitch the idea of Korean school to them, but I'm not going to make sure that they're doing their homework. Like if they say, they're sick of it, I'll take them out. I would like it if they learned a little bit about their culture."

Yunjung, a second-generation in her 30s, primarily speaks Korean with her parents. She noted how challenging it would be for the English-dominant second generation to emphasize Korean for their offspring, but hoped that her cohort would make a "deliberate effort" to pass on language and cultural aspects.

> …our generation [is] all fluent in English. It's so much harder to get the kids to talk, learn Korean, and they really won't have as much of a bicultural experience. I'm actually making more of an effort to improve my Korean too. It's something that could easily be overlooked, and I feel like if we don't make a deliberate effort, it'll be lost by our children's generation.

Angie, a second-generation in her early 40s, is married to a Vietnamese American and speaks Korean fluently. She describes her children who are in elementary and middle schools as "unilingual. I spoke to them in Korean when they were young but when they started school, they didn't want to speak it, and they forgot it after a while." However, she is emphasizing their ethnic heritages in other ways, such as knowing how to interact with elders and family members in culturally appropriate ways.

> I'm pretty Americanized, but it's very important for me to be respectful, and to teach my kids the same sort of respect for elders that I was taught. I think it's a good value to teach your kids… I think it's a very good tradition or cultural thing that I respect and I want to teach it to my children, not just because they're part Korean but because it's a cool thing and I want them to learn that. And hopefully they'll teach it to their kids. In Vietnamese, there's no bowing but there's something that you say, and they say that. And [my husband] insists that they call their elders by their proper terminology.

Nancy, married to a Chinese American, described how she teaches her toddler Korean through songs and stories. Like Angie, she liked reading stories that emphasize respect for elders and aspects of filial piety, viewing as a "Korean" value (Sung, 2000).

> We read some Korean fables together, and he loves for me to tell him, it's old tradition anyhow, he loves me to tell him specific stories… A little filial piety, so I think from stories I'm teaching him some Korean values, about honor your elders, filial piety, and about wanting to tell people who have these values that you're a part of them. I tell him that you're Korean; these are your people, who did these things too. Unfortunately he identifies much more in being Korean than being Chinese at all, but we'll have to work on that. As time goes on.

Johnny, who said he retained Korean though speaking with his parents, shared that Korean language media has helped their whole family with their Korean language. "Lately, it's been great – it's actually media that helped and Internet, and through TV, Korean broadcasting. So actually, we spent time with our own sons watching Korean news and shows and we're able to

talk about it and we actually pick up on some of it." With continued presence of Korean language media in the U.S. and the "birth of Korean cool" through popular culture, there may be more incentive and opportunities to learn or maintain the language for younger Korean Americans that was not available to the respondents in this study (Hong, 2014).

Conclusion

Previous studies indicate that fourth-generation Asian Americans are the most likely to feel impelled to seek or gain what they have lost culturally through the generations while the second and third generation are focused on "assimilating" (Tuan, 1998). In their young and middle adulthood with aging parents and young children, the adult children of immigrants in this study drew from exposure to and familiarity with various traditions and practices to define and voice their Korean American identity and experiences. Their experiences resembled other studies of second-generation Korean Americans as growing immigration and racial/ethnic diversity shift the social and cultural landscape of U.S. society; according to one study, the children of immigrants' "ability to select the best traits from their immigrant parents and their native-born peers yields distinct *second generation advantages*. Members of the second generation neither simply continue their parents' ways of doing things nor simply adopt native ways (Kasinitz et al., 2008, 20-21). Through the life course thus far, respondents discussed coming to terms with bicultural upbringings and trying to glean the best from their kin, communities, and the dominant society.

Language ability was just one of such facets to the respondents. Most of those who spoke Korean fluently did so because they had spent a part of their life in Korea and spoke it at home. Those who did not speak Korean fluently did not like how coethnics might judge their ethnic identity solely on language skills. Both the 1.5 and second generations expressed that despite their own desires, attempts, and availability of Korean language resources, it might not be easy to pass on Korean to the younger generation.

Respondents noted how Korean American identities and communities have radically changed during their lifetime. Many discussed the discrimination, marginalization, or isolation they encountered growing up as one of the few Koreans/Asians/immigrants in their neighborhoods and schools. Although they discussed the continuous presence of racism and other types of injustice and discrimination in society, they welcomed the progress that they have witnessed thus far in their lifetime; they hoped that the younger generation would realize the positive aspects of having a larger and transnational Korean/Korean American community.

Respondents are at work as they practice, remember, learn, and reassess their culture and Korean American identities in adulthood (Yoo & Kim, 2014). They do so as they interact with the aging first generation, more recently arrived immigrants, transnational subjects, and the growing cohort of third generation of the largely post-1965 immigrant population. As adult children of immigrants, they view language as part of the larger Korean culture. Those who speak it seek ways to pass it on to their children, nieces, and nephews; some who are not fluent joke that they will rely on their parents to teach their children while still others do not find it necessary to teach their children any Korean language. As the adult children of immigrants raise the next generation, they hope to draw upon aspects such as values, culture, history, and community participation to help compose the evolving Korean American experience.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Cure for English Fever?
Stories and Self-Selected Reading in English

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Abstract

There is some justification for "English fever" in Korea, but the approaches taken to improve English are not effiicient or practical. We suggest Korea consider approaches based on "The Comprehension Hypothesis" and we present evidence from studies done in Korea showing that this approach is efficient and effective. Outside the class, we suggest Korea consider investing in English libraries, and not English Villages.

It is well-known that Korea is experiencing a serious case of "English fever," an intense desire to make sure that its citizens, especially children, become highly proficient in English. Of course, some of this concern is well justified. Without question, English has become in world's second language.

The Importance of English

Airlines use English as their common language of communication. In fact, the International Civil Aviation Organization mandated that starting in 2008, all Air Traffic Controllers and flight crew members working with international flights must be proficient in English (http://www.aviation-esl.com/ICAO_English.htm).

English has become the language of science. An editorial in the journal Molecular Biology of the Cell (Drubin and Kellog, 2012) declared that "English is now used almost exclusively as the language of science" (http://www.molbiolcell.org/content/23/8/1399.full). In 1977, 83% of the articles cited in the Science Citation Index (SCI) were written in English (Garfeld, 1998). By 2005, this percentage had increased to 98.7% (Leydesdorff, 2008). This is a burden on scholars world-wide who are not native speakers of English and those working in Korea are no exception.

English is also the most used language on the internet. According to data gathered up to December, 2013, 801 million internet users use English (Chinese is number two, with 649 million users, followed by Spanish, with 222 million users). Fifty-eight percent of internet users use English on the internet (http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm).

Approaches to English

The perception that English is important is real. Every program and innovation to improve English in Korea in recent years, however, has been either contrary to what we know about language acquisition or is far too expensive and inefficient. We argue here from the point of view of theory, because there has been no serious effort to evaluate the impact of these innovations. The alternative we present here, however, has a great deal of empirical backing.

Schools in Korea are insisting on more and earlier English classes, and a large percentage of children attend extra classes outside of school (Hagwan) (Jeon, 2012), Most of these classes, according to our observations, use traditional methodology. The philosophy seems to be that if the traditional methods didn't produce results, let's do them harder.

Traditional methods are based on the "skill-building" hypothesis, the hypothesis that we learn language and develop literacy by first consciously learning grammar rules and memorizing vocabulary. This conscious knowledge, it is assumed, becomes "automatic" when we practice, which means using the new rules and vocabulary in speaking and writing. We "fine-tune" our knowledge of these rules when we get our errors corrected.

Before moving on to other views, there are good reasons why the Skill-Building hypothesis is hopeless: The grammar rules to be consciously learned are too numerous and many are too complex to be learned, and they have too many exceptions. Similarly, there are too many words to be learned. Korea adopted a "communicative approach" to English in 1994 (Park, 2009), a method that in our view made things worse: In addition to grammatical knowledge, students had to master the rules of "communicative competence," rules of social appropriateness, increasing the burden significantly.

In addition, many forms of the communicative approach rely on the "Comprehensible Output" hypothesis, the view that we acquire language by attempting to communicate with others, making errors and thereby encountering misunderstanding, and then correcting ourselves and arriving at correct forms when we succeed in making our conversational partners understand. There are serious problems with the Comprehensible Output hypothesis. Studies show that language acquirers do not produce enough output for this mechanism to have any real effect. Also, language acquirers hardly ever produce the kind of output needed for the Comprehensible Output hypothesis is work: Even when second language acquirers do talk, they rarely make the kind of adjustments the Comprehensible Output hypothesis claims are useful for acquiring new forms (Krashen, 2003; pp: 60-61).

The Comprehension Hypothesis

Our suggestion is that Korea consider approaches based on the Comprehension Hypothesis. The Comprehension Hypothesis claims that we subconsciously acquire language and develop literacy when we understand what we hear and read, when we obtain "comprehensible input."

There are important differences between the Comprehension Hypothesis and the others: According to approaches based on skill-building, we first consciously learn the components of language (e.g. vocabulary and grammar), and then, if we practice enough, we develop mastery of the language. In contrast, according to the Comprehension Hypothesis, mastery of the components of language is the result, not the cause of language acquisition. Another important difference is that skill-building approaches are typically painful: Few people are genuinely

interested in learning grammar rules and memorizing vocabulary, and few enjoy struggling to apply rules in stressful interactions. In contrast, methods based on the Comprehension Hypothesis are more likely to be perceived as pleasant (Krashen 1994; 2003). Comprehension-based language teaching has never lost in method comparison studies. Students in comprehension-based classes are consistently far better on communicative tests and do just as well, and often slightly better, on form-based tests (Krashen, 2003).

The Value of Read Alouds and Self-Selected Reading

The most effective beginning second and foreign language classes are those which are filled with comprehensible input, in which students are not forced to speak, in which errors are not corrected, and which involve students in interesting interactions: They include beginning classes which include stories, read alouds, and often include time for students to engage in self-selected reading. Reviews of these studies are available in several places (e.g. Krashen, 2003). We focus here on those studies carried out in Korea, with students in elementary school in English as a Foreign Language classes.

Table one presents a list of studies carried out by the first author and her colleagues in Korea in recent years. All were done in elementary schools (grades three to six) and all involved either reading aloud in English, pleasure reading, or a combination of both. Duration of the treatment ranged from 12 to 24 weeks, a relatively short time, as the results of previous studies suggest that these programs are more effective if they are long term (Krashen, 2011). Time set aside for recreational reading and/or story telling ranged from 15 to 40 minutes per session.

Table One: Description of studies done in Korea

Study	Grd	N (Exp/Co)	D (Mon)	RA	SSR	RT & Act. /per week	Reading Materials
Cho, K. & Seo, S. (2001)	5	120 (79/41)	5	Yes	No	40 m. 2/wk	Children's Storybooks
Cho, K. & Choi, S. (2003)	3	64 (32/32)	6	Yes	No	40 m. 2/wk	Children's Storybooks
Cho, K. & Kim, Hey J. (2004)	6	140 (70/70)	4	No	Yes	40 m.	Internet storybooks
Cho, K. & Kim, Hee J. (2005)	6	70 (35/35)	3	Yes	Yes	25-30 m.	Children's Newspapers
Cho, K. & Choi, D. (2008)	6	56 (28/28)	5	Yes	Yes	10-15 m. 2/wk RA/40 m. SSR	Children's Storybooks
Park, J.& Cho, K. (forthcoming)	3	68 (34/34)	4	Yes	No	15 m. 3/wk	Children's Storybooks

Note. Grd= Grade; N=Number of subjects; Mon=Month; D= Duration; RA=Read-Aloud (to children); SSR= Sustained Silent Reading; RT & Act.= Reading Time & Activity.
Table from: Cho and Krashen (forthcoming)

During the read-aloud sessions, the teacher discussed the cover and title of the book before reading the book to the children, and discussed the illustrations while reading the book. Follow-up activities included word games, jigsaw reading, choral/shared reading, role-play, and bookmaking.

Self-selected reading was done as "SSR": Sustained Silent Reading. During SSR time, students read books they wanted to read. There was no accountability after reading and there were no book reports. Occasionally, as was done after read-aloud sessions, students were encouraged to use words or content from the reading in word games or in book making activities.

Comparison students participated in traditional instruction only. Table 2 presents the results for read-aloud and SSR studies separately in terms of effect sizes. A positive effect size means that the students in the read-aloud/reading group outperformed comparison students. According to accepted practice, an effect size of .2 is a small effect, .50 is a medium effect and .8 or larger is a large effect (Cohen, 1988). An effect size of 1.0 means that the experimental group outperformed the comparisons by one standard deviation.

Table Two: Results of studies (Effect sizes)

	Vocabulary	R.C.	Combined
Read-Aloud			
Cho, K. & Seo, S. (2001)	0.31		
Cho, K & Choi, S. (2003)	0.57		
Park, J. & Cho, K. (f.c.)	0.38	1.14	
SSR only			
Cho, K. & Kim, Hey J. (2004)	0.32	0.46	
Read-Aloud & SSR			
Cho, K. & Kim, Hee J. (2005)		1.31	
Cho, K. & Choi, D. (2008)			0.52

Note. R.C.= Reading Comprehension; Combined=Vocabulary and R.C.
Table from Cho and Krashen (forthcoming)

There was a clear and consistent superiority for the groups hearing stories and doing self-selected reading. For the four vocabulary measures, the mean effect size was .40. For the three reading comprehension tests, the mean effect size was .97. The mean for the four results from the three read-aloud studies, regardless of measure, was .65, and for both SSR studies (four results) the mean was .63. For all eight measures combined, the mean was .65. These results are very close to effect sizes reported for revious studies of reading aloud and sustained silent reading in both first and second language development (Elley and Mangubhai, 1983; Elley, 1991; Krashen, 2011, Nakanishi, 2014).

Outside of School: English Villages and the Alternative

Adoption of methods based on the Comprehension Hypothesis also means different ways of helping English students outside of school. Currently, several countries have established "English villages,' small towns or resorts in which only English is spoken, where, for a fee, visitors can immerse themselves in English. The Seoul English village was started in 2004 and there are several others in Korea. The Korean government supports English Villages because they feel they will diminish the number of Koreans who go abroad (or who send their children abroad) to improve their English, a drain on the Korean economy. English villages, we are told, are real communities in which only English can be spoken, a place where students of English can go to practice their English and feel like they "have left Korea behind."

It must be pointed out, however, that the villages are not real. The buildings are simulations of banks, post offices, airline offices, etc. and the interactions are simulations: The "residents" of the English village in Korea are actually English teachers trained to play different roles, such as policemen. They also give classes: The Seoul English village offers classes with a nonacademic flavor (games, cooking, art broadcasting) [http://seoulenglishvillage.weebly.com/classes.html].

To our knowledge there have been no formal evaluations of the English Villages. We have no idea if they are really helping English language acquisition. Even if visiting an English village does help English language development, can English villages realistically make a contribution to English education in Korea? Students go for short visits (three days, with longer "camps" during the summer [http://seoulenglishvillage.weebly.com/about-sev.html]). If each village can serve 500 students, and all villages are completely full at all times, and if there are 30 English villages in Korea (data from Jeon, 2012), they can accommodate about a half million students per month or six million per year, about the number of children in grades in which English is taught in Korea.

This calculation assumes that each child can get to a village one time. While English villages appear to be less expensive than living in an English-speaking country, attending for more than a single day can be expensive. According to Jeon (2012), attending a long-term camp can cost 1.8 million won (US $1700).

Jeon (2012) notes that after some initial enthusiasm after English villages were first established, "the popularity of English villages was short-lived. Most of them suffered financial strain due to a shortage of students … In 2007, according to the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology, English villages across the country lost 21 billion won" (p. 401).

Libraries

There is a simple, low-cost and highly effective alternative: Libraries, with extensive collections of books, magazines, and comics in English. Study after study has confirmed that the amount of self-selected free voluntary reading done is related to second language (and first language) development (Krashen, 2004), and libraries are a convenient (and economical) place to find interesting reading material for those of all social classes. Libraries can serve students of all socio-economic levels at zero cost to the students throughout their school careers as well as throughout the lifetime.

There are some English libraries in Korea; the Busan English Library contains about 40,000 English books, including 1000 comic books, a good step in the right direction (see e.g. http://www.bel.go.kr/site_eng/lib_intro/).

Dangers of English Fever

A real danger of English fever is the neglect of the first language, a fear that is justified by the tendency to value the acquisition of English over the continuing development of Korean. This is a tragedy. It is true that nearly all scientific articles are written in English, but not everything worth reading is in English: We must not deny students the wisdom of literature and philosophy written in Korean. Also, advanced competence in English does not require massive investment of school time: Our goal in second language pedagogy is to develop intermediates, which means enough competence to understand at least some authentic input, and the knowledge to know how to improve on one's own. This does not require years and years of hard study. There is plenty of time for Korean.

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