

KOREAN HERITAGE SCHOOL TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

by

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Dedication

This is dedicated to my loving husband, Jong Hyun Lee and my two wonderful children
Hwang Seung and Yoon Seung

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Table of Contents

	Page
KOREAN HERITAGE SCHOOL TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY	1
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
Abstract	x
Chapter One	1
Statement of the Problem	4
Statement of Purpose.....	7
Personal purpose.....	8
Practical purpose.....	9
Intellectual purpose.....	11
My Identity in Relation to the Research Problem	14
Research Questions	15
Significance of the Study	15
Summary	16
Chapter Two.....	17
Issue of Bilingualism and English-Only Monolinguals	17
Heritage Language Teachers: Professional Identity and Teacher Education.....	36
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework	39
Summary	46
Chapter Three.....	48
Participants and Research Location	49
Research Design.....	50
Research Data.....	51
Procedure.....	57
Data Analysis	60 61
Translation.....	63 64

Validity Checks	66
Validity Threats.....	68
Ethical Issues.....	69
Summary	69
Chapter Four	70 71
Research question 1: What is the professional identity of these Korean heritage school teachers?.....	70 71
Research question 2: How have the Korean heritage school teachers' identities been shaped?.....	101 102
Research question 3: How are the identities and ideologies of Korean heritage school teachers (re)produced and constructed through the practices in place at heritage language schools?.....	113 114
Summary	153 154
Chapter Five.....	154 155
Conclusions	155 156
Implications.....	165 166
Further Research	170 171
Final Thoughts	171 172
Appendix A: IRB Approval Letter	174 175
Appendix B: Recruitment Email	176
Appendix C: Focus Groups Interview Guide	178
Appendix D: One-on-One Interview Protocol	179
Appendix E: Informed Consent Form: In –Depth Interview	180
Appendix F: Informed Consent Form: Focus Group Interview.....	182 181
References.....	184 182

List of Tables

Table	Page
<i>Table 1.</i> Profile of Participants in In-depth interviews	55
<i>Table 2.</i> The timeline of data collection	60

List of Figures

Figure	Page
<i>Figure 1.</i> Teacher Identity as Dynamic, Holistic Interaction among Multiple Parts (Olsen, 2008).	44
<i>Figure 2.</i> The professional identity of the Korean heritage school teachers	100
<i>Figure 3.</i> The shaping of the Korean HL teachers' professional identity	112
<i>Figure 4.</i> (Re)production (construction) of the Korean HL teachers' professional identity in heritage schools.....	152

Abstract

KOREAN HERITAGE SCHOOL TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

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In the multicultural and multilingual society of the United States, heritage language learners can be considered as potential alternative fluent bilinguals if they maintain their heritage language capabilities, due to the difficulty of attaining an advanced proficiency level for foreign/second language learners. Heritage learners mainly end up becoming monolingual and maintaining literacy in only one language since they lose the opportunity to receive instruction in their heritage language during their school years. There are approximately 1,200 community-based Korean schools in the United States, attended by 60,000 students with the intent of maintaining ties to linguistic and cultural heritage. Korean heritage schools nationwide serve as a great resource for heritage learners in the development of early literacy skills in order to reach a high proficiency level in Korean. In addition, Korean heritage schools help students develop a strong sense of belonging in their community by fostering familial and cultural connections.

The role of the teacher is very important in Korean heritage schools, as there is a lack of a structured curriculum and institutional guidance. However, the prominent issue for teachers is that there are limited opportunities for them to improve their qualifications. The current professional development opportunities offered by national and regional Korean heritage school associations do not satisfy the emerging needs of the teachers. As a result, there are often conflicts over educational goals and learning methods between the first generation of immigrant teachers educated in Korea and the U.S. born learners.

A principal goal of this inquiry was to explore the professional identity of the Korean heritage school teachers, including how their identities are shaped, reproduced, and constructed through practices in place at heritage language schools. The data were collected from participatory observation, focus group interviews, and one-on-one interviews. This study demonstrated that the Korean heritage school teachers perceive themselves as traditional Korean teachers, foreign/second language teachers, members of Korean immigrant communities, volunteers, and mothers. The identity of the teachers was formed through former education and experience, familial and cultural values, raising 1.5 or 2nd generation Korean children, professional development opportunities, and time spent volunteering in U.S. public schools. The findings further reveal that their beliefs as teachers were reproduced and constructed in heritage schools by maintaining traditional teaching methods, developing an understanding of heritage learners, feeling isolated from mainstream education, and having low autonomy and self-efficacy.

The study presented an opportunity to reflect on the current heritage teacher education model, which is designed as top-down with no space for the voice of heritage language teachers. Teacher identity and experience can contribute positively to teacher education. Exploration of Korean teachers' identity may help to motivate the heritage education community to redesign future teacher education programs.

Chapter One

In a global world, bilingual individuals are a true asset for the economic and diplomatic needs of the United States. In addition, due to the impact of September 11th, the emphasis on learning foreign/second languages for security and strategic importance was revitalized. The U.S. government has begun to invest money in foreign/second language education in order to promote the study of languages needed for national security. Critical- need languages include Arabic, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Russian, and the Indic, Iranian, and Turkic language families (Jackson & Malone, 2009). As a result, attention to the role of formal instruction in maintaining heritage language has increased (Valdés, 2005). Since it is not easy for foreign/second language learners to attain an advanced proficiency level, one must invest the necessary amount of time and money to achieve an advanced level of fluency. At this moment, we should recognize that heritage language speaking students can contribute to the nation as bilingual individuals.

Bilingualism and bilingual education in the U.S. is different from other countries because the majority of bilingual people in the United States are first generation or second generation immigrants. In 2008, nearly one in four juvenile-aged (17 and under) youth lived with an immigrant parent in the U.S., with the possibility of being a potential bilingual or emergent bilingual, if they sought to maintain their heritage languages (Tienda & Haskins, 2011). The issue of bilingual education is controversial and important

for immigrant students for several reasons. Bilingual education is not only an issue of second language education and learning English but is also closely related to the identity and ideology of minorities. This also makes bilingual education an important facet of power relationships in American society (Collier & Thomas, 2014).

Kraus (1998) indicates that only 32 languages (15%) in the US are spoken by all the generations in a family, including the children, but the life expectancy of those languages is two generations without immediate intervention. This means that 85% of all other minority languages will not be passed to the next generation. Regardless of the importance of heritage languages for individual and social benefit, it is not easy for one to maintain his or her native language proficiency in the current educational system. Therefore, more systematic social and educational support should be provided for these languages. A formal school curriculum promoting the maintenance of heritage languages will help ensure that these languages are appropriately valued in schools. Along with the formal school curriculum for foreign/second language education, existing heritage schools in immigrant communities should be supported by the US government.

Even though heritage languages have their own different linguistic and cultural features, as Valdes (2005) indicates, the educational experiences of heritage speakers are similar. According to Valdes (2005), “They speak or hear the heritage language at home and in their immediate communities, but, with few exceptions (e.g., Foreign Language Elementary School programs, Bilingual Education), they receive their formal education entirely in English” (p. 413). She continues to say that heritage learners become literate in

one only language - English - since they lose the opportunity to receive instruction in their heritage language during their school years (Valdes, 2005).

Korean is one of the languages designated by the U.S. government as critical to national security (Jackson & Malone, 2009). It is the 7th most largely spoken non-English language in the United States. The Korean-American community maintains strong bonds with Korea, providing approximately 1,200 community-based schools attended by 60,000 students with the purpose of maintaining linguistic and cultural heritage in the United States (Lee & Shin, 2008). Public school Korean language programs mainly focus on linguistic and cultural competence for non-heritage students, and are not intensive enough to help students reach advanced proficiency. However, Korean heritage schools nationwide could be developed to be a great resource for bilingual education.

In addition, retaining heritage language proficiency means not only using the language but it also depends on heritage learners' maintaining strong familial and cultural connections. A concern of the Korean community has been the cultural and linguistic disconnect between the old and young. For this reason, the Korean community began to implement formal Korean heritage schools which offer language and cultural classes inside the community. Valdes (2005) argues, "Immigrant communities have established language programs (e.g. Saturday schools) where children are expected to develop existing heritage language proficiencies in spite of strong assimilative pressures" (p. 411). Since each linguistic minority community is different, different sets of solutions for language maintenance are required for different communities (Shin, 2005). Korean is not

an exception. However, most children of Korean immigrants in America are English monolingual due to the emphasis of Korean parents on English for academic success (Shin, 2005), as well as limited instructional time and curricula for Korean learning in both public schools and community based heritage schools (Lee & Shin, 2008).

Statement of the Problem

Fairfax County in Virginia supports early dual language education and implements foreign/second language classes for early age learners as well as full or two-way immersion for heritage learners. Since Korean is the second most spoken foreign/second language in Fairfax County after Spanish, they introduced an after school Korean class called “Global Korean Program” for K-6th grade in 2011, and online first, second, and third-level Korean online classes for high school students in 2012. Korean heritage schools in this area desire to have a connection and cooperation with mainstream education offered in the public schools. Specifically, many Korean heritage school teachers are interested in teaching positions in public schools, and some of the teachers express their disappointment upon learning that heritage school teaching experience does not count in public school settings. These facts indicate that formal Korean programs in public schools are more valued than community-based heritage schools. The policy of neglecting or excluding the resources offered by existing Korean heritage schools with their strong cultural and community connections shows that the wealth of knowledge of the minority community is not accepted and the minority itself is marginalized.

Aside from the problem of the public educational policy, community based heritage schools have other prominent issues. In the case of Korean heritage schools,

most Korean heritage schools are small and limited (Shin, 2005), and they are operated by Christian churches which approximately 75% of Korean immigrants in the U.S. are affiliated with (Min, 2000). There are some concerns regarding these church-based heritage schools, including 1) a lack of appropriate textbooks for heritage learning, 2) less than a minimum wage for teachers which causes a high turnover rate, 3) limited opportunities for the professional development of teachers who were educated in Korea (Shin, 2005), 4) conflict between teaching styles and the learning styles of Korean heritage learners, and 5) the lack of motivation among students to attend these schools (Lee, 2002).

Through an internship experience at XX Korean heritage school, I have witnessed an ongoing competition among several departments of the Korean government to provide textbooks they developed to the schools. However, the content of textbooks provided by the Korean government is sometimes not relevant to the children of immigrants in the U.S., or does not meet the academic and linguistic needs of the students. My impression of the teachers was that they are eager to do well, but they do not have the proper methodological and classroom management training to succeed. For the professional development of teachers, there are semi-annual and annual teachers' workshops provided by the Washington Association of Korean Schools (WAKS) and National Association of Korean Schools (NAKS), as well as online Korean language teacher licensure preparation programs provided by colleges in Korea. However, the content of these programs, designed by Korean scholars and government officials, is not based on the direct requests or needs of the heritage teachers.

Although the teachers' role is very important in Korean heritage schools, where there is a lack of a structured curriculum and institutional guidance, there are limited opportunities for teachers to improve their qualifications since the professional development opportunities offered by national and regional Korean heritage school associations do not satisfy the emerging needs of the teachers. Demographic changes among students in the heritage schools are found with growing numbers of second and third generation students of Korean immigrants, children who are adopted into American families, and children of mixed heritage (Lee & Shin, 2008). In addition, student drop-out rates of upper level and secondary school students in heritage schools are prominent issues for Korean heritage schools. I witnessed through classroom observations during internships and substitute teaching that Korean heritage learners have their own learning style separate from regular schools, but teachers use a style that is more similar to the methods commonly used in Korea. As a result, there are often conflicts between teachers and learners over educational goals and learning methods.

Although common knowledge can be shared between second language (L2) teachers, the current teacher educational model for second language education cannot address all the issues teachers face. The current professional development opportunities for heritage language (HL) teachers are not enough to address the linguistic and cultural needs of HL learners (Schwartz, 2001). In addition, it is difficult for these teachers to access national or regional workshops for L2 teacher professional development due to limited public or community funds for heritage schools, and the low proficiency of the L2 teachers in English. Therefore, a new approach for training heritage school teachers

should be developed to increase the awareness of teachers about educational and teaching methods which can meet the needs of heritage students. It would help also to close the gap in perception about heritage language learning that currently exists between HL teachers and students.

One of the goals for heritage education is the maintenance or improvement of students' "ethnic identity". Oh and Fuligni (2010) indicate that ethnic identity is defined as attachment to an ethnic group and satisfaction about being part of the group (p. 208). In this regard, a teacher's ideological stance as well as their ethnic identity can influence students through their socialization in heritage schools. Since most of the teachers in heritage schools are first generation Korean immigrants, explicit education for these teachers to be culturally responsive teachers would be essential in helping them understand the educational perspective of their US born heritage students. However, the current professional development workshops offered by NAKS and WAKS for Korean heritage school teachers have not provided any space to talk about these issues. Through education that promotes the awareness of teachers regarding heritage education, these teachers may find lack of motivation for older students to learn Korean stems not only from the instructional problems, which are what current workshops emphasize, but also from the broader social context regarding learners' investment (Norton, 2010).

Statement of Purpose

In order to justify, focus, and guide this study, there are three guiding purposes that will be used, as suggested by Maxwell (2005). The first purpose is about the personal

connection of the writer to the subject, which helps to motivate the writer to conduct the study. The second purpose of the study is practical, which aims at accomplishing something, meeting a need, changing a situation, or achieving a goal. The last purpose of the study is intellectual, which focuses on gaining insight into what is happening and why this is taking place (Maxwell, 2005).

Personal purpose. The personal purpose of this study is to understand the heritage schools in order to help me gain an in-depth understanding of not only my own heritage students but also develop a more effective teaching methodology for heritage students in general. Through extensive Korean teaching experience as a college instructor, public high school teacher, government employed trainer, and heritage school substitute teacher, I realized heritage language learners have different motivations, skills, and goals compared to non-heritage learners. Therefore, curricula and classroom instruction should be differentiated to accommodate the needs of heritage learners in order to help them achieve their academic goals and become successful bilingual students. I recognized how the early education opportunities that community-based Korean heritage schools provide are important in understanding how to close achievement gaps in heritage learner education.

However, I have noticed that heritage education cannot be effectively carried out under the current dominant paradigm, which focuses on elite bilingualism and promoting foreign language education for mainstream students (Crawford, 2005; Shin, 2013). With the experience and knowledge gained from heritage schools and literature reviews, the focus I had in the beginning phase of my research was on the choice and motivation of

individual students and securing their parents' support for heritage language learning. It then shifted to finding systematic opportunities for students to access and maintain their heritage language through formal schooling. To further understand this issue, I would like to examine some of the important policy issues facing U.S. foreign/second language education, such as the relationship between power and language, educational policy, beliefs and attitudes of mainstream Americans toward immigrant communities, heritage language and cultural maintenance, and bilingualism. In addition, I would like to explore the wealth of knowledge in Korean heritage schools to find a way to enable their contribution to public school Korean language curricula.

Practical purpose. The practical purpose of this study is to further my development as a teacher and teacher-educator by understanding the needs of HL teachers, and help the participants reflect on their teaching through the research process. I will do this by delivering suggestions for professional development opportunities that can meet the needs of HL teachers while helping them act as agents of transformation for Korean heritage education. In regards to the limited amount of heritage education provided in public schooling, I believe that one of the methods to improve community-based heritage schools is to promote professional development opportunities for teachers as well as give them more chances to improve their qualifications.

Developing professional training programs as well as recruiting qualified teachers is essential to improve learning outcomes in community-based heritage schools (Lee & Wright, 2014). Liu's research on Chinese heritage language teachers shows that

professional development opportunities enhance teacher effectiveness by giving teachers empowerment and validation (Liu, 2006). However, to provide teacher training programs that can benefit heritage language teachers, stakeholders should understand the difference between Korean as a native language and Korean as a heritage/foreign language.

Teachers are the ones who best understand the situations and needs of students. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to listen to and understand the needs of the teachers in order to help them increase their competence as heritage school teachers in U.S. foreign/second language education.

Before I started working as an intern teacher at XX Korean heritage school, I had confidence in teaching Korean from extensive experience in various settings, such as colleges, the U.S. government, and K-12 public schools. However, during the internship, I found that the prior knowledge and teaching techniques I gained from my foreign language teaching experience did not fit in heritage schools. The teachers at the school told me that “if you don’t have any experience with these students, you don’t know what you are teaching. Heritage students are very different from the students you have taught, so you have no authority to speak about the teaching and learning here.” Even though we had the same career as Korean teachers, I had to change my identity and adapt myself to the world and expectations the teachers had constructed. This valuable experience as an insider of the school motivated me to think about the HL teachers’ unique circumstances and needs during my work.

Through this research process, I would like to help teachers think about their position as a teacher by giving them a voice in order for them to take more control over their teaching curricula and methodologies, and also a chance to reflect on their teaching. Stories from teachers must permeate the setting of professional development, especially for teachers whose voices are silenced (Foster, 1998). This research can enhance the collaboration of teachers and researchers. Through providing teachers opportunities to actively participate in a study about their work, teachers can reflect on themselves and will be able to critically analyze their ideologies and practices.

Intellectual purpose. The intellectual purpose of this study is to understand the unique situation of heritage school teachers in terms of their identity construction both in the context of the Korean community heritage schools and U.S. society as a whole within the framework of sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1962). Many researchers have emphasized the role of heritage education to increase international competitiveness in foreign/second language education (Lee & Shin, 2008). Intellectual communities that research heritage education usually focus on second language learners, identity, or language instruction, but few journal articles can be found regarding heritage teacher identity and ideology. This study aims to explore teacher identity which is shaped not only from their own experience but also from the relationship with others in various educational contexts using the conceptual framework of figured worlds (Holland, Lachiocotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998), habitus, and field (Bourdieu, 1990). I understand from my own experience that my identity as a teacher has changed in different teaching contexts. My identity as a native Korean foreign language teacher in U.S. colleges and

public schools was different from my identity in the Korean heritage school. This study can promote the understanding of post-structuralist identity through the example of Korean heritage school teachers' shifting professional and personal identities in different social and cultural contexts.

There are three main relationships I would like to explore within the context of Korean heritage schools where traditional culture and norms are transmitted: 1) the relationship between the teachers and administrators (e.g. principals) or stake holders (e.g. community leaders, board members of Korean heritage school associations, or Korean embassy); 2) the relationship between the teachers and other mainstream foreign language/second language/heritage language teachers, and 3) the relationship between the teachers and students. Taking a critical view and seeing HL teachers as "marginalized" in mainstream U.S. educational fields, I would like to understand the position of the teachers outside of Korean heritage schools. The deficit model, which implies a lack of teachers' professionalism, has promoted top-down professional development methods where the "other voice" and not their own voice is dominant (Lee & Bang, 2011).

I employed a critical ethnography for my research methodology to help me look more closely at the phenomena occurring inside and outside of the HL schools (Madison, 2011). Using this method, my position as a researcher would be more active and different from traditional ethnographers by incorporating social justice and bringing up the voices and experiences of heritage teachers which are "restrained and out of reach" (Madison, 2011. p. 5). Madison (2011) mentions the ethical responsibility of critical ethnographers, emphasizing, "The conditions for existence within a particular context are not as they

could be for specific subjects; as a result, the researcher feels a moral obligation to make a contribution toward changing those conditions toward greater freedom and equity”(p.5). In addition, this study aims understanding how the teachers’ primary personal, educational, and teaching experience (in the Korean context) and secondary experiences (in the U.S. context) conflict in the field where, as Zevenbergen (2006) argues, the catalysts for primary habitus’ changes are not provided.

The habitus of Korean teachers resists change in the field of heritage schools, and it is hard for them to develop the second habitus as well. This is because the current catalysts for change, such as teachers’ workshops and top-down knowledge based programs, do not help them to change in the ways they need. In professional workshops, workshop leaders mainly decide what knowledge the teachers should know, but in many cases the leader is not related to the heritage school directly. They are mainly university professors and Korean community leaders either from Korea or the United States. It means the stakeholders decide what issues and areas they will educate the teacher in, instead of trying to understand the needs of the teachers. In this current situation, can the teachers to develop their agency and change their disposition (habitus) to transform the status quo in the field of heritage schools? Their Korean identity (e.g. first generation immigrants, patriots, Protestants, members of Korean churches) can be capital in the field of the heritage school, but cannot be capital in mainstream foreign/second/ bilingual educational field. Through this study, I would like to find how the teachers’ habitus becomes a form of capital that can be exchanged for goods (Bourdieu, 1983), and explore

teacher education models using Vygotsky's sociocultural theory to adopt both collaborative learning and learning from other teachers.

My Identity in Relation to the Research Problem

As a Korean language teacher who is a first generation Korean immigrant, living in the third largest Korean community in the U.S. motivated me to pursue a Ph.D in education in order to achieve the goal of being a community educational leader. During this program, I had the opportunity to connect with Korean heritage schools via an internship. My main responsibilities during this internship were the development of learner-centered classroom activity materials to meet the objectives of each class, assisting classroom teachers, observing 10 different classes with my supervisor who was collecting data about corrective feedback, planning and managing a semi-annual workshop for WAKS teachers, presenting at a roundtable discussion for teachers regarding small group class activities, and attending a monthly teachers' meeting with my supervisor to discuss instructional methods.

After working for a semester as an intern, I had the opportunity to teach 3rd-6th grade students as a substitute teacher for a semester. Then my position shifted from a teacher to a workshop leader for Korean heritage school teachers. I led several workshop sessions for the teachers not only in the DC area but also in other metropolitan areas on the East Coast. During this time, as a public school teacher and college instructor for Korean classes with extensive teaching experience, I witnessed problems in the education of Korean heritage learners. To provide appropriate programs as a teacher trainer, I

needed to understand how teachers perceived themselves as teachers, including their teaching beliefs and the challenges and needs of the teachers in their practice.

Research Questions

Based on the personal, practical and intellectual purposes discussed above, the research questions guiding this study are the following:

1. What is the professional identity of these Korean heritage school teachers?
2. How have their identities been shaped?
3. How are the identities and ideologies of Korean heritage school teachers reproduced and constructed through the practices in place at heritage language schools?

Significance of the Study

The present study would contribute to three communities. The findings from this study would hold significance for the participating Korean heritage school teachers by helping them reflect on their professional identities as teachers. This would be done by understanding their ideology, teaching beliefs, and their teaching practice in classrooms. The study would also benefit public school world language departments by providing them with information about the needs of Korean heritage schools and sources of knowledge to help improve heritage education. The findings from this study would also direct attention to teacher educators and stakeholders (e.g. officials from Korean educational public officials, leaders of Korean immigrant communities) and present an opportunity to reflect on the current heritage teacher education model, which is designed as top-down with no space for the voice of HL teachers. In this regard, exploration of

Korean teachers' identity may help to advance the intellectual communities' efforts to redesign future teacher education programs for Korean heritage teachers since developing teacher identity is an important element of teacher education programs. Teacher identity and experience can contribute positively to teacher education (Hammerness et al., 2005).

Summary

In this chapter I have presented my proposed research from my personal experience to present the rationale for investigating the professional identity of Korean heritage school teachers and the (re)production and construction of their identity/ideology in heritage education. In my presentation of the significance of the problem, I highlighted the need for understanding the contexts of current Korean heritage schools and the roles of teachers in providing needs-based professional development opportunities to increase the instructional quality of Korean heritage education. I emphasized the importance of public support for Korean heritage education in terms of national needs of international competitiveness. In the next chapter, I present the theoretical and conceptual framework grounding this study to illustrate the status and contexts of Korean heritage schools inside and outside of Korean immigrant communities.

Chapter Two

This chapter is a comprehensive literature review. It consists of five sections. In the first section, the issue of bilingualism and monolingual policy in the U.S. is discussed. In the second section, heritage education in the U.S. is presented. In the third section, I introduce topics on Korean immigrant communities, including educational values, heritage language and cultural maintenance. In the fourth section, I discuss heritage teachers' identity and teacher education in L2. In the last section, the theoretical and conceptual framework for this study will be discussed

Issue of Bilingualism and English-Only Monolinguals

Bilingualism and bilingual education in the U.S. is different from other countries since the majority of bilingual people in the United States are first generation or second generation immigrants. Therefore, bilingual education is closely related to the identity of minorities and power relationships in American society in anti-immigrant times (Cummins, 2001). Because of the negative perception of undocumented immigrants from Central and South America in the U.S., Americans disregard English-Spanish bilinguals who are the descendants of immigrants. It is because of this fact that this kind of bilingualism has a different public perception compared to the English/Spanish bilingualism of British learners of Spanish in Europe, or mainstream Americans who have learned Spanish as a foreign language.

The negative perception by the majority of Americans toward Spanish-speaking immigrants often comes from the notion that their language may hinder the unity of the society and endanger the supremacy of the dominant language, English (Crawford, 2004). However, this has been proven not to be true, based on Kraus's research that out of the 154 indigenous languages spoken in the United States, 85% of them have no child speakers and face the possibility of becoming extinct in the near future (Kraus, 1998). In addition, several research endeavors and censuses have shown how quickly heritage immigrant languages have died, indicating that they last for no more than two generations. Kraus (1998) indicates that only 32 languages (15%) in the US are spoken by all generations, including children, but the life expectancy of those languages is two generations without immediate intervention. It means 85% of all other minority languages will not be passed to the next generation. Regardless of the importance of heritage languages for individual and social benefit, it is not easy for one to maintain his or her native language in the current U.S. society.

In the current school system, which values English monolingualism, immigrant students, who have a lack of English proficiency, are often labeled as "special needs" or "deficit" students. González (2004) argues that the linguistically and socioeconomically disadvantaged immigrant students are also undervalued by standardized norms in the United States. She states, "Poor and minoritized students were viewed through a lens of deficiencies, seen as substandard in their socialization practices, language practices, and orientation toward academic achievement" (p. 20). She continues to say, "In fact, the culture of poor and minoritized students came to often be targeted as the cause of

educational failure. Because culture had come to be viewed as a holistic configuration of traits and values that shaped members into viewing the world in a particular way, these assumed rules for behavior were seen by some as the root of the educational failure of minorities groups” (p. 20).

If we had a different lens through which to see immigrant students and began to consider their home languages as individual and social assets, they could contribute to the nation by playing a major role in cross cultural understanding in the global world. According to The National Council of State Supervisors for Languages (2002), being multilingual or multicultural is an asset for an individual person, which can help individual interaction with people from other cultures. It also enhances the individual’s economic and political success in society.

In the Second Language Acquisition field, some scholars have posed a question regarding the perspective of monolinguals. Cook (2002) argues that SLA research should shift its focus from second language learners (L2), or someone who fails to acquire native speaker proficiency in the view of the deficit model, to exploring the nature of L2 users in their own right. Cook also discusses the concept of "multi-competence" and argues that SLA and linguistic theory should be reframed with the view that multilingualism, and not monolingualism, is the norm (Cook, 1992). From this perspective, it is not required for a bilingual student to attain the same competence level for both languages. Valdes (2005) agrees with Cook’s view, saying, “Viewed from a bilingual’s rather than a monolingual’s perspective, L1/L2 users have acquired two knowledge systems that they use in order

carry out their particular communicative needs, needs that may be quite unlike those of monolingual native speakers who use a single language in all communicative interactions” (p. 415).

Additive bilingualism could be a guiding model for policymakers and educators. Additive bilingualism suggests that when a second language is added, the first language continues to be developed and the first culture should also be valued. This model contrasts with subtractive bilingualism, where the first language and culture will diminish as a consequence of the second language being added (Cummins, 1999). Not all cases of adding a second language bring the result of the loss of the primary language. However, this is the case in the U.S., due to the social pressure that language-minority children should only speak English in schools (Fillmore, 1991, 2000). Fillmore (1991) argues that when language minority children lose their primary language, they develop problems with not only their social, emotional, cognitive, and educational development, but also in the principle of their families and local communities.

Heritage language learners and education. Several definitions exist for the term “heritage languages” and for heritage language learners. One of the definitions is described by Valdes (2005), where she states, “In recent years, the term heritage language has been used broadly to refer to non-societal and non-minority language spoken by groups often known as linguistic minorities” (p. 411). However, she notes that heritage language learners (HLLs) include children of Native American background, foreign-born immigrants who came to the United States at a young age, the native-born children of

foreign born immigrants, and occasionally the native-born children of native-born individuals of immigrant background (p. 413). According to Fishman (2001), the term “heritage language” in the United States is used to refer to immigrant languages, indigenous languages, and colonial languages. However, with heritage languages in the same or different categories, there are differences with regard to literacy, educational attainment, and other sociolinguistic variables. Each of these categories is characterized by different historical, social, linguistic, and demographic realities that bear on the definition of HLL (Fishman, 2001). Carreira (2004) defines the “heritage language learner” by classifying all individual heritage learners, differentiating HLLs from second-language learners or first-language learners, and also differentiating between different types of HLLs. Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) brought wider range of heritage learners into the definition, including not only linguistic familiarity but also cultural belonging. He indicated heritage language learners are a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may be generations removed, but who may feel culturally connected to a language (p. 221).

Even though heritage languages have their own different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, as Valdes (2005) indicates, the educational experiences of heritage speakers are similar. According to Valdes (2005), “They speak or hear the heritage language at home and in their immediate communities, but, with few exceptions (e.g., Foreign Language Elementary School programs, Bilingual Education), they receive their formal education entirely in English. They receive no instruction in the heritage language during

the elementary or secondary grades and, as a result, become literate only in English” (p. 413).

When we look back to the 1960s and 1970s, which was the era when a nationwide debate developed over bilingual education, we can realize that bilingual instruction was offered only for a limited time as transitional education. The goal of this home language instruction was for students to acquire cognitive skills and avoid academic retardation (Duignan, 1998). Duignan (1998) argues, “The instruction had a contingency that English should be taught as a second language only until the student becomes proficient in English, at which time native-language instruction should end. In theory, attention would continue to be paid to the child's heritage and culture. But the basic purpose, at least of federal legislation, was to get students to transfer into all-English classrooms as fast as possible, without falling behind in other subjects” (p. 2).

The research by Silva-Corvalan on Spanish speaking heritage students in Los Angeles shows that, without L1-based school support, heritage children would not completely acquire the linguistic system of the language as used by normative L1 speakers (as cited in Valdes, 2005, p. 417). Other research by Correa (2011) about Spanish speaking heritage language learners indicates how HLLs are different from foreign/second language learners. In the research, even though neither group attains a native level of fluency in Spanish and both groups experience similar grammatical issues, when they were in their Spanish class, they showed different rates of progress. For instance, she mentions that HL learners require substantially less instructional time than

foreign/second language learners to develop the same skills, but their literacy skill is generally lower, with speaking and listening skills being higher than FL learners.

We can understand from the research that it is difficult for heritage language education to succeed without a customized curriculum of instruction for heritage learners. Heritage language learners differ from foreign/second language learners because they have unique characteristics. For example, they have much better receptive and speaking skills in the heritage language compared to foreign/second language learners. In addition, according to Valdes (2005), they are circumstantial bilinguals who acquire the language in order to meet their everyday communicative needs, but foreign language learners are elective bilinguals who learn their chosen language in a classroom setting. Foreign language learners usually have fewer opportunities to use their language in a real life situation.

Bilingualism: Bilingual education vs. heritage education. The teaching of commonly and uncommonly taught foreign languages has greatly expanded since the early 1970s. On the other hand, interest in heritage students and the effort to improve educational approaches and resources began in the late 1990s. Regardless of this phenomenon, Lo Bianco (2004) argues that there are two types of ‘American bilingualism’ that exist. One is the bilingualism of immigrant minority and the other is that of the majority. He said, “The bilingualism of immigrants is often considered a major social problem threatening national cohesion and endangering security, while the bilingualism of the majority is construed as a skill, an esteemed cultural accomplishment,

an investment in national security and enhancing employment” (p. 22). To make students better prepared for immersion in global society, many foreign/second language programs that target mainstream students are implemented in U.S. public education, while heritage education for language minorities are mainly offered only in their own communities (Shin, 2013).

There are several views about the use of languages other than English in the United States. Ruiz (1984) provides some valuable insights on three orientations about language: language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource. Language as a problem can be cognitive in nature caused by using two languages and failing to grasp the different “personalities” of each language. Language problems can also be social, relating to identity, poor self-image, or feelings of cultural dislocation. Language as a political problem can be seen in issues of national disunity and inter-group conflict (Baker, 2001). The perception of language as a right is related to human rights. Advocates argue that language choice, including the choice of bilingual education, is a basic human right - the same as choosing a religion (Cummins, 1999). The last viewpoint is that using a second language should be seen as a national resource in a globalized world. In the U.S., this includes not only foreign/second language education for English speakers but also the preservation of heritage languages for linguistic minorities (Baker, 2001).

Heritage education can be considered as a right for linguistic and cultural minority communities. Many studies say the main purpose of heritage programs are language and

cultural preservation, and have proven that there is some correlation between these two goals. If minority students have an ability to speak their heritage language, it will increase their sense of ‘belonging’ in the ethnic community (Chinen & Tucker, 2005), allow them to participate more fully in their cultural communities, and increase their sense of ethnic identity (Oh & Fuligni, 2010).

One of the education models that supports the idea of language as a resource is bilingual/dual immersion education, targeted for both linguistic majority and minority students. Since the typical two-way immersion program has the goal of students’ linguistic, academic, and social development (Christian, 1994), it can enhance both the value of the minority language and the opportunity for promoting bilingualism to the majority population (Porter, 1990, p. 154). Another important point is that early bilingual education is essential for heritage learners to maintain their native language. However, despite the fact that early formal education is very important for both foreign/second and heritage language and literacy, a survey by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) reveals that the percentage of foreign language classes offered in elementary schools dropped from 31 percent to 25 percent between 2007 and 2009 (Potowski, 2010). This reinforces the importance for Korean heritage schools to simultaneously target young learners and strive to gain greater recognition from mainstream foreign/second language education. In the notion of the importance of early bilingual education, Korean heritage schools, which target young learners, should get attention from the mainstream foreign/second language education.

One of the suggestions for bilingual education to meet heritage learners' language maintenance needs is to seek a curriculum that promotes "Two Way Immersion/Dual Language Program." While the purpose of heritage or indigenous language learning is to maintain or develop literacy in Languages Other Than English (LOTE) as well as acquire and maintain English language skills, two way immersion or dual language instruction endorses the development of bilingualism and literacy in both English and foreign languages (Billings, Martine-Beltran & Hernandez, 2010).

Korean immigrant communities and education. There are over one million Koreans living in the U.S., consisting of 30% of U.S.-born immigrants (U.S. Census, 2000). The majority of the Korean population is concentrated in urban areas, such as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. (Lee & Shin, 2008, p.2-3). Between 1920 and 1965, only a few thousand Koreans were allowed to the United States each year. However, after the 1965 Immigration Act, which abolished the national origins quota system, the number began to increase to over 30,000 within a decade (Philip, 2007, p. 177).

An important distinction made by Ogbu (1987) is that immigrant 'voluntary minorities', "who have chosen to move to a society to improve their well-being", differ from caste-like 'involuntary minorities', "who were initially brought into the society through slavery, conquest, or colonization. Voluntary minorities thus feel that they have come from a place where they were valued and can draw on that as they plan to overcome discrimination and prejudice" (Philip, 2007, p. 37). Korean immigrants are

considered as voluntary minorities since they moved to the U.S. to seek a better quality of life (e.g. for economic, educational, or political reasons). According to Lee and Shin (2008), “The majority of immigrants who arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s and 80s were college-educated professionals from Korea’s urban middle class, who came seeking economic advancement or political freedom from the military-controlled Korean government” (p.3).

Introduction to the Korean educational discourse system. Understanding the Korean educational discourse system is essential to understanding the academic experience of first generation Korean immigrant teachers and parents in Korea. To facilitate the understanding of values and norms in Korean education, we should first understand Confucian educational philosophy. During the Korean Chosun Dynasty (1492-1910), Confucianism was a state religion; therefore, religion and philosophy have played a great role in forming the values and beliefs of Korean people. According to Mote (1971), “Confucius (551-479 B.C.) was the first self-conscious philosopher in the Chinese tradition of whom we are aware. He was soon followed by a large number of others who differed from his philosophic stand in greater or less degree and who developed a whole spectrum of thought and programs for the times” (p.35). In terms of education, Confucianism strongly emphasizes education and study, even though it was only for the male elite (Wong, 2006). Confucius believes that “the only real understanding of a subject comes from long and careful study, and ‘study’ implies finding a good teacher and imitating his words and deeds. In this case, a good teacher

means someone older and who is familiar with the ways of the past and the practices of the ancients” (Lunyu 7.22).¹

Confucianism heavily influences all aspects of Korean society, such as family, school, community, and politics. Harmony and tradition are indispensable elements in Confucian culture (Oh-hwang, 1993). It has played a dominant role as a foundation for educational philosophy. Rhee (1995) points out that Confucianism emphasizes its traditional values rather than developing new ideas. The important values of harmony and authority in Confucian philosophy heavily influence Korean classroom discourse.

Confucian thought holds that the composition of society is hierarchical, based on the vertical structure of superiors and subordinates (Hyun, 2001). Confucianism indicates that the role of a king, a teacher, and a father is the same as a ruler of society. Therefore, students respect and obey their teachers, considering them as rulers at school and dispenser of knowledge. Students also think that the authority of teachers should not be challenged, because it might cause a loss of face for the teacher. For this reason, unlike American students, Korean students prefer to remain silent if they do not understand what teachers say. They are afraid of offering a mistaken answer to teachers because they think that it would embarrass the teacher and themselves by showing a lack of comprehension. The other reason students stay silent rather than voicing incorrect answers is because they do not want to interrupt the flow of the class, because harmony is a very important value in Confucian philosophy. According to Han (2003), one must not assume that students

¹ Li Ling (1970). *Lunyu: Sang jia gou*. Shanxi: Renmin

from Confucian heritage cultures are passive recipients rather than responsive seekers of new knowledge. These behaviors from Korean students sometimes are taken by teachers as sign of disinterest and lack of motivation in the U.S. educational context.

Korean teachers are expected to not only guide students' academic success, but also discipline students. A teacher's role is very important in Korean society, where education is heavily valued due to the influence of Confucianism. Due to this way of thinking, Korean culture grants teachers the same authority as parents. Samovar, Porter, and Stefani (2000) explain that since Korean schools emphasize moral education in addition to regular school subjects, teachers are expected to assume leadership in these areas, and parents hold teachers responsible for disciplining their children. In addition to moral education, teachers have a significant responsibility toward their students' academic development. This duty of the teachers is emphasized in the social importance of the college entrance examination, which is regarded as the most important test for a student's future. Most Korean parents have perceived that the role of teachers is crucial in teaching students academic skills to prepare them for the college entrance examination. For the sake of achieving the short-term goal of passing the college entrance examination, most students and their parents will cooperate with teachers in all aspects of the child's learning at school (Yum, 2000).

There are several duties for students as well in Korean education discourse system. Students are taught by teachers and parents that the most important duty for students is studying, and they should understand what they are learning through the process of memorization. Other duties for students are success attributable to hard work, conforming

to group norms, and collaborative learning outside classroom. These student duties are closely related to Korean society, which is homogeneous and collectivist (Kim & Choi, 1994). In this type of society, students are used to being members of a group, and working as a group for the benefit of society. Korean students also should show respect to teachers as a matter of seniority inside and outside of classroom. Samovar et al. (2000) point out that Korean students engage in several typical classroom behaviors where they typically show respect by avoiding eye contact, bowing, and initiating conversation with an elder. In addition, Korean students use polite verbal and non-verbal expressions with their teachers, such as using honorific references rather than their names.

The etiquette system used between students and teachers in Korean educational discourse is based on the Confucian hierarchical etiquette system. The relationship between teachers and students in Korea is predominantly distant and formal in the etiquette system, and teachers have authority because there will always be a subordinate person and a superior person in this etiquette system. This hierarchical etiquette system in Korean educational discourse makes a teacher's relationship with his or her students more formal. Korean teachers are stern in front of their students and rarely praise students that perform well in class (Han, 2003). This cultural norm affects expectations held by heritage school teachers about student behavior in Korean communities in the United States. Lo's (2009) research on respect in Korean heritage schools uses the method of teachers' classroom narratives to show that respect for teacher's feelings are supposed to be given priority over respect for a child's feelings (p. 217).

Since Korean classes are teacher-centric, the knowledge of a teacher and his or her perspectives on a subject is received by students passively. In Korean education, learning mainly means studying a textbook. Language learning is also influenced by this concept, and mastery of knowledge in a language class means studying grammar and memorizing vocabulary. Students can achieve this language skill through lectures by teachers and by studying textbooks. Therefore, students are very familiar and more comfortable with this passive language learning style, rather than the communicative and task-based language learning that U.S. foreign/second language education promotes. The first generation of Korean immigrants who were educated in Korea experienced the Grammar/Translation methods (Griffiths & Parr, 2001) when they learned foreign languages.

Korean heritage language: Status and maintenance. The number of Korean speakers in the U.S. grew by 43 percent from 1990 to 2000, and by another 19 percent from 2000 to 2007, mainly due to new immigration from Korea (Potowski, 2010). Korean immigrants numbered 1.9 percent among non-English speakers in the U.S. in 2007. Despite the number of Korean speakers in the U.S., the prevalence of Korean speakers did not receive attention in the foreign/second language educational field until Korean was recognized as a critical language by the U.S. government, which conferred Korean political, cultural, and economic importance. In addition to the individual needs of Korean heritage learners, when the social needs of critical foreign languages are recognized by the U.S. government, it helps to motivate Korean heritage learners to retain their language abilities.

Since each linguistic minority community is different, different sets of solutions for language maintenance are required for different communities (Shin, 2005). Korean is not an exception. Fishman (2001) indicates that although Korean and Spanish are both immigrant languages in the U.S., the community profiles of these two languages differ significantly with regard to literacy, educational attainment, and other sociolinguistic variables.

From my own teaching experience interacting with second and “1.5” generation of Korean students, I observed that losing the ability to speak Korean has several consequences for Korean heritage learners. One of the consequences is a linguistic and emotional disconnection from their monolingual, Korean-speaking parents and grandparents. Some studies have documented an accelerated shift to English in Korean immigrant families (Cho & Krashen, 1998; Shin, 2005). The studies on language use patterns among Korean immigrants shows that first-generation Korean immigrants speak Korean almost exclusively at home and at work, while most second-generation Korean Americans mostly use English (Hurh & Kim, 1984; Min, 2000).

Language shifts among second generation immigrants occur due to social pressure. Cummins (2001) argues, “By the time children become adolescents, the linguistic gap between parents and children has become an emotional chasm. Pupils frequently become alienated from the cultures of both home and school with predictable results” (p. 19). Therefore, retaining heritage language skills means not merely using the language, but also maintaining a strong connection to the family and culture of the heritage language speakers. Hence, a Korean community concern was the cultural and linguistic disconnect

between the old and the young in the community. For this reason, they began to implement a formal Korean heritage school program, which offered language and cultural classes inside the community.

Heritage language schools are plagued with internal problems and challenges. Specifically, teaching techniques that poorly address the learning styles of Korean-American youths, a lack of motivation by students who resent having to go to school on weekends, and a lack of professional development opportunities for teachers, all contribute to low success rates (Lee, 2002). According to Shin (2005), there are currently over one thousand Korean HL schools, which are mainly operated by Korean Christian churches in the United States. However, many of these programs are small and often have a limited selection of courses. There are several concerns regarding these church based heritage schools, including a lack of appropriate textbooks for heritage learning, a minimum wage for teachers which causes a high turnover rate, and limited adequate professional training for teachers, who are mainly educated in Korean in order to adjust to the U.S. educational setting, where they must interact with American-born students (Shin, 2005). As a result, some studies found a weak correlation between heritage language school attendance and proficiency in the language (Cho, 2000; Lee 2002). Lee's (2002) study supports this idea that second generation Korean-Americans who achieve some level of Korean proficiency are usually not satisfied with their proficiency level and complain about existing community-based Korean language schools, where they feel the curricula are not meeting their needs.

In addition, these community-based heritage schools have had little visibility in the broader community due to the lack of recognition by public education systems (Tse, 2001). Furthermore, parental support, which is one of the most important factors for students' heritage language maintenance, is generally weak. Korean parents appreciate these community-based heritage schools because they understand how hard it is for a minority immigrant student to keep his or her heritage language without systematic support in formal education. However, although Korean parents want their children to retain Korean in order to interact with them and Korean society, they also recognize that it is important to focus first on their child's academic success and their reception of advanced degrees from prestigious institutions. In that regard, parents understand that strong English skills are essential for academic success in America. As a result, most Korean immigrant children in America become English monolingual (Shin, 2005). Fillmore (2000) argues that current U.S. educational policies emphasize the English development of children, so it pressures parents to abandon their heritage language.

Most of my own "1.5" or second generation adult Korean heritage learners have told me that they learned Korean because they wanted to reconnect to their parents, relatives, Korean culture, and communities. It seems that Korean language learning is an attempt to find self-identity and a means to connect to community for those adult learners. On the other hand, I have witnessed many children who attend heritage Korean schools with no motivation to study Korean. They will complain that since they are Americans living in the U.S. and no one values Korean at their schools, they should not have to learn Korean in the first place.

Despite the growing number of colleges that offer Korean language and culture classes, not many colleges offer Korean as a minor or major, whereas German and French are considered as major languages for studying. Even among colleges which offer Korean classes, there are few that provide a separate class for heritage Korean learners. Therefore, heritage Korean learners enroll in Korean classes designed for non-heritage learners. In my college Korean classroom, half of the students are consistently made up of Korean heritage learners. However, they are sometimes negatively perceived as lazy students who are seeking an easy grade. From the perspective of the HLL, however, they feel they cannot attain their goals, such as a higher level of literacy, or improved grammar, and spelling capability, in classes customized for foreign/second language learners.

According to the U.S. government, Korean is a Category IV language, along with Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese. All of these languages have significant linguistic and cultural differences from English (by Department of Defense). Potowski's (2010) writings about the Chinese language show how it is hard for American learners to learn Korean, since it is in the Department of Defense's same foreign language category. According to Potowski (2010), "Data compiled over decades by the Foreign Service Institute reveals that the average learner needs between 2400 and 2760 hours to reach a working professional proficiency in Chinese. Translated into classroom seat time, this is between 80 and 92 weeks of 30 contact hours per week" (p. 22). Based on this information from Potowski, we can understand the amount of time and effort needed for an elementary level English-speaking student to attain the working professional level required for economic and diplomatic purposes. In this notion, Korean heritage learners

could become assets in meeting national goals if they are provided a quality means of instruction to develop both the linguistic and literacy skills necessary to meet the national standard.

Heritage Language Teachers: Professional Identity and Teacher Education

Teacher identity and L2 teacher education. It is important in teacher education to identify what counts as knowledge, whose knowledge is counted, and how knowledge is produced. Traditional knowledge-based L2 teacher education has been grounded in the positivist epistemological perspective. In the positivist perspective, it is common for teacher educators to separate the theory course (subject matter), which is divided from pedagogy (actual teaching). From a sociocultural perspective, however, the education of teachers should be a “dynamic process of reconstruction and transforming a teacher’s practice to be responsive to both individual and local needs” (Johnson, 2009, p. 13). In this notion, the sociocultural perspective in L2 teacher education focuses more on teachers’ cognitive processes and development, and how this internal activity transforms the understandings of self, students, and teaching activities (Johnson, 2009,p.13). Drawn from the sociocultural epistemological perspective, teacher education is focused on the teachers’ reflection in their search for professional identity.

Research about teachers’ professional identity is an emerging area and fairly recent in general educational research (Beijaard, Meijer & Verloop, 2004). Traditionally, there is an assumption that the professional development of teachers was done by others, but the development of teachers’ professional identity is an ongoing process that teachers control through their own experience, and identifies with the profession of a teacher

(Flores & Day, 2006). One of the structures of professional development allows teachers to follow a self-directed, collaborative, inquiry-based learning process that is directly relevant to teachers' teaching contexts (Johnson, 2009). The identity of teachers is important because it influences the formation of learners' identity as well. As Kramsch (1993) argues, sociocultural identities are not static, deterministic constructs that teachers and students bring to the classroom. Communication is not a mere exchange of meaning but also the process of identity formation (Norton, 1997).

Teachers' beliefs are conceived as important constituents of their professional identity (Beijaard et al, 2004). When teachers enter pre-service teacher education training, they bring their own beliefs, constructed from their own personal or academic experience, and these beliefs are very difficult to change. The way to change these beliefs is not from teacher education but from actual teaching practice, done by sharing and discussing practices with peers (Valcke, Snag, Rots & Hermans, 2010, p. 625). Teachers' professionalism influences not only their models of teaching, teaching contexts, teaching experience and teachers' biographies but also their professional identity (Beijaard et al., 2000). Teachers' identity is not a functional role as a teacher, but a more personal identification and perception which is based on core beliefs continuously changing through experience (Mayer, 1999).

Professional identity of heritage language teachers. Along with research about L2 teachers' identity, a growing number of researchers have started to explore the beliefs of heritage language teachers. However, the majority of studies still have investigated the attitude of students and parents toward heritage language learning, and few studies

address issues particular to teachers. In addition, not many studies have investigated “professional identity” in relation to heritage language teachers’ professional development.

Wu’s (2011) qualitative case study investigates two elementary school heritage language teachers’ beliefs about heritage language education and the ways they implement instruction in Taiwan. The cross-case analysis of his study indicates that the teachers demonstrated strong motivation and dedication to heritage language and culture preservation, and they developed teaching strategies that were more substantively inclusive of student cultures (Wu, 2011). On the other hand, despite their strong motivation to succeed as teachers in a heritage school, these heritage language teachers generally expressed a weak recognition of themselves as “legitimate” teachers. Feuerverger’s (1997) study on heritage school teachers shows that a lack of certification constrained their feelings of professional accomplishment. There is need for professional development opportunities for heritage school teachers in order to foster effective heritage language instruction (Liu, 2006).

Wu, Palmer, and Field (2011) found that the Chinese heritage school teachers in their study seemed to develop a weak sense of professional identity due to their perception of teaching Chinese as a secondary or volunteer job. Lee and Bang (2011) researched the experiences of four heritage language teachers in the U.S., focusing on the challenges they faced and the resources they drew upon for their teaching. From their research, they found that these teachers faced challenges such as lack of appropriate

materials, limited connections to the larger teaching community, and parents' ambivalent attitudes toward HL programs (Lee & Bang, 2011)..

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Three theoretical frameworks under two main qualitative inquiry paradigms can be used to approach the research field of this study. As Maxwell (2005) asserts, we do not have to adopt a single paradigm, but rather should combine different paradigms and traditions after evaluating the compatibility of the modules (p. 37). In addition, my own experience as a Korean language teacher in the U.S. can be a part of the study framework. As Maxwell (2005) argues, "any view is a view from some perspective, and therefore is shaped by the location (social and theoretical and lens of the observer" (p.39).

The first paradigm I can borrow for my research methodology is social construction theory. As Patton (2002) indicates, we can accept the notion that there are multiple realities that can be constructed by people. Social construction theory allows us to explore the implications of social constructions on people's lives and interactions (Patton, 2002). According to social construction theory, people know that a consequence of how they have been socialized to perceive reality. Within the framework, I will be able to understand how the professional identity of Korean heritage school teachers is constructed through their socialization processes in education, family, or life experiences in both Korea and the United States. They have built an image of a teacher, ideas about the role of a teacher, and expectations of the behavior of a teacher from their own experiences in both Korean and American cultural and social contexts.

The next paradigm I will use to help understand Korean teachers' identity is critical theory. Since I define Korean heritage school teachers as a marginalized, powerless minority of teachers who are ignored in public education (mainstream educational field), my research will benefit from a critical theory perspective by helping to give these teachers a voice. Patton and Luttrell's well-defined critical theory paradigm will help in deconstructing the many variables behind teachers' identity. Bogdan and Biklen (Luttrell, 2010) argue, "Critical theorists would benefit those who are marginalized in the society because they believe that the current way society is organized is unjust" (p.31). Therefore, research based on the paradigm of critical theory should be devoted to the transformation of existing social inequalities and injustices (McLaren, 1994). Patton (2002) also says, "One of the most influential orientation frameworks is 'critical theory', which focuses on how injustice and subjugation shape people's experiences and understandings of the world" (p. 130). He continues to say, "Thus what gives critical theory its name -what makes it critical - is that it seeks not just to study and understand society but rather to critique and change society" (p. 131). Standardized ontology is not appropriate to understand these minority teachers in Korean heritage schools. Anderson (1989) argues, "Within the disciplines and fields generally, broad paradigms and grand theories are increasingly found lacking in their ability to provide guidance in asking and answering persistent and seemingly intractable social questions" (p. 250).

The purpose of this study is to offer an understanding of how Korean teachers' professional identity is constructed and how it is viewed in the communities they belong.

This understanding will help the heritage school teachers gain confidence as teachers and assist them in finding a space in their relationship with the dominant educational discourse to attempt their own transformations into effective teachers, and in doing so learn how to more effectively promote heritage learners' Korean ability and language maintenance. In this notion, critical theory provides the tools to understand the teachers' beliefs and identity not on an individual level, but in relation with other social structures and power relationships. Critical lenses will help me realize how the professional identity of teachers - mainly first generation Korean immigrants with different cultural linguistic backgrounds from mainstream society - are shaped by adopting the public education teaching model and adjusting to society. On the other hand, by using critical theory, I could also explore any identity conflicts or identity shifts that arise during this process.

The last theoretical concept I will employ for this research is sociocultural theory. Vygotsky's (1962) social learning of the socio-cultural theory shows children's cultural development appears on a social and individual level, and development principally takes place through a form of apprenticeship learning by interacting with other people around them. This theory can be applied toward the understanding of teachers' beliefs about student development while they plan instruction in heritage schools. In addition, the concept of the theory, which defines learning as more social practice than individual learning, enhances my ability to broaden my analysis on the importance of teacher education opportunities for heritage school teachers. This theory gives me a guide to explore the realities that if there exists opportunities to have public educational resources, such as professional developments satisfying their immediate needs. It also would

enhance the teachers' development of their own professional identity through collaborative work and a community of practice. Socio-cultural theory also has been used for suggestions on teacher education.

Socio-cultural theory is used as a framework to understand the student's language learning process, and also to incorporate the cognitive processes of teachers in order to understand their knowledge, beliefs and practice. For the last decade, research on the cognitive processes of language teachers has been growing, with a focus on the area of "what language teachers think, know, believe, and do" (Borg, 2003, p. 81). This is being accomplished through a reconceptualization of the knowledge-base of teacher education (Johnson & Freeman, 2001). Socio-cultural theory could provide, as Cross (2010) mentioned, "a framework that fuses the dialectic between thinking and doing with the socially and culturally constructed contexts in which teachers find themselves engaged through the "activity" of teaching language" (p.438). Therefore, the theory suggests a model of teacher education in order for teacher educators to understand who language teachers are, what language teaching is, and how language teachers learn to teach, and in doing so learn how to better respond to teachers' needs (Freeman & Richards, 1996; Freeman & Johnson, 2005). This would help us view the identity of Korean heritage school teachers as not socially passive but socially dynamic, because the process of teaching is socially negotiated and constructed through experiences with students, parents, administrators, and other members of the teaching profession (Freeman & Johnson, 1998, 2005). Johnson and Freeman (2001) argue, " If teacher learning and teaching are understood to grow out of participation in the social practices in classrooms, then what

teachers know and how they use that knowledge in classrooms becomes highly interpretative and contingent on knowledge of self, setting, students, curriculum, and community”(p. 57).

Kumaravadivelu (2012) suggests, “Teacher education programs have a responsibility to encourage and enable present and prospective teachers to reflect seriously on how they construct and reconstruct their teaching self” (p.55). Teacher identities, teachers’ beliefs, and teacher values are important elements for us in understanding the teaching self (Kumaravadivelu, 2012, p. 56). Olsen (2008) asserts, “The sociocultural model of identity considers that people are both products of their social histories, and—through things like hope, desperation, imagining, and mindfulness—move themselves from one subjectivity to the next, from one facet of their identity to another, and can in some limited sense choose to act in certain ways considered by them to be coherent with their own self-understandings” (p. 24). Based on the teacher identity model by Olsen below (Figure 1), more components will be found and added during my study by conducting interviews with Korean heritage school teachers and through my field observations. I believe that the special circumstances of the teachers, such as their status as immigrants and minorities, may have an impact on their construction of their professional identity as Korean teachers.

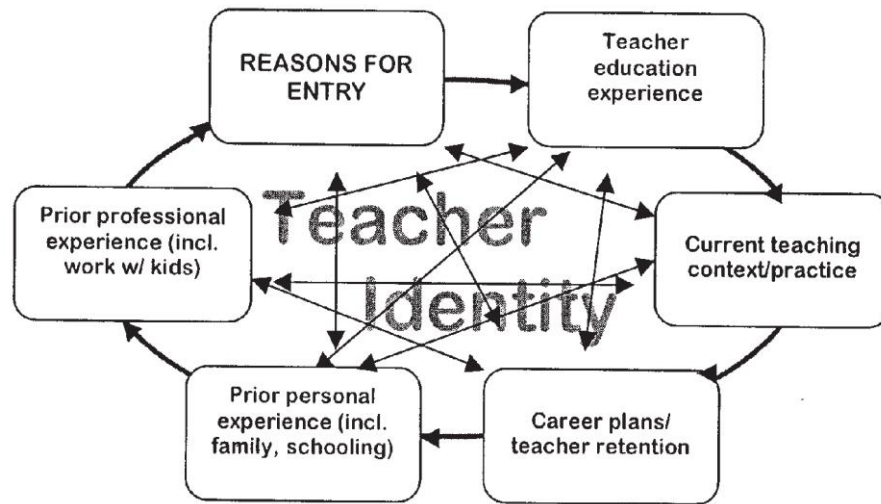


Figure 1. Teacher identity as dynamic, holistic interaction among multiple parts (Olsen, 2008).

Bourdieu's theory of habitus, field, and capital (cultural, social, and economic) can be used to understand the formation of teachers' professional identities in terms of how they think of their social status as teachers in certain contexts (e.g. Korean heritage schools, Korean immigrant communities, or U.S. society). These concepts also help me in navigating teachers' beliefs, practices, and identity which are developed from their own learning and academic experience. Habitus is a system of durable and transposable "dispositions" which people develop in response to the determining structures (e.g. class, family, education) and external conditions, and is an important factor contributing to social reproduction (Wacquant, 1998). Field means a setting in which agents and their social positions are located, and structured social space with its own rules, schemes of domination, legitimate opinions (Wacquant, 1998). Therefore, the field in this study will be a community-based Korean heritage school and the foreign/second /heritage language

educational field in the United States. Habitus will be the teachers' beliefs and teaching practice.

Cultural capital is knowledge of the dominant culture. Therefore, in the context of this study, knowledge of U.S. culture constitutes cultural capital. A direct example of this would be linguistic capital that people can accumulate through proficiency in the dominant language (Bourdieu, 1998). Korean teachers' extensive knowledge about Korean culture and language, as well as their teaching experiences in heritage schools, are not recognized as culture capital. This study will confirm how due to societal power relations, the U.S. educational discourse system ignores culture capital held by Korean teachers based simply on the language they use.

Along with cultural capital, social capital should be examined in conjunction with the status of the teachers. Bourdieu states, "Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.119). Social capital is an issue of who you know for your social mobility, and in this regard, what social groups the Korean heritage school teachers belong to and the binding impact on constructing their professional identity and network as a ladder of social mobility. We should recognize that their professional circle is inside the Korean community, and why it is difficult for them to connect with other foreign or heritage language teachers in mainstream education.

The figured world is also a valuable concept in understanding the position of Korean heritage school teachers both inside and outside of Korean communities in the

United States. According to Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain (1998), figured worlds have four characteristics: 1) cultural phenomena, 2) functions as contexts of meaning within which social encounters have significance and people's positions matter, 3) activities relevant to these worlds take meaning from them and are situated in particular times and places, and 4) socially organized and reproduced. This concept of figured worlds is useful to understand identity and agency in education because they argue figured worlds are peopled by characters from collective imaginings, such as class, race, gender, nationality (Urrieta, 2007 p. 109). In this notion, the figured world of Korean heritage school teachers is constructed not only from their own culture and society but also the new immigrant places (e.g. U.S. educational, social, and cultural contexts).

Urrieta (2007) asserts, "Holland et al.'s sociocultural practice theory of self and identity focuses attention on figured worlds as sites of possibility (in terms of agency), but also state that figured worlds are a social reality that lives within dispositions mediated by relations of power" (p. 109). Holland et al.'s argument about positionality is a very important concept to understand the identity of Korean heritage school teachers because when people are positioned, they are not engaged in self-making behavior. Rather, they accept, reject, or negotiate the provided identities (Urrieta, 2007 p. 109).

Summary

In this chapter I have presented a comprehensive literature review pertaining to heritage language education. I discussed the issue of bilingualism, foreign/second language education, as well as heritage education in the United States. I also illustrated

the situation of Korean immigrant communities, including their educational values, in order to understand community-based Korean heritage schools and Korean heritage school teachers' lives and academic backgrounds. In addition, I discussed heritage language, cultural maintenance, and ethnic identity, and elaborated on heritage teachers' identity and teacher education in L2. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks for this study were included. In the next chapter, I will explain in further detail the research methods used to execute this project.

Chapter Three

The purpose of the qualitative inquiry for this study is to listen to and understand the unique individual stories of the participants. Maxwell (2005) states that qualitative research deals with a small number of participants, unlike quantitative research that collects large samples, and therefore makes it possible for us to understand the unique circumstances where action or meaning occur. In terms of this study, qualitative research helped us to understand the Korean immigrant community in heritage educational contexts by describing the stories, experiences, and actions of heritage language teachers. Careful analysis of my field research with heritage language teachers by interacting with them is required to answer my research questions (Glesne, 1999).

Patton (2002) indicates, “Understanding what people value and the meanings they attach to experiences, from their own personal and cultural perspectives, are major inquiry arenas for qualitative inquiry” (p. 147). He also asserts, “Qualitative methods facilitate study of issues in depth and detail. Approaching fieldwork without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis contributes to depth, openness, and detail of qualitative inquiry” (p. 14). In this notion, qualitative inquiry is a suitable research method to understand the depth and detail of Korean heritage school teachers’ professional identity inside and outside the Korean immigrant community. Luttrell (2010) states, “Qualitative research insists upon a face to face, heart-felt encounter between

knowing subjects, recognition that each of us is unique in our effort to make sense of ourselves and the world around us” (Luttrell, p.1). For my research design, I followed Maxwell’s (2005) interactive research model, where all of the components of the research process, such as goals, the conceptual framework, research questions, methods, and validity, have implications for the other components.

Participants and Research Location

The participants of this study were Korean heritage school teachers in the Washington D.C. area. Purposeful sampling (selection) was used to select the participants for this study. The rationale for this sampling is that the purpose of the study is to explore the identity and teaching practice of Korean heritage school teachers. Therefore, the participants were purposefully selected among teachers who were first generation immigrants and had more than three years of Korean heritage school teaching experience. Patton indicates, “Purposeful sampling focuses on selecting information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the question under study” (p. 230). The profiles of the participants for both focus group and in-depth interviews were that they were all female teachers in their 30s to 50s and had three to twenty five years of experience teaching in Korean heritage schools.

The research site for field observation is XX Korean Heritage School in Virginia, which is one of the largest heritage schools among those schools affiliated with the Washington Association of Korean Schools (WAKS). WAKS is one of the fourteen regional branches of the National Association of Korean Schools (NAKS). According to statistics from a recent NAKS report in 2007, there were 1,011 Korean heritage schools

consisting of 8,771 teachers and 54,947 students nationwide. According to a report issued by the Korean Education Center in Washington D.C., WAKS has 83 member schools, including 838 teachers and 4,133 students in Washington D.C. metropolitan area. The XX Korean Heritage School consisted of 250 students and 30 teachers in 2013.

The research site was a well-established heritage school with a history of 26 years. There were twenty three classes with nine different levels of proficiency offered for students between the ages of 3 to 18 years old (pre-kindergarten to high school), with two classes offered for adult learners. Korean history was a required course, and activities related to Korean culture (e.g. Taekwondo, Korean traditional dance) were offered as elective classes. This school was in sessions on Saturdays only, with class time from 9:30AM to 1:00PM. Classes consisted of two and a half hours of Korean language instruction and 30 minutes of Korean history.

Research Design

I employed a critical ethnography methodology (Madison, 2011), utilizing research instruments such as in-depth interviews, focus group interviews, field observations. Self-reflection and reflection on the dialectical relationship between structural/historical forces and human agency will be integrated into the critical ethnography (Anderson, 1989). One of the advantages of the critical ethnography methodology is that several research methods are available to the researcher concerning informant empowerment, such as informant narratives and collaborative research (Anderson, 1989).

My research questions were posed to understand the status and situation of Korean heritage language teachers in terms of their professions. I aimed at exploring the general viewpoints and beliefs of participants regarding their careers as teachers through focus group interviews with a small number of teachers in a comfortable discussion format. At the same time, I conducted one-on-one in-depth interviews employing storytelling. This narrative storytelling method assisted me in capturing the teachers' life experiences, which have affected the shaping of their identities as teachers in both the U.S. and Korea. The special circumstances they commonly share were that they all were first generation immigrants, were bound by female gender roles in Korean tradition, were non-native English speakers, had racial minority status, and were teachers at a community-based heritage school.

Field participant observation (moderate participation) included classroom observation, weekly teachers' meetings, and key informant interviews with an administrator, parents, and teachers. From these observations, I explored how the teachers' beliefs regarding pedagogy and ideology are delivered to their students in class through their conscious or unconscious behavior and speech. In addition, I found more about the teachers' opinions through the observation of their formal and informal conversation outside of the classroom, such as weekly and monthly teachers' meetings and informal follow-up discussions.

Research Data

Focus group interview. Before I started collecting data from focus group interviews (see Appendix C), I sent a recruitment email to the member teachers at the

Washington Association of Korean Schools to invite both focus group and in depth interviews. I randomly grouped the participants by locations of where they lived, and interviewed with five groups consisting of 4-6 teachers (two groups of four, two groups of five, one group of six). I believe that the interviews were an effective method to explore specific topics such as the teachers' beliefs, thoughts, or teaching methods. In addition, it was good to have diversity among the views of the teachers. This is because focus group interviews, as Patton (2002) indicates, enhance data quality with interaction between participants with diverse views. The strong point of focus group interviews compared to one-on-one interviews is that participants can hear each other's responses and exchange comments (Patton, 2002).

On the other hand, focus group interviews have some limitations. The limitations are: 1) the number of the questions used in the interview, 2) each participant's response time 3) declined minority views 4) no assured confidentiality (Patton, 2002). The primary limitation I found from the focus group interview of the pilot study with five teachers at XX Korean heritage school was a hierarchal relationship among the teachers, based on age and teaching experience. When I asked interview questions, the oldest teacher with 20 years of experience answered first and the next oldest teacher answered next. One teacher who joined the school last year did not talk at all. When I asked her a question directly, she said she did not know anything about teaching. Similar limitations were found in two focus group interviews where there was a big age difference between older and newer teachers in this study. Regardless of these limitations, focus group interviews helped me understand the narrowly focused topic of Korean heritage teachers' teaching

and life experience, the challenges or needs of their instruction, their teaching beliefs, and reactions toward teachers' workshops offered by regional and national level Korean heritage school associations.

One on one interview:Narrative storytelling. When I sent the recruitment email (see Appendix B), I indicated that there were two kinds of interviews; one type was focus group interviews and the other type was in-depth interviews. I explained to the potential participants about the formats in the email. None of the teachers wanted to participate in both interviews, and only six teachers contacted me for the in-depth interview. Therefore, I invited all six participants for the interviews. I met each participant three times, and the interviews took approximately two hours each time. I believe that these individual interviews helped to overcome the limitations of the focus group interviews by presenting an opportunity for teachers to voice deeper and unspoken thoughts. Since the interviews were conducted through a narrative storytelling method, interview questions were not formed in advance, however a rough and very open interview protocol was prepared in order to keep the interview material pertinent to my research questions (Appendix D)

Creswell (2008) states, "You use narrative research when you have individuals willing to tell their stories and you want to report their stories. For educators looking for personal experiences in an actual school setting, narrative research offers practical, specific insights. By conducting narrative studies, researchers establish a close bond with the participants" (p. 512). As Creswell (2008) says, my position as a researcher mobilized between the role of teacher and researcher. In addition, my shared role as a Korean

teacher and Korean female immigrant helped the participants feel more comfortable when sharing their stories.

Narrative research was developed in the education field due to several factors. Cortazzi (1997) suggests that the factors were trends of emphasis on teaching reflection and teachers' knowledge regarding professional development and classroom management as well as empowering teachers' voices (Creswell, 1993, p.513). The reason why I chose narrative storytelling as one of the methods for this study is that even though in-depth interviews are good sources of data collection for my research, I might not be able to capture all the events related to the participants' life experiences with a structured interview format. I agree with Riessman's argument that when she conducted an in-depth interview for her research, she realized that she was "not able to capture the participants' life experiences for thematic categories" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p.331). Therefore, I didn't make any structured questions in advance, but instead made a protocol which then guided the direction of their story.

In the case of this research, the participants' personal, educational, and professional experiences impacted the formation of their professional identities as teachers. Thus, the narrative method promoted all the conveyance of all possible facts related to their teaching. Since data were not collected not from written sources such as journals or essays, but from oral sources, an in-depth interview format that was recorded and transcribed was utilized for this research. However, my position as a researcher was somewhat different because I would be taking a role closer to a listener than that of an inquirer. Chase emphasizes a researcher's role indicating, "Rather than locating distinct

themes across interviews, narrative researchers listen first to the voices within each narrative” (Luttrell, 2010, p. 221).

There are several research approaches for a narrative method, depending on academic discipline (e.g., psychology, anthropology or sociology). In the study, I adopted the approach developed by sociologists in order to work with the identity issues of the teachers. Regarding the narrative approach, Chase (2010) says, “A second approach has been developed by sociologists who highlight the identity work that people engage in as they construct selves within specific institutional, organizational, discursive, and local cultural contexts. Unlike the psychologists just described, who conceptualize the life story as distinguishable from yet having an impact on the life, these researchers often treat narrative as lived experience” (Luttrell, 2010, p. 216).

Table 1

| *Profile of Participants in In-depth interviews*

Name	Gender	Age	Years of Teaching	Academic experience in the U.S.	Teaching experience in Korea	Korean teaching related degree
Soo	Female	40s	10 years	No	Yes	No
Hee	Female	30s	5 years	No	Yes	No
Young	Female	40s	3 years	No	Yes	No
Jung	Female	40s	8 years	No	No	No
Kyong	Female	50s	20 years	No	No	Yes
Yoo	Female	50s	12 years	No	Yes	No

Field observation. People often believe that foreign or second language lessons are a neutral process of teaching and learning. However, Kubota (2010) indicates, “Second or foreign language education is located in a pedagogical space where linguistic, racial, cultural and class differences meet. Learning a new language and the culture associated with it, exposes students to diversity and provides them with a new cultural perspective. Language teaching is thus often viewed as inherently compatible with multiculturalism” (p. 99).

I accept the fact that when an educator delivers knowledge about a subject to students in a classroom, the ideology and beliefs of the teacher are also conveyed. The foreign language classroom is not an exception (May & Sleeter, 2010). In this notion, the observation of the teachers’ classrooms enhances understanding of how the teachers’ beliefs and ideology are conveyed within the classroom. During the field observation, the principal stated that if there was a teacher who was willing to open his or her class for observation that they should contact the researcher. Eight teachers contacted me and gave permission to observe their classes. The date and time of these observations were at the discretion of the teachers, and no preparation of any kind was required in advance. I attended eight classes for an hour each to find how teachers’ beliefs were reflected in the class. The age ranges of the students in the classes were from four years to sixteen years old and the level of the classes were true beginner, beginner, intermediate and advanced. I also participated in weekly and monthly teachers’ meetings in order to get an idea of their general concerns and plans for teaching. Other events that I attended were culture-related school events (e.g. national holidays) in order to meet other key informants, such

as parents and leaders from Korean communities. The field notes from these observations were useful in providing data beyond the scope of the focus group and one-on-one interviews. Reflection journals along with field notes helped my critical analysis. I prepared two columns of notes; the left column was for the field notes and the right column for my reactions, questions, or reflections. Documents (e.g. papers distributed during teachers' meetings, letters to parents, principal's announcements, notes from WAKS) collected during field work also became an important data source for the study.

There are several advantages to field observations. Patton (2002) indicates that if a researcher understands the context interacting with the people in the field, the research will have a holistic perspective. Patton (2002) argues participant observation allows researchers to be more open and discovery-oriented without relying on prior conceptualizations. Researchers can also develop personal knowledge through the experiences of interacting with people in the field and apply it to interpretation and analysis through this method. In this notion, I believe that first hand observations of the teachers inside and outside of the classroom helped me understand the behaviors related to their professional identity and beliefs within social contexts.

Procedure

The data collection timeline is represented in Table 2 below. I started my field observations at XX heritage school in Virginia. I received a permission letter from the heritage school principal to get research approval from the George Mason University (GMU) Institutional Review Board (IRB) (see Appendix A). The permission letter stated that the principal allowed the researcher to be present at the school and observe

classrooms, teachers' meetings, school events, as well as have access to any school documents (e.g. letters to parents, announcements) related to the study.

I attended my chosen heritage school on every Saturday for an entire semester, from February to June. At the research site, my first step was to observe general school layouts, curricula, and students' daily activities, along with beginning my interviews of key informants (e.g. the school principal). During the semester, I attended all teachers' meetings, which were held before class for thirty minutes, attended monthly teachers' meetings, observed eight different classrooms (one hour each), attended semi-annual parents' meetings, and participated in the school and WAKS events, including the semi-annual teachers' workshops for WAKS members. I used field observation memos to not only record events, quotes from informants, activities, non-verbal behaviors, and situational cues, but also wrote my reflections, comments, and questions on each activity.

I wrote the memo mainly in English except for quotes from informants. I organized and analyzed the data from field notes as soon as they were complete. Glesne (2006) states, "data analysis done simultaneously with data collection enables you to focus and shape the study as it proceeds" (p. 148). While I was doing the field observations, I also began the focus group interviews and in-depth interviews depending on the participants' availability.

Through an e-mail list provided by WAKS, I sent recruitment e-mail (see Appendix B) to the teachers in the heritage schools in Washington D.C. area. I received thirty responses, and twenty four teachers preferred focus group interviews. Therefore, I invited the other six participants who didn't indicate any preference for in-depth

interviews. I clarified whether they wanted to participate in both interviews, but no one wanted to do both. I decided to invite all the teachers who responded to either the focus group interviews or in-depth interviews. They all were first generation immigrants and had more than three years of Korean heritage school teaching experience.

While I was doing the focus group interviews (see Appendix F), I did one-on-one in-depth interviews (see Appendix E) with participants who were willing. I met each participant three times, face-to-face for two hours each and recorded the interviews. I set up a convenient time and location with each of the participants for the in-depth interviews. Right after each interview was complete, I transcribed the recorded data and translated it from Korean. In this whole process, I initially planned to include some interview participants by working collaboratively (e.g. transcribing and translating of interview recordings) with them for investigator triangulation and for the purpose of increasing the role of the participant in the study. However, no participants indicated willingness to take this role. Therefore, instead, I conducted ongoing member checks with all the in-depth interview participants to gain greater clarity and understanding of previously collected data from the interviews.

Member checking can be used as a means of assessing the validity of a qualitative study by accurately understanding the participant's worldview in qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I followed up with interview participants to get further clarification regarding specific statements made during the interviews. In addition, member checks were conducted with all in-depth interview participants, where I solicited feedback from them on the translation of the data and the interpretations drawn in the

study. During the interview process, I brought the transcribed and translated manuscripts from previous interviews to each meeting in order for the interviewees to confirm the translation was accurate. In the data analysis stage, I sent them the parts of their interviews that were being quoted in order to check if their original intention was being properly delivered.

Table 2

The timeline of data collection

Activities	Time	Location
Field Observation	February 1- Jun 14, 2014	Research site in Herndon, VA
Focus Group Interviews	March 10 – April 20, 2014	A group study room at public library in Centreville, Falls Church, Herndon, in VA and Baltimore, Ellicott City in MD
One-on-one interviews	March 10- May 30, 2014	A coffee shop, participant's house, participant's office or public library in VA

Data Analysis

Data were collected through field observations, focus group interviews, and one-on-one interviews. As I mentioned earlier, this research might bring benefits to the teachers at the heritage school by potentially helping them discover their professional identities through their storytelling during the data collection process. In addition, they might gain confidence as teachers by having the opportunity to give their opinions on their circumstances and the challenges of life in the United States. Therefore, the voices

of participants were relatively prominent and the analysis should enhance their stories. Patton (2002) claims, “Because each qualitative study is unique, the analytical approach used will be unique” (p. 433).

Data analysis depends on general factors, such as the analyst’s style and analytical intellect (Patton, 2002). I utilized an inductive analysis method because I planned to discover emerging themes from the data I collected. Even though there is a theoretical framework for this study, there is an open space to ground a theory depending on the data results. Research categories in this study were inductively developed through an open coding of the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2007). In this study, I tried to discover patterns, themes, and categories across the data. To accomplish this, I coded on the margins of the transcribed data, then compared the coding to merge into new concepts by responding to the research questions. Beyond general analysis, Maxwell (2005) suggests the three main categories of analysis are memos, categorizing strategies (e.g. coding, thematic analysis) and connecting strategies (e.g. narrative analysis). I used thematic analysis in this study by incorporating memos. Thematic analysis involves searching across a data set in order to find repeated patterns of meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Through this analytical method, I achieved a better understanding of the overall content of the study cross data. The analyzing process included stages of reading and re-reading data to become familiar with what the data entailed, generating initial codes by documenting where and how patterns occurred, and combining codes into overarching themes that accurately depicted the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

I started the analysis from the early stage of data collection and continued throughout the study. Analytic procedures included organization by date, immersion in the data, generating categories and themes, coding the data, writing analytic memos, offering interpretations, and searching for alternative understandings (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). In addition, I wrote analytic memos throughout the data analysis process. Maxwell (2005) emphasizes the importance of memos saying, “Memos can perform other functions not related to data analysis, such as reflection on methods, theory, or purpose” (p. 96). He continues to say, “memos not only capture your analytic thinking about your data, but also facilitate such thinking, stimulating analytic insights” (p. 96).

After transcribing the interview data, the next step was translation. I started transcribing and translating the interviews right after they were completed. Since the participants and I are all first generation Korean immigrants, the medium of language for the interview was Korean in order to facilitate ease of communication and understanding. Marshall and Rossman (2006) argue, ‘the issues associated with translating from one language into another are much more complex than transcribing because they involve more subtle issues of connotation and meaning’ (p. 111). I tried to answer three questions Rossman and Rallis (2003) posed regarding translation; 1) If you have translated from one language to another, which language constitutes the direct quote? 2) Can you use translated words as a direct quote? 3) How do you signal that a translation is accurate and captures the subtle meanings of the original language? (p. 260). To answer these questions, I directly quoted interviewees and put the translated version of the quotation under the original passage. As I mentioned earlier, I also included the participants in the

translation process to check whether the translation was accurate and if the meaning of their speech was well translated. In addition, for memos written during observation and interviews, I tried as much as possible to transcribe the original words of the participants to ensure the accuracy of message. After transcribing and translating, I continued reading and re-reading in order to fully comprehend my participants' perspectives.

There are several approaches to the coding process. I employed data driven coding, which involved inductive code development based on the data collected in the study (Kawulich, 2004). I read the transcripts and generated a list of emic codes. In this process, I used emic code looking and using the participants' direct quote. The use of direct quotations allowed capturing not only the participants' exact thoughts, providing richer detail to the reader, but also gave the participants a voice. Then, I used etic codes to conceptualize the general themes and develop my own interpretation of the general theory from the field notes and analytic notes. The most important thing for data analysis in my qualitative research was that I had to conduct data analysis simultaneously with data collection (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 2).

Translation

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an important tool for analysis of the data for this study. Lin (2014) points out researchers sometimes identify a dominant Discourse during data analysis process such as coding the interview transcripts. The method of CDA suggests that since interviewing process is in itself a social practice, researcher reflexivity is needed in the process of interview, interpretation, and coding (Lin, 2014; Mishler, 1991; Talmy, 2010, 2011). To deliver the participants' original voice, I included

direct quotes from the words of the participants in the text (finding and discussion section). I tried to translate word by word to capture the meaning of the participants' speech, and then I put the English translation right under the quote. Then as a researcher in this study, my understanding or opinion about their words was displayed before or after the excerpts.

Since an increasing proportion of empirical and analytic work is done on languages other than English (Nikander, 2008), translation issues should be discussed in the study targeting the audience in both languages. However, translation methods remain in the decision/solution of the researchers who intend to analyze data in their own mother tongue (Nikander, 2008). According to Nikander (2008), "Translating data extracts is not merely a question of 'adopting' or 'following' a 'transcription technique' but rather includes a range of practical and ideological questions concerning the level of *detail* chosen in the transcription, and of the way in which the translations are *physically* presented in print "(p. 226).

The focus group and individual interviews as well as the key informants' interviews were conducted in Korean in order to capture their identity and cultures using their first language. Even though I was helped by a Korean-English bilingual person and did member checking with the participants during the translation process for validity checks, the translation of language might create certain misunderstandings because it cannot be easily measured or observed. It was very hard to find equivalent English words which can fully represent the meaning of some Korean words. For instance, since I couldn't find an equivalent word for 희생 (*heesaeng*), I choose the word 'sacrifices'.

However, the English term ‘sacrifices’ has a religious meaning along the lines of ‘surrendering a possession as an offering to God or to a divine or supernatural figure’. On the other hand, the term 희생 when used by heritage teachers (e.g. ‘희생(*heesaeng*) as a mother and teacher) means ‘devoting time, dedication, support or care without any reward. Therefore, the 희생 (*heesaeng*) used interchangeably with 헌신 (*heonshin*) which means ‘devotion’ or 봉사 (*bongsa*) which means ‘service’.

Another example of a limitation encountered during translation was finding an English term which does not exist in the United States. For instance, when the teachers explained about teaching methods that they were familiar with in Korean education systems, they brought up the word 주입식 (*jooheepsik*). However, it is difficult to translate this into English because there is no equivalent term in the U.S. educational system. I translated it into ‘cramming method of teaching’, but 주입식 (*jooheepsik*) has a more complex meaning than just the ‘cramming method’. 주입식 (*jooheepsik*) is a more teacher-centered teaching approach, emphasizing the memorization of a large amount of material. During this process, students passively receive the teachers’ instruction rather than actively participate in the class by expressing their opinions or thoughts. Banking education, a term used by Paulo Freire (2009), can describe the concept of 주입식 (*jooheepsik*) method. According to Freire (2009), banking education is a teaching method where “instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits

which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the ‘banking’ concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits” (p. 72).

Validity Checks

Maxwell (2005) categorizes eight possible validity tests for qualitative studies: 1) intensive, long-term involvement, 2) rich data 3) respondent validation 4) intervention 5) searching for discrepant evidence and negative cases 6) triangulation 7) quasi-statistics 8) comparison. In my study, I included intensive, long-term involvement, rich data with triangulation, and respondent validation as three validity checks from the list Maxwell provided. For the intensive and long term involvement, I conducted interviews with multiple participants, interview with each informant for at least six hours, and observed the research site once a week for a semester (four months). Through this method of validation, I could eliminate “spurious associations and premature theories” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 110) to increase the validity of the study.

To collect rich data, I combined three method instruments in order to ensure the collection of more valid data. This is one type of triangulation of qualitative data sources that I used to increase the validity of my study. The triangulation can be attained within qualitative methods comparing and cross-checking the consistency of information (Patton, 2002). According to Patton (2002), triangulation within qualitative methods is “1) comparing observation with interviews 2) comparing what people say in public with what they say in private 3) checking for the consistency of what people say about the same

thing over time 4) comparing the perspectives of people from different points of view 5) checking interviews against program documents and other written evidence “ (p. 559).

As I mentioned earlier, along with focus group interviews and one-on-one interviews to gather narrative story data, the observation of the teachers’ classroom enhanced understanding of how the teachers’ beliefs and ideology were conveyed in the classroom. Outside of class, I also participated in the weekly and monthly teachers’ meetings to understand their general concerns and plans for their teaching. The field notes from these observations could be useful in ways beyond the focus group interviews. Lastly, I checked the validity of the study through the respondent validation. I sent my analysis with transcribed interview data at several analyzing stages to the participants by mail to get feedback from them to make sure that I understood their intended meaning properly. Maxwell (2005) supports this concept saying “this is the single most important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of what participants say and do and the perspective they have and what is going on, as well as being an important way of identifying your own biases and misunderstandings of what you observed” (p. 111).

In addition to general validity checks, validity from the collection of evidence and the analysis or interpretation of the evidence should be added to increase the credibility of narrative research (Polkinghorne, 2007). Validity threats arise in narrative research because the intended meaning of participants may differ from what they say. In terms of validity threats in interpretations, they occur because an interpretation is not a summary of the story by participants but the finding and clarifying the meaning of the text

(Polkinghorne, 2007). In this notion, I included participants for member checks in the process of translation and analysis to increase validity.

Validity Threats

The first limitation of the study might come from researcher bias. Presumptions based on my experiences as an intern, substitute teacher, and workshop leader might have influenced my judgment of the teachers and caused me to overlook ideas that did not meet my expectations. To overcome this bias, I needed to focus more on reading the actual data, including transcripts, observation memos, and my reflection journal in order to see what was included in the data. I needed to distinguish between my objective view as an outsider (researcher) and subjective view as an insider (teacher) using descriptive and analytic notes. I took the Greene's (2007) suggestion of having an "appropriate balance of participant and observer roles, lengthy time on site, keen perceptive acuity, and reporting of observations in rich, descriptive contextualized detail" (p. 167).

Another potential threat was the reactivity of the participants. Especially in a Korean educational context, classroom visits or observations give an impression to teachers that their instruction is being evaluated by the observer. In addition, for the interviews, teachers might try to provide the "right" answer by saying not their own opinion but the opinion based on other sources (e.g. books, workshops). Therefore, in the data analysis, I had to think that the teachers' classroom practices and interview responses were affected by my presence.

Ethical Issues

Some ethical issues I considered to think about for this study are the idea of researcher identity and power relationships in the data collection process. The position I have might have affected that the relationships with participants since I should change my identity from a Korean teacher to a researcher. When I met the teachers at XX heritage school, I worked there as an intern teacher. Therefore, building a new relationship for the purpose of this research was necessary, as the participants still initially recognized me as an intern teacher. Therefore, a hierarchical power relationship between the researcher and researched in traditional Korean academic cultural (research is more valuable work than practice) settings should be shifted to equal positions sharing my own experience as a teacher with them.

Summary

I employed a qualitative research inquiry model in this chapter to present the research methods for this study. Research methods included participant and site selection, data collection, design of research instruments, data analysis techniques, validity checks, validity threats, and ethical issues. A research time line for data collection is presented. The next chapter will present and discuss the findings from the data collected to answer the three research questions raised in Chapter One.

Chapter Four

The purpose of this research was to explore the professional identity of Korean heritage school teachers. A qualitative research method was utilized to understand their professional identity, through its shaping and construction from teaching in heritage schools.

1. What is the professional identity of these Korean heritage school teachers?
2. How were their identities shaped?
3. How are the identities and ideologies of Korean heritage school teachers (re) produced and constructed through the practices in place at heritage language schools?

Qualitative data, including focus group interviews, in-depth interviews, field participant observation, and self-study, was analyzed during the research inquiry. The findings are presented in the answers to each research question.

Research question 1: What is the professional identity of these Korean heritage school teachers?

Representative themes drawn from data are presented below, indicating how Korean heritage schools teachers perceive their own identity as a teacher in heritage schools. The data indicate that the teachers perceive their professional identity as a mixture of being a traditional Korean teacher, a foreign language instructor, and a member of Korean society and immigrant communities.

Role of traditional teachers. Korean heritage school teachers in the U.S. have a conscious and subconscious perception of themselves as continuing the path of a traditional Korean teacher in Korean society. The teachers' belief on teaching and maintaining a relationship with students is shaped within this frame. In Korean society, teachers are traditionally considered a person who is a master of subject knowledge and respected by society. Therefore, Korean heritage school teachers think one of their main roles as a teacher is to dispense knowledge to students. In the process of dispensing knowledge, passive learning methods, such as rote memorization combined with copying and taking notes during the teachers' lecture, and are considered effective ways of learning in heritage schools. These teachers' teaching and learning beliefs were formed from Confucianism (Wong, 2006), which defines 'study' as finding a good teacher and imitating his words and deeds (Li Ling, 1970). In the relationship with students, heritage teachers think they have a lower status than the teachers in Korea due to the lack of respect and shown by the students in the United States. For this reason, they feel that moral education is important for students in order for them to understand hierarchical relationships in Korean society. They also believe, as teachers, one of their roles is to provide moral education in the schools.

Knowledge dispenser and traditional teaching and learning. In Korean society, since teachers have a significant responsibility toward their students' academic development, most Korean parents perceive that the role of teachers is crucial in teaching students academic skills (Yum, 2000). The teachers' beliefs were formed aligning with societal norms. In this manner, teachers admit that Korean is a subject that they need to

teach to the students for their academic development. The contents they teach have been developed through their own learning experiences in Korean education. They learned Korean as a language art, therefore, grammatical knowledge and vocabulary capacity were emphasized to produce proper, accurate, and rich Korean language and literature skills. In addition, the methods of traditional learning in Korea, such as memorization and copying teachers' notes from the board, were adopted in their teaching. The teachers agreed that there is no other way to learn new vocabulary and grammatical concepts except through rote memorization in the language learning context.

Grammar and vocabulary. The teachers expressed the importance of grammar in Korean language learning. In addition, the placement and proficiency tests in the heritage schools mostly focus on evaluating students' knowledge of grammar and vocabulary. Vocabulary knowledge in the school context means the ability to write words without any spelling errors as well as understand the meaning of passages through dictation. A teacher in a focus group interview stated, “처음에 학생들이 학교에 오면 문법과 어휘만 배우니까 한국어를 하나의 교과목으로 인식해요 (At the beginning when children come to the heritage school, they start understanding that Korean is one of the subjects to study since they learn only grammar and vocabulary there).” On the other hand, the teachers expressed that grammatical knowledge and the teaching methods of grammar were one of the more challenging components in their teaching practice. A teacher during a focus group interview emphasized the difficulty of teaching grammar, saying, “문법

가르치는 것이 정말 힘들어요. 어떻게 문법을 가르쳐야 하는지 모르겠어요. 특히 불규칙 동사 변형을 어떻게 가르쳐야 하는지 모르겠어요 (Teaching grammar is hard. I don't know how to teach grammar. I don't know how to teach the 'irregular form')."

The other teacher expressed her worry about how she could teach grammatical rules to students effectively. She found that explicit explanation was the best and only way.

Korean heritage school teachers also perceive that correct spelling enhances students' writing performance. A teacher in the focus group interviews expressed her opinion about spelling, indicating, "제 학생들은 철자가 너무 많이 틀려요. 그래서 쓰기를 못하는 거예요 (My students have a lot of spelling errors. That is the reason why it is very hard for them to do writing)." Emphasis on the importance of spelling correctly is shown on all tests, no matter on class tests, school placement tests, or final summative tests – all have sections explicitly devoted to evaluating the students' spelling ability.

Copying. One of the teachers' preferred teaching methods is copying. Teachers encourage students to copy vocabulary, sentences, and paragraphs. This method is one of the traditional learning methods passed down for several hundred years in Asia. During the old days, people copied the original script by writing in hand, and they believed that this was the best way to memorize text. Korean heritage school teachers have adopted this method especially for homework assignments. Even though there is a highlighted linguistic goal for the homework, there are no focused skills students can improve through homework, or in the outcome of the work.

Homework—Please copy and write the sentences below three times:

“I learn drawing on the weekends”

“I borrowed ed comic books and picture books from the library”

“Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday”

(weekly letter to parent, homework section)

Memorization. The other teaching and learning method that the teachers’ prefer is rote memorization. This method is the one which was emphasized when the teachers attended school in Korea. Rote memorization is one of the popular learning methods in Asian countries influenced by the Confucian education philosophy. However, students in Korean heritage schools who are familiar with the methods in the U.S. educational system often have conflicts with the teachers’ preferred method. Kyong, one of the in-depth interviewees, argued about her beliefs on the rote memorization method, emphasizing, “제가 학생들이 말하고 쓸 수 있길 원하는 만큼 가르쳐야 해요. 학생들이 한번도 배운 적이 없는 것을 말하거나 쓸 수 없잖아요. 학생들이 외워야 하니까 제가 할 일은 어떻게 학생들이 어려움 없이 잘 외울 수 있는지 그 방법을 찾는 거예요 (I should teach everything that I want my students to be able to speak and write in Korean. Students can’t speak or write the things they have never learned. They should memorize, and my obligation is to find the easy way to memorize and help the students memorize without difficulty).”

The memorization learning method is seen as also an important method for students to perform well in the WAKS competition or during class tests. The following excerpt from my field notes illustrates a participant observation at the semi-final WAKS vocabulary competition.

For instance, “a day” can be translated in several ways in Korean, such as ‘날 (*nal*)’, ‘일 (*il*)’, or ‘하루 (*haru*).’ However, only the answer ‘*nal*’, which was provided in a study guide by WAKS administration, was accepted as the right answer. Therefore, many of the students who translated it into other words got it wrong.

When students received the vocab lists for this year’s WAKS competition, they needed to memorize only one translated meaning of each word (Korean into English or English into Korean.) However, this kind of rote memorization may narrow students’ thinking and limit the opportunity to enrich their vocabulary.

Hierarchical relationship. Confucianism emphasizes that the role of a king, a teacher, and a father is the same as a ruler of society. For this reason, in traditional classrooms students respect and obey their teachers, considering them as authority at school and dispenser of knowledge. Heritage school teachers still believe that there is a hierarchical relationship that should be obeyed between students and teachers. The society that the teachers grew up in was a homogeneous and collectivist society (Kim & Choi, 1994), where group benefits are more important than individual norms. In this society, one of the norms is that students should show respect to teachers as a matter of

seniority inside and outside of the classroom. For instance, Korean students use polite verbal and non-verbal expressions and are obedient to teachers in order to show respect (Han, 2003).

Discipline. Korean teachers are expected to not only guide students' academic success, but also discipline students. A teacher's role is very important in Korean society, where education is heavily valued due to the influence of Confucianism. In addition, the hierarchical etiquette system in Korean educational discourse makes a teacher's relationship with his or her students more formal. Korean teachers are stern in front of their students and rarely praise students that perform well in class (Han, 2003), and this attitude is often found in the heritage school, where the teachers mainly focus on correcting students' errors. In addition, the teachers prefer the teacher-centered lecture style of teaching. They believe the students' discipline is very important for promoting the students' concentration. However, the teachers also believe that they do not have enough authority to discipline the students if the parents of students don't support the teachers. Interviewee Kyong blamed parents' negative attitude toward teachers as lowering students' respect toward their teachers:

한국 부모님들은 아이들 학교생활에 아주 적극적이죠. 숙제나 시험 공부도 열심히 도와주고요. 하지만 한국학교에서는 그렇지 않아요. 부모님들이 토요학교를 학교라고 생각하지 않아요. 어린 아이들을 가진 부모들은 우리를 베이비시터로 생각해요. 어떤 부모들은 주말에 일해야 하니까 아이들을 여기에 맡겨요. 이런 학생들이 수업을 망쳐요. 부모들이 선생님들을 존경하지 않으니까 문제 행동을 합니다. 학생들은 여기있는 강압적인 선생님들을 싫어해요. 미국 선생님들은 그렇지 않으니까요.

Korean parents engage in their children's school life very actively, such as by helping with homework and tests. However, in heritage schools this is not the case. Parents don't think that Saturday schools (heritage schools) are a school. Parents with small children think we, teachers, are their baby sisters. For some parents, they should work during the weekend, so they put their kids here. These kids ruin the class. They have behavior issues since they don't respect their teachers. The students don't like strict teachers here because American teachers are not strict.

Another interviewee named Soo also agreed with Kyong's opinion about how important parents' cooperation is for students' discipline issues.

미국식 사고를 가진 부모의 자녀가 이런 훈육의 문제가 있어요. 한국어를 잘 못하는 부모의 아이들이 문제예요. 교사가 야단치지도 못 하게 해요. 한국학교를 왜 보내나요? 그 부모들은 저희가 한국어 교사니까 한국어만 가르쳐 주길 바라죠. 하지만 랭귀지스쿨에 다니는 것이 아니라 한국학교에 다니는 거예요. 한국학교에서는 역사 문화도 배워야 해요. 한국적 가치도 배워야 하고요

I see the discipline problems occur usually among the students with parents who think in the American style. Students whose parents don't speak Korean (e.g. 2nd generation Korean immigrants) especially have problems. The parents asked us not to scold their kids. I don't understand. Why do they send their kids to a Korean heritage school? The parents want us to teach the Korean language since we are Korean language teachers. However, they are not attending a language school but rather a heritage school, so students should learn Korean culture and history here. They have to learn Korean values.

Respect. The main reason why the teachers emphasize disciplining the students is because they seemed to seek the students' respect. Teachers believe that when students respect teachers, the authority of teachers will be increased enough to make the class focus on studying. Soo explained the importance of parents' role in the shaping of students' attitude.

한국에서는 학생은 교사를 존경해야 한다고 배우잖아요. 저도 한국에서 아이들을 가르칠 때는 존경을 받았어요. 교사와 부모는 상하관계라고 생각해요. 부모가 교사의 말에 잘 따르면 학생들도 복종해요. 교사가 숙제를 해 오라고 했는데 부모가 아이들 앞에서 전화해서 숙제가 어렵거나 많다고 하면 학생들이 말을 잘 안 들어요.

Education in Korea helped me form the opinion that students should respect teachers. I was respected by students when I taught in Korea. In my opinion, the relationship between teachers and parents is hierarchical. The students with parents who respect teachers usually follow the teacher's direction well. If a parent complains about homework (e.g. quality and quantity of the work) in front of their child, the student won't respect the teacher.

Especially in the heritage school context, teachers believe their limitation in English proficiency influences the attitude of students, whose main communication language is English. A teacher in the focus group interviews complained about the reaction of a student against her limited English speaking ability.

우리가 영어를 못 하니까 학생들이 우리를 존경하지 않아요. 저는 낱말을 가르칠 때 한국어로 읽고 다시 영어로 번역해 주는데요. 제 발음이 안 좋으니까, 지난 번에 수업에서 학생 한 명이 계속해서 내가 영어로 말한 것을 다시 발음해서 다른 학생들에게 말해 주는 거예요. 권위가 떨어진 것

같아 기분이 안 좋았어요. 그래서 제가 학생들에게 말해줬어요, ‘너네는 미국에서 태어났으니까 영어를 잘 하지만 나는 한국에서 태어나서 한국어를 잘 해’라고요.

Students don't respect us since we speak Korean and don't know English. When I taught vocabulary, I read Korean and their translation in English at the same time. My pronunciation is not good, so last time during class, one student kept interpreting and saying again to other students what I said in English. I felt bad since I lost face in front of my students. My authority was damaged. Therefore, I told my students, 'You were born in the U.S., so you can speak English well, and I was born in Korea, so I speak Korean well.'

The high turnover rate among new teachers in Korean heritage schools is caused by the problems in the relationship with parents and students. Kyong elaborated about the reason why teachers quit their jobs.

한국학교 교사들 중에 상당 수가 학생이나 학부모와 관계가 안 좋아서 그만두는 경우가 많아요. 학생들이 건방지게 행동하거나 부모가 아이에 대한 기대치가 너무 높거나 교사들에게 불만을 표시하면 교사들이 자신감을 잃고 의기소침해집니다. 이런 행동이나 태도가 교사의 권위를 떨어뜨린다고 생각해요.

Many Korean heritage school teachers quit their jobs because of the bad relationship with either their students or parents. The teachers are discouraged and lose the confidence when the students show rude behaviors toward the teachers, the parents complain about the teachers or have exceeded expectation about their children's performance. These behaviors or attitudes are challenging the authority of the teachers.

For this reason, teachers sometimes tell a story to their students during class about traditional norms in Korean society regarding the teacher and student relationship. The field notes described a teacher's instruction emphasizing the hierarchical relationship. The teacher gave a story about her school life in Korea. She told the students that she had to clean up her teacher's place since all teachers had to be respected. She also mentioned that there was a distance between teachers and students when she was in school. Kyong stated that she taught honorific forms to her students because she thought they had to use honorific forms (respectable forms) when they spoke to teachers to show their respect.

This hierarchical relationship is also found in the relationship between old and young teachers as well as between experienced and new teachers. Interviewee Jung explained that there is a power relation not only between the positions such as principals and teachers but also senior (more experienced) teachers and junior teachers. Principals have great power since they usually are the founders of the heritage schools in their churches. The principals have the ultimate say as a decision maker. In addition, the experienced teachers who spend a lot of time with the principals sit by the principals during the teachers' meetings. New teachers cannot sit at the table (there is one big square table) and instead are seated in the back row during meetings.

Moral educator. Under the influence of Confucianism, Korean society traditionally grants teachers the same authority as parents. As Samovar, Porter, and Stefani (2000) mentioned, since moral education in addition to regular school subjects was emphasized in Korean schools, teachers take the leadership role in these areas, and parents hold teachers responsible for disciplining their children. Korean heritage school

teachers agreed that the students in their schools need moral education and it is the one of the duties the teachers should perform for the students. An interviewee, Hee, shared her story regarding how Korean language speaking is related with polite behavior

한국 학교에 다니는 학생들은 자기가 미국인라고 생각해요. 제가 우리 아이들을 한국에 데리고 나가서 친척을 만날 일이 있었어요. 그 아이들이 미국에서는 영어만 썼지만 한국에서는 한국어를 쓰게 되잖아요. 한국에서 한국어를 쓰니까 행동이 좀 바뀌는 것 같더라고요. 할머니랑 있을 때 싫어하는 것을 해야 되는 상황에서도 할머니 말을 듣더라고요. 한국 사회에서는 어른을 공경과 복종하는 게 인간관계에서 아주 중요하죠. 우리 학생들도 한국 사회를 이해하려면 상하관계를 잘 알아야 된다고 생각해요. 여기 학생들은 어른을 공경하지 않아요. 그런 이유 때문에, 더욱이 한국어하고 문화를 배워야 된다고 생각해요.

The students in the heritage schools mainly think they are American. When I took my own kids to Korea, they had a chance to meet relatives. They speak English all the time in the U.S. but spoke Korean during that time. When they spoke Korean in Korea, I realized that they showed a different attitude. They obeyed their grandmother even though in that situation they had to do what they didn't like. Respect and obedience are very important to have a good relationship in a Korean community. My students should understand the hierarchical relationship if they want understand Korean society. The students here are not polite enough to their elders. For this reason, they should learn about the Korean language and culture.

After the first generation of immigrant teachers experienced teaching in heritage schools, the belief about students' identity was changed by the realization that the students are

different from the students in Korea. Soo expressed that accepting the horizontal relationship with students in the U.S. was not easy. She thought that some students disrespected their Korean teachers and parents based on their English speaking ability.

선생님들은 아이들이 한국사람이라고 생각하지만 저는 한국인하고 다르다고 생각해요. 저도 초반에는 그렇게 생각해서 한국식으로 훈육했는데 시간이 지나면서 그 아이들이 한국인이 아니라는 것을 알게 되었어요. 아이들은 자신들이 교사들하고 동등하다고 생각해요. 제 학생들은 저에게 하고 싶은 말 다 해요. 여기 학생들은 한국인도 미국인도 아니라고 생각해요. 저는 언제나 학생들에게 부모가 영어를 못 한다고 무시하면 안된다고 말해줘요.

Teachers think students are Korean, but I understand they are different from Korean. I also thought they were Korean at the beginning, so I disciplined them in Korean ways. After three years of teaching, I realized that they were not Korean. They think they are equal in status to teachers. My students express whatever they want to say (opinion) to the teachers (which shows a lack of respect for teachers in Korean culture). They are not either Korean or American. I tell my students that you should not disrespect your parents since they can't speak English.

Soo argued that parents also have the responsibility to teach their children about moral education, saying, “저는 제 자식들에게 너희들이 더 나은 삶을 살게 하기 위해서 내가 희생한다고 항상 말해줘요. 그러니까 내가 늙으면 너희들이 나를 보살펴야 한다고 계속 이야기 하죠. 제 학생들 중에 그렇게 생각하지 않는 아이가 있다면 그

부모가 부모에대한 공격을 안 가르쳐서 그렇다고 생각해요 (I keep telling my own kids that I sacrifice (희생: *heeseang*) myself to their better life. Therefore, I keep telling, later when I get old, they should support me. If there are students who don't think that way, I believe their parents didn't teach them to respect their parents).”

Role and image of foreign/second language teachers. While the teachers gained the perception about the teachers' role from their educational system in Korea, they also gained a new perspective of the foreign/second language teacher through teaching U.S.-born Korean heritage students. In most contexts, these teachers need to work with other community members who don't have any experience in Korean language teaching or in working with language learners. As Cook (1992) discussed, the concept of "multi-competence" should be the norm, not 'monolingualism' for bilingual speakers. However, the Korean community perceives that a Korean/English bilingual speaker means a person who has competence of native speakers in both languages. Kyong complained that community leaders in the Korean immigrant society think the learners are native speakers of Korean.

왁스의 글짓기나 말하기 대회에 심사관으로 오는 사람들은 한인회 리더분들인데 그분들은 한국학교 학생들에 대해서 잘 몰라요. 학생들이 모국어 화자라고 생각하니까 평가기준이 아주 높아요. 여기 선생님들은 학생들 수준을 아니까 한국인들 만큼 못 한다는 걸 잘 알고 있지만요. The evaluators for the WAKS Korean writing/speaking competition events are the leaders in Korean communities. They don't know about heritage language learners' Korean abilities. They think they are Korean native speakers, so their

expectations are very high. Teachers here know what students' real levels are, and understand that students can't speak Korean at the level of Korean native speakers.

The teachers explained that they are more qualified than a native speaker of Korean who doesn't have content knowledge about Korean or any teaching experience with English speaking students. A teacher in the focus group interviews asserted that not all Koreans, including parents, have an ability to teach Korean, arguing, “부모들은 외국어로서의 한국어에 대한 지식이 없으니까 자식들한테 집에서 체계적으로 한국어를 가르치기가 쉽지 않잖아요. 그러니까 체계적이고 효과적인 교육을 받게 하려면 한국 학교에 보내야 해요 (It is not easy for parents to teach their kids Korean systematically at home even though they know Korean, because they don't have knowledge about it as a foreign language. Therefore, they should send their kids to heritage schools to receive systematic and effective teaching).”

Korean heritage schools teachers acknowledged their position as foreign language teachers when Americans recognized them as foreign language education professionals specializing in Korean. One of the teachers in the focus group interviews mentioned, “미국인들은 저를 외국어 교사로 봐요. 그 사람들 생각에는 제가 전문성을 가진 외국어 교육자인 거죠 (Americans see me as a foreign language teacher. They think I am a foreign language educator with a specialty).” They also believe that Korean can be a world language in society beyond the Korean community in the global

era. Another teacher in the focus group interviews emphasized Korean was one of the foreign languages of global society, saying, “우리는 지금 국제화 시대에 살고 있고 다른 외국어와 문화를 아는 것은 이런 사회에서 필수인 것 같아요. 어차피 언어 하나만으로는 부족하니까, 할 수 있다면 한국 학교 학생들은 한국어 능력을 발전시켜야 돼요 (Now we are living in a global world, and knowing a foreign language and culture is essential in this kind of society. One language is not enough, so if they can, the heritage students should improve their Korean proficiency skills).”

On the other hand, although their job is recognized as a professional occupation by Americans, the teachers expressed their discontent about the devalued position of Korean teaching in heritage schools in Korean immigrant communities. A teacher stated her views about her low status as a teacher in the Korean communities

만약 저희가 공립학교에서 가르치는 진짜 선생님들이었으면 이곳 한인들이 존경했겠죠. 하지만 저희를 인정하지 않아요. 반면에 미국인들은 외국어 교사로서 대우해 주고 다른 미국 선생님들처럼 존경해 주더라고요. 제 생각으로는 미국인들은 우리가 그 사람들이 모르는 언어를 가르치니까 그런 것 같고 한국인들은 자신들도 언제든지 한국어를 가르칠 수 있다고 생각하는 것 같아요. 한국인들을 만나서 교사라고 하면 우리가 뭘 공부했고 가르친 경험이 어떻게 되는지 꼭 물어봐요.

If we were real teachers in K-12 public schools, Korean people in this community would respect us. However, they don't respect us. On the contrary, American people acknowledge us as foreign language teachers and respect us like other American teachers. I think Americans respect us because we teach a

language they don't know, but Koreans think that they can also teach Korean.

When we meet Korean people, they curiously ask us about our educational backgrounds and working experiences as a teacher.”

Membership in the Korean community and a sense of belonging. Korean teachers have a strong sense of belonging in Korean immigrant communities and their home country. The teachers also have stance that they should teach Korean identity, traditions, and values to their students in the heritage schools. They believe that ethnic identity is closely related to a heritage language (Baker, 2001; Cho, 2000). To develop positive ethnic identities as Korean Americans, the teachers think they need to help their students develop and maintain their Korean language and traditions.

Passing down Korean traditions and values. As a teacher in Korean heritage schools, teachers believe that they are teaching not only the Korean language but also Korean culture and values. Teachers in the focus group interview agreed on the fact that a student who learns Korean should understand the culture. The teachers stated that understanding Korean culture enhances students' awareness of Korean traditional values. A teacher in the focus group interview expressed that students should learn cultural values, saying, “문화차이를 이해해야 한다는 것을 알지만 한국문화 특히 어른을 공경하는 문화도 존중해야 된다고 생각합니다.미국 학생들은 예의가 없어요 (I know I should be concerned about cultural differences, but at the same time, I should value Korean culture, especially respecting elders. American children don't have good manners).”

The Korean teachers agreed that when students learn Korean, they would understand the hardship of their parents' lives as immigrants whose native language is not English, and that this is very important for enhancing family bonds. One of the teachers in a focus group interview explained how undeveloped awareness of Korean values influenced a student's negative feelings about her mother:

우리 학생들이 자기 엄마는 미국 엄마들에 비해 너무 엄하다고 해요. 하지만 저는 그렇게 생각하지 않아요. 미국 엄마하고 한국 엄마는 사랑하는 방식이 다르다고 생각해요. 교사로서 학생들에게 바른 한국적 가치를 심어줘야 해요. 그러면 한국학교를 통해 좀 더 성숙해질 수 있다고 믿어요. 교사는 학생들에게 한국의 예의범절을 가르쳐야 해요.

Korean students say that their mothers are very strict in comparison with American mothers. However, I don't agree with them. American and Korean mothers have different ways of expressing love. We, as teachers, should teach the students proper Korean values. If so, I believe children will gain maturity through Korean heritage schools. Teachers should teach Korean traditional courtesies to students.

Another teacher in the focus group interview stated how Korean language ability helps students connect with broader Korean communities:

한국학교가 학생들의 정서적 발달에 중요한 역할을 하고 있다고 생각해요. 학생들이 언어를 배울 때 문화도 같이 배우잖아요. 그러면서 가족뿐 아니라 한인 사회와도 연결된다고 생각해요. 정체성과 소속감의 측면에서 이런 것들이 상당히 중요하죠.

Korean heritage schools play an important role for students' emotional development. When students learn the language, they also learn the culture. It

helps them to communicate with people who are not only in the family but also in large Korean communities. This is very important because students can feel the sense of belonging and have a Korean identity.

Some teachers perceive that Korean heritage schools promote the students' sense of belonging in Korean communities and also create a connection with people from same cultural background. They believe that it enhances self-identity. However, the term "ethnic" (e.g. Korean) is interchangeably used with race when the teachers referred to it during the interviews *gatun peaboo* (같은 피부: same skin color). In a focus group interview, teachers agreed with the opinion of one teacher, saying, "아이들이 같은 피부색을 가진 친구들과 어울리면 장점이 많아요 (It is a great benefit for students to hang out with kids of the same skin color)." Another other teacher in the focus group interview shared her daughter's experience with ethnic identity.

제가 아시안들이 많이 안 사는 지역에 살았어요. 딸이 자랄 때 한국 친구를 갖고 싶다고 하더라고요. 그렇게 말하기 전까지는 딸이 미국생활에 잘 적응하고 있다고 생각했어요. 그런데 4학년이 되니까 정체성 문제를 겪게 되더라고요.

I lived in a neighborhood where there were not many Asians. When my daughter was growing up, she told me that she wanted to have a Korean friend. Before she told me about her feelings, I thought that my daughter had adapted well to life in the U.S., but actually she had an identity problem when she became a 4th grader.

Soo suggested that one of the programs in Korean heritage schools should be a class teaching about Korean culture, arguing, “학생들이 한글 읽기 쓰기는 집에서도 배울 수 있지만 전통 악기라든지 춤, 공예 등은 집에서 배울 수 없고 한국학교에서만 배울 수 있잖아요 (Students can learn how to read and write Korean at home, but they can’t learn some traditional cultural things, such as Korean traditional instruments, dance, or crafts at home. They can learn them in heritage schools).”

Patriotism and Korean national identity. Korean heritage school teachers are mainly the first generation of Korean immigrants. Therefore, I found through the interviews that they think they are Korean regardless of their citizenship, and they show patriotism for their mother country. As a teacher, one of the goals they have while teaching Korean to students is for students to have a Korean identity. The teachers provided several opinions about how and why they teach about the Korean national identity. The teachers agreed on the opinion that if a language is not spoken, the ethnicity won’t exist. They think that they should teach the language since language is strongly related to one’s identity.

교사 1: 왜 우리 아이들이 한국어를 해야하는가? 만약 한국어를 못 한다면 국가로서의 한국은 미국에서 사라질 거예요. 만일 제가, 다른 교사들도 마찬가지로, 한국어를 가르치지 않는다면 교사나 한국학교는 존재하지 않을 거예요. 그럼 한국은 여기에 존재하지 않겠죠. 이런 이유 때문에 저는 제가 아주 중요한 일을 하고 있다고 생각해요.

Teacher 1: Why should our children speak Korean? If they don’t, Korea, as a nation, would disappear in the United States. If I, including other teachers, don’t

teach Korean, there will be no teachers or Korean heritage schools any more.

Then Korea will not exist here. For this reason, I feel that I am doing a very important job.

교사 2: 저는 한국의 뿌리를 계승하고 전달하고 싶어요. 가르치는 것을 전문적으로 배우지는 않아서 외국어 교사가 어때야 하는지 잘 몰라요. 하지만 확실한 건 학생들이 민족의식을 갖는 데 어떤 역할을 하고 싶어요.

Teacher 2: I would like to deliver and pass down Korean roots (national consciousness). I don't have any educational background for teaching, so I don't know what language teachers should be like. However, I know that I would like to play a role in making my students develop a national consciousness.

교사 3: 저는 우리 교사들이 한국어를 가르칠 때 일제 강점기, 세종대왕 그리고 독도 문제를 가르쳐야 한다고 생각합니다. 제가 역사적인 문제를 이야기하면 학생들이 큰 관심을 보입니다.

Teacher 3: I strongly believe that we, teachers, should teach about Dokdo issues (tension about the island territory between Korea and Japan), King Sejong (who invented the Korean alphabet), and Japanese colonialism while teaching Korean. When I talk about these historical issues, students show strong interest.

In an in-depth interview, Jung told me that she kept reminding the students of their identity. She stated, "If you are Korean, you should teach and learn Korean to establish your national identity as Korean." She also gave advice to Korean heritage school teachers, "We all have the same goal as a teacher. That goal is to help students have a Korean national identity." Kyong also mentioned about how she emphasized Korean identity to students in class:

제가 학생들에게 말했어요. “아무리 영어를 잘 해도 너희들은 한국인이야. 그러니까 너희들은 미국 시민권자지만 미국인은 아니야. 그냥 여기서 살 수 있다는 의미지. 여기 사는 중국인들을 봐, 모두 다 중국어를 잘 하잖아. 너희들은 여기 한국 친구들하고도 영어 쓰지. 왜 그래?”
I tell my students, “You are Korean even though you speak English very well.

You are a U.S citizen, but it does not mean you are American. It means that you can live here. Look at Chinese-Americans, they all speak Chinese. You speak English with your Korean-American friends. What’s the matter with you?”

Volunteer. It is a common perception that being a Korean heritage school teacher is not a profession, but simply a volunteer job in Korean immigrant communities.

Through the interviews, I realized that teachers themselves also feel that teaching in the heritage schools is a volunteer job due to the hardship of the work and the low economic benefits. One teacher in focus group interviews explained about her feelings.

월급 때문에 여기에 시간을 다 쓰기는 힘들어요. 여기에 두 종류의 교사가 있는 거 같아요. 한 그룹은 한국의 가치와 전통을 가르치기 위해 헌신하는 교사 그룹이고 다른 그룹은 교사로서의 가치를 인정 받고 합당한 금전적 대우를 받아야 한다는 그룹이에요. 우리 교장선생님은 우리가 많은 일을 하길 바라시죠. 그래서 학교를 위해 자신을 희생하는 교사를 원합니다만 저는 그런 교사가 아니에요. 그래서 이 일을 그만 두려고요.

It is hard for me to do my best here due to the wage. There are two groups of teachers here. One group is willing to devote themselves to teach students Korean values and traditions, and the other group wants to have their teaching be valued and compensated with money. Our principal wants us to do so many things. She wants to have the teachers who can sacrifice themselves for the school, but I am not that kind of person. Therefore, I am planning to quit.

Another teacher explained about why the turnover rate is high in heritage schools.

이 일은 자원봉사에요. 이 일을 열심히 하는 교사들은 돈에 크게 신경 쓰지 않거나 영어 하는 교사들을 딴 직업을 가질 수도 있고요. 중산층 교사들은 월급에 신경 안 써요. 처음 온 교사들이 그만 두는 경우가 많은데 적은 월급을 받으면서도 열심히 일하는 교사들처럼 학교에서 요구하는 만큼 일을 할 수 없으니까요. 경험 있는 교사들이 멘토 역할을 해 주면 아마 그만 두는 비율이 낮아질 거예요.

This is a volunteer job. The teachers who have commitment don't care about the money, and the teachers who speak English can get other jobs. The teachers who are in middle class don't care about the wage. The turnover rate of new teachers is high because they can't do all the work the school asks them to do, putting in the same effort as the teachers who are committed to work despite the small wage. If the experienced teachers could mentor the new teachers, the turnover rate would drop.

Sometimes, the professional identity of Korean heritage school teachers is relayed in how their work is perceived by others. Interpreting the teachers' identity in social identity theory, the teachers' perception about their job stems from their awareness about how others portray teaching (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston & Johnson, 2005). Coldron and Smith (1999) pointed out, "From the beginning of, but also during their careers, teachers are engaged in creating themselves as teachers. Being a teacher is a matter of being seen as a teacher by himself or herself and by others; it is a matter of acquiring and then redefining an identity that is socially legitimated" (p. 712).

In this notion, Korean heritage school teachers feel their work is a volunteer job because others in the community perceive teachers in the heritage school as not holding a

true profession. To the teachers, the term “volunteer job” implies holding a position inferior to a regular job, such as a K-12 public school teacher. One teacher says,

“학생들이 한국학교에서 배워도 학교 크레딧을 못 받으니까 우리를 존경하질
않아요. 만약에 학생들이 외국어 크레딧을 받으면 우리를 교사로 생각할 거예요.

한국사람들은 우리를 자원봉사자라고 생각해요 (Students don’t get any school credits from this heritage school, so they don’t respect us. If they can earn foreign language credits, they would treat us as teachers. Korean people here think we are volunteers).” One teacher in the focus group interviews shared an embarrassing moment when she realized how the parents of her students view her.

미국인들은 우리 일을 가치있게 생각하는 것 같아요. 하지만 학교에서
학부모나 한인 사회에서는 우리 일을 자원봉사로 여겨요. 제가 예전에 우리
학생 부모님이 하는 가게에서 일한 적이 있는데 저를 ‘아줌마’라고
부르더니 학교에서도 계속 그렇게 불렀어요.

Americans seem to value my job. However, in the school, I was seen by parents
and people in the community as a volunteer. When I worked at the store run by
one of the parents of students in my school, they called me ‘Ajjumma (아줌마)’

(term for middle-aged full-time house wives in Korea: this term is not
respectable way of calling middle aged women) at the store and also called me
that in the school as well.

Another implication of the volunteer job is that there is no specific qualification to be a Korean teacher, and anyone who speaks Korean as a native language can teach in Korean

heritage schools. Jung, during the in-depth interview, mentioned that when she started teaching Korean six years ago, there was no specific qualification to be a Korean heritage school teacher. She thought it was almost a volunteer job since she got a very low wage. Heritage school teachers are discouraged by job security. One teacher in a focus group interview worried about her position in her heritage school

여기 분위기가 선생님들이 자부심을 갖게 하지 못하는 것 같아요. 학교 내에서 수직관계가 존재해서 교장 선생님 힘이 강해요. 교장 선생님은 우리가 없어도 한국 커뮤니티에 우리를 대신해서 한국어 교사가 될 사람이 많다고 믿고 계세요.

The environment here (at the school) does not allow teachers to be proud of their jobs. Inside of the school, there exists a top-down hierarchy, and our principal has strong power. The principal believes that there are many Koreans in the community who can be a Korean teacher, and any teacher here can be replaced by them.

Other teachers brought up the issue of the teachers' job insecurity because of the perception of heritage school teachers not being professionals, arguing, “미국인들은 우리 일을 전문직이라고 생각해요. 그런데 한국 부모들은 그렇게 생각하지 않아요. 아무나 한국어를 가르칠 수 있다고 생각해요 (Americans admit my job is a professional job. On the other hand, many Korean parents don't think so. They think anyone can teach Korean).”

Mother's role. Korean heritage school teachers are mainly mothers of current students in the schools or former students. All the research participants started teaching

when their children were attending heritage schools. In Korean traditional society, mothers mainly take care of their children and are responsible for their children's education. Therefore, they see their work in the schools as an extension of their family work. They want to be a member of family for their students and help them increase their self-esteem in Korean-American society.

Being a family in the community. Many first generation Korean immigrants live far away from their family or relatives in Korea. The immigrants in Korean communities have a strong bond with other people in their newly established communities in the U.S. (e.g. churches, heritage schools, or work), and they gather for Korean traditional holidays and special family events (e.g. weddings, the first year birthday or the 60th year birthday) to celebrate, as well as in any events that need extra help. The Korean traditional norm of 'we' (collectivism) instead of 'I' (individualism) is still valued in immigrant society. For this reason, teachers consider their students as family members, believing that they have the common shared value of 'we'. In the in-depth interview, Soo explained the school is an extension of the home for students:

학생들은 여기 선생님들을 이모처럼 생각해요. 그래서 자기 가족에 대한 이야기를 스스럼없이 말해요. 같은 문화를 갖고 있기 때문에 서로 더 잘 이해할 수 있죠. 어떤 때는 이게 안 좋은 게 학생들이 여기를 학교로 생각 안 하고 가족이나 친구들이랑 있을 때처럼 행동하기도 한다는 거예요. Students consider their teachers like aunts. They openly talk about their family matters. Since we have a common culture, we understand each other well. I feel that all members in this school are my family. Sometimes, it is a negative thing

for students because they sometimes don't think this is a school, so they behave like they are at home with family and friends.

The focus group interview showed that the teachers think Korean heritage schools are different from regular schools. They feel that they are family since the parents and themselves share an identity as Koreans. For this reason, students feel comfortable in the heritage schools. A teacher in a focus group interview expressed her sentiment about the students, saying, “경제적으로 도움도 안 되면서 일만 많아서 일을 그만 하려고 매번 결심해요. 그런데 학생들이 자라는 것을 볼 때마다 마음이 변해서 여기 남게 돼요 (I promise myself all the time that I will quit this job, which needs a lot of effort without economic compensation. However, whenever I see my students grow up, I break my promise and decide to stay here).” Yoo also mentioned about her philosophy as a heritage school teacher, emphasizing building relationships:

수업이 처음 시작되면 학생들과 나 사이에 가족 같은 관계가 성립되는 것 같아요. 제 생각으로는 교사가 편안한 수업 환경을 만드는 것뿐 아니라 학생들과 친근한 관계를 정립하는 것이 중요한 것 같아요. 한국어 문법만 가르치려면 그건 학생들이 온라인에서 얼마든지 자료를 찾을 수 있잖아요. 교사가 해야 하는 일은 즐겁고 재미있는 수업을 만드는 거예요. 그래서 저는 가끔 학생들과 같이 한국음식을 만들어서 같이 먹어요.

Whenever a new class starts, I feel that a family-like bond is formed between me and my students. In my opinion, for teachers it is very important to successfully build this kind of close and warm relationship with students along with a friendly class environment. If you want to teach only Korean grammar, it is not a big deal

since students can find resources online anytime. However, providing a fun and enjoyable class is what the teachers should do. For this reason, I often make Korean foods with my students in class and share it with them.

Help students have self-esteem (Jagungshim: 자긍심) as Koreans. The teachers believe that culture and language learning can help promote students' self-esteem. Since the teachers themselves are Korean immigrants, they understand the life of immigrants and being a minority in the United States. Therefore, teachers try to help the students build a Korean identity in order to increase their self-esteem. A teacher in the focus group interviews said, “교포 학생들은 이민자 아이들이라서 자존감이 낮는데 한국학교에서 한국어를 배우면 한국인으로서의 정체성을 갖게 되면서 콤플렉스를 극복하게 돼요 (The Korean-American students have low self-esteem because they are the children of immigrants, but when they learn Korean in the school they overcome the complex of their appearance as they find their identity as Koreans).” The other teacher in the interview argued that the heritage schools should take a stronger role and help students shape their identities:

부모들은 이민 1 세대로서 너무 바쁘니까 아이들에게 한국인으로서의 정체성이나 한국에 대해서 가르쳐주기 힘들어요. 그러니까 집에서 한국어와 문화를 배운다는 것이 쉽지 않죠. 아이들이 같은 피부색과 문화를 가진 아이들하고 어울리는 게 중요하다고 생각해요. 백인들하고 섞여 있을 때는 한국인들이 좀 암전하고 자기를 잘 못 드러내니까 선생님에게 관심을

받기가 힘들잖아요. 그런데 한국학교에 오면 모두 똑같고 다른 아이들과 어떻게 좋게 잘 지내는지를 배우게 되는 것 같아요.

It is not easy to teach Korean language and culture at home since the parents, as first generation immigrants, are too busy to teach their kids about Korea and Korean identity. I believe that children should hang out with the children with same skin color (ethnicity) and culture. If they are in a group with a mixture of whites, they can't get any attention from teachers or peers because Korean people are generally too shy to show themselves. When they come to heritage schools, they are all equal and learn how to collaborate with others with proper manners.

Soo explained her worries about the identity crisis of Korean heritage students and the positive impact of the heritage schools, asserting, “제 생각에 학생들이 사춘기가 오면 정체성 문제에 봉착하는데 같은 피부색, 언어, 문화를 가진 학생들과 같이 공부할 수 있어서 한국학교를 편하게 느끼는 것 같아요 (I think students face identity issues in their adolescence, so they feel comfortable in heritage schools since they can study with other students that have the same skin color and linguistic and cultural backgrounds).”

Sacrifices. The term ‘sacrifice’ is often used to express a valuable norm for a mother’s love in Korean society. As mentioned earlier, Confucianism (Wong, 2006) influences Koreans’ perception about the teachers’ role that teachers have the same authority (including the role) of parents and should act as mentors to their students. Since

most of Korean heritage schools are affiliated with Korean churches, most of the teachers are Protestants. Field notes illustrated during the weekly teachers' meeting that 'teachers' love and sacrifices' are continually emphasized by the principal when they all pray together. Several teachers in the focus group interview talked about how the norm of sacrifices made them different from other people in Korean communities, and gave the teachers a sense of satisfaction.

교사 1: 저는 학부모들과는 달라요. 이민사회에서 한국사람들은 한국말 할 수 있으니까 아무나 다 한국학교 교사가 될 수 있다고 해요. 하지만 저는 실제로 가르치고 있지만 다른 사람들은 안 하잖아요. 제가 학무보님들이나 다른 사람보다 더 지식이 많지는 않지만 저는 아이들을 가르치는 데 시간을 바치잖아요. 한국어 교육을 위해 희생한다고 생각하니까 스스로 보람을 느껴요.

Teacher 1: I am different from my students' parents. Korean people in the community said that anyone can be a teacher in heritage schools because they can speak Korean. I actually teach but others don't intend to do so. I don't have any more knowledge than others, including Korean parents, but I spend my time teaching kids. I feel a big sense of accomplishment because I believe that I make sacrifices for Korean education:

교사 2: 저는 아파서도 안 돼요. 제가 이틀 이상 수업에 빠지면 잘릴 거예요. 어떤 선생님들은 전혀 노력을 안 해요. 이기적인 거죠. 그 선생님들은 학교 행사에 전혀 참여 안 해요. 그런 선생님들 때문에 제가 일을 더 많이 해야 되는 거죠.

Teacher 2: I am not allowed to be sick. If I missed more than two days of teaching, I would be fired. Some teachers do not put in any effort. They are

selfish. They never attend any school events. I should work more because of those teachers.

On the other hand, some teachers feel burdened by the norm of sacrificing without any economic compensation. Therefore, this norm might force some to eventually quit. A teacher in the focus group interview confessed her conflicting thoughts about work:

이 학교에서는 가르치는 것 이외에 다른 일이 너무 많아요. 처음에는 열심히만 가르치면 된다고 생각했어요. 그런데 너무나 많은 다른 일들을 해야 해요. 왜 제가 이런 일들을 해야 하나요? 경력이 많이질수록 해야 할 일이 점점 더 늘어요. 이건 끝없이 봉사해야 되는 직업이이기 때문에 제 개인적인 삶을 위해서 그만둬야 할 것 같아요.

Besides teaching, there are several other responsibilities in this school. Initially, I thought that if I tried to do my best for teaching, it would be okay. However, I have to do so many things. Why do I have to do these tasks? The more I experience these duties, the more work I have to do. This is an endless volunteer job, and that is why I want to quit the job for the sake of my personal life.

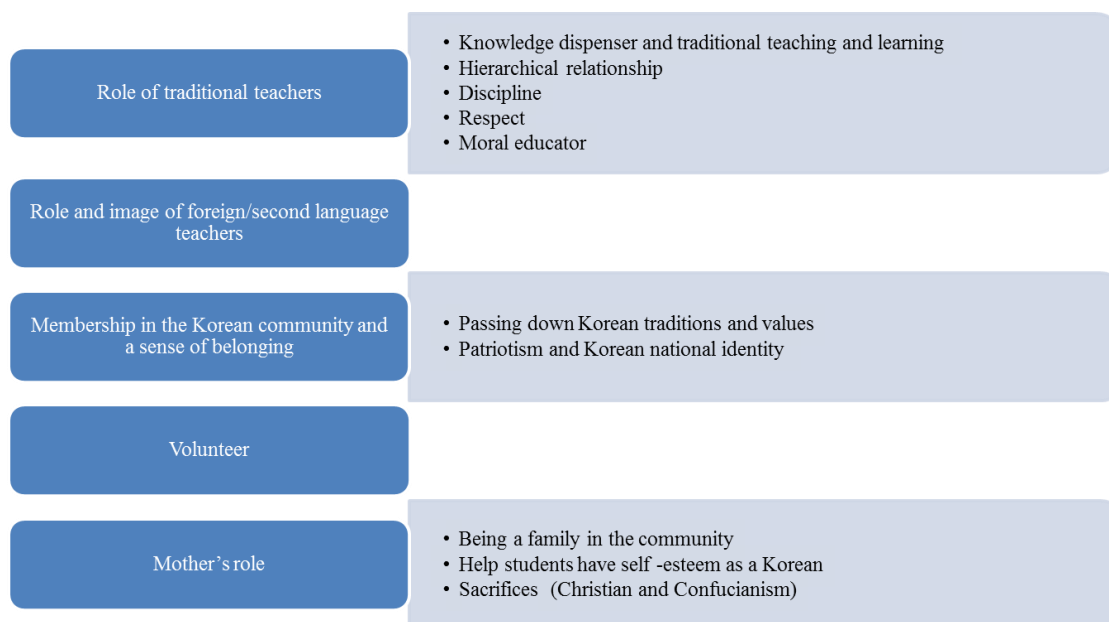


Figure 2. The professional identity of the Korean heritage school teachers.

Research question 2: How have the Korean heritage school teachers' identities been shaped?

The beliefs and identity shaped from one's own experience are brought by teachers when they attend teachers' education training, and they are not easily changed (Valcke, Snag, Rots, & Hermans, 2010, p. 625). Therefore, while designing professional development programs, it is beneficial for teacher trainers to understand how teacher identity was shaped. The data showed that the professional identity of Korean heritage school teachers is shaped from former education and experiences in Korea and the U.S., family and cultural values, raising 1.5 or 2nd generation Korean children, attending professional development sessions provided by WAKS and NAKS, and experiences in the U.S. educational system through volunteering in a public school.

Former education and experience. Teachers develop a teaching method based on their own experience, regardless of their academic background (Kumaravadivelu, 2012). Although they believe that the traditional Korean teaching method, such as rote memorization, a focus on grammar, and paper-based tests do not work well for the improvement of students' overall Korean proficiency, they still teach in these ways since that is the way they were taught. In addition, they did not have any opportunity to learn and practice alternative teaching methods. Several teachers in focus group interviews and in-depth interviews explained where their teaching methods came from, and how it is hard for them to change. A teacher from the focus group interviews explained why she used the methods she had learned during her school years in Korea.

한국학교에서 가르치니까 한국식으로 가르치게 돼요. 자꾸 주입식 교육을 하더라고요. 한국식은 학생들이 많이 외워야 하는데 저는 이 방법을 버리고 제 교육방식도 바꾸고 싶어요. 그런데 미국에서 교육을 받은 적이 없어서 미국식으로 어떻게 가르치는지 잘 모르겠어요.

Since I am teaching at a heritage school, I end up teaching in the Korean way. I

found that I taught students with *Jueepshik* (주입식, cramming method of

teaching) style. With Korean styles, students should use rote memorization for their learning, but I want to discard this method and change my teaching style.

However, I don't know the American teaching methods because I haven't had any U.S. educational experience.

Kyong also agreed that traditional teaching methods didn't work well for improving speaking ability in a target language, saying, “우리 한국어 교사들은 한국 공립학교에

6년 동안 영어를 배웠어도 미국에서 미국인들 만나면 대화를 못 하잖아요, 그렇죠?

한국에서 배웠던 외국어 수업을 생각해보면 문법 위주의 수업과 지필고사밖에

기억이 안 나요. 이런 방법은 학생들의 외국어 회화 능력을 향상시키는 데 별로

도움이 안 돼요 (We, Korean teachers, learned English for more than six years in Korean

public schools, but we can't communicate with Americans in the U.S., right? When I

recall my experience of learning a foreign language classes in Korea, I only remember

that there were grammar-focused lessons and paper based tests. These are not effective

for improving students' communication ability in foreign languages).”

In the case of teachers who have attended professional development classes

offered by WAKS and NAKS and have tried using other new methods in their class, they

also stated that it is hard for them to change their old habits in teaching. A teacher

mentioned, “미국 교사들이 가르치는 방식으로 가르치고 싶지만 한국교육에서

배웠던 방식을 스스로 바꾸기가 너무 힘들어요. 그래서 여전히 주입식으로

가르쳐요 (I wanted to teach the way American teachers teach, but it was very hard for

me to change my habitual behaviors learned from Korean education. So, I still teach

students with *Jooeepshik* (주입식: cramming method of teaching) method).” Along with

teaching methods, classroom management methods and ways for dealing with students

are also adopted from the teachers' own learning experiences. A new teacher who started teaching Korean at a heritage school explained how she managed her students.

처음에 가르칠 때는 미국 교육을 잘 몰라서 실수도 많이 했어요.
한국식으로 했죠. 한국에서 가르칠 때는 가끔 체벌도 했는데 여기는
미국이고 체벌하면 안 되니까 학생들이 말 안 들을 때 많이 혼냈어요.
I made a lot of mistakes at the beginning since I didn't know about U.S.

education. I just followed Korean style. I sometimes used corporal punishment
when I taught in Korea, and a lot of times, I verbally scolded my students here
when they don't follow my direction since I was not able to give corporal
punishment in the United States.

Family and cultural values. All of the Korean heritage school teachers
participating in this research are female. Gender roles (*sung yokwahl*: 성 역할) in Korean
society influence individuals' decision to become a teacher, indicating what motivation
they have to enter the teaching professions. Teaching is considered a suitable job for
women in that it allows them to keep their traditional role as a mother and pursue their
career at the same time (Shin, 2014). Since the primary responsibility for women in
Korea is childbirth and child-care, Korean women often lose their chance at upward
social mobility. Teaching is one of the few careers that are socially acceptable for women
to pursue even after marriage in Korean society (Shin, 2014). In the case of the HL
teachers, they (in some cases) perceive teaching in heritage schools as the best job for
their situation.

Young was a public school teacher in Korea, and her former experiences in teaching led her to become a heritage school teacher in the United States:.

우리 어머니는 언제나 여자의 역할을 강조하셨어요. 여자는 아이 키우는 것이 제일 중요하니까 직업을 갖게 되더라도 집안 일에 방해가 안 돼야 한다고요. 그 이유 때문에 저에게 음악 선생님이 되라고 강력하게 말씀하셨어요. 덕분에 아이들을 돌보면서 집에서 피아노를 가르칠 수 있었어요. 저는 교사가 되기 싫었는데 우리나라에서는 부모님 말씀을 거역하면 안 되니까 어머니 말씀을 따랐죠.

My mother always emphasized the role of women. She told me that raising a child is number one priority for women, so if I wanted to have a job, I had to find the job that could be balanced with house work. That's how she persuaded me to be a music teacher. I was able to teach piano at my house while I took care of my children. I didn't want to be a teacher, but I had to follow my mother due to the traditional value of obedience to parents.

Yoo also was a public school teacher in Korea, but she quit her job as soon as she got married. She elaborated on why she decided not to choose other jobs in the United States:

저에게 제일 중요한 목표는 제 손으로 아이를 키우는 거였어요. 그래서 막내가 대학을 들어가기 전까지는 저의 사회적 성공에 대해서 전혀 생각해 보질 않았어요. 막내가 12학년일 때 약국에서 일할 수 있는 자격증을 따기 위해서 공부했었어요. 영어 때문에 공부하는 게 너무 어려웠어요. 시험에 통과해서 자격증을 받았지만 미국 사회에서 일한다는 게 두려웠던 거죠. 저는 가르치는 걸 너무 좋아해요. 우리 아이들도 제가 선생님인 걸 자랑스러워하고요. 제 스스로도 자랑스럽고요. 가르치는 일은 존경받을 수 있는 직업이라고 생각해요.

My primary goal was raising my children by myself. I had never thought about my career before the youngest entered college. I studied to get a certification to

work at a pharmacy when my youngest son was a senior. It was very hard for me to study because of English. Even though I passed the exam and got the certification, I am afraid of working in American society. I love being a teacher. My own kids are proud of me because I am a teacher. I am proud of myself, too. I believe teaching is a job that can be respected by others.

Raising 1.5 or 2nd generation Korean children. As mentioned earlier, most heritage school teachers are the first generation of immigrants and were educated in Korea. They are also mothers of 1.5 or 2nd generation Korean children. The teachers stated that when they teach their own children, they face cultural differences in terms of learning methods. A teacher shared her experience with her U.S. born son, mentioning, “제가 한국에서 공부할 때는 주로 외우면서 공부했었어요. 그래서 아들에게 항상 공부 할 때 외우는게 제일 좋은 방법이라고 이야기하곤 했는데 아들이 자기는 학교에서 그룹워크나 프로젝트를 하니까 이 방법이 안 통한다고 하더라고요 (When I studied in Korea, the most essential learning method was memorization. I always told my son that memorization was the best way to learn, but he resisted, and told me I was too oppressive. He told me that those methods didn’t work because he was doing group work and projects in his school).” Another teacher added, “미국에서 아이를 키우면서 심지어 아주 어린 아이들조차 학교 공부에 스스로 책임감을 갖도록 배우며 또한 반 앞에서 큰소리로 발표하는 연습을 통해 발표능력을 키우는 것을 알게 됐어요.

미국은 학급 분위기가 아주 자유로운 것 같은데 한국학교 우리반 분위기는 좀 달라요. 학생들에게 자유를 많이 안 주거든요 (I learned from raising my children in the U.S. that even small children learn their own responsibility in doing school work and develop presentation skills through practicing talking aloud in front of the class. The American class environments seem very free. However, my Korean heritage school class environment is different because I don't give students that much freedom).”

Professional development. The main workshops teachers attend are the semi-annual workshop provided by WAKS, or the annual workshop by NAKS. The teachers who attended the teachers' workshops regularly responded that they have developed their professional identity as a teacher since they gained confidence about the content of what they teach and improved self-assurance regarding their job. The workshops also help the teachers improve their pride, dignity, and positive self-image as a teacher. A teacher in a focus group mentioned, “한국어교사연구회를 통해 교사로서의 제 자신의 이미지가 많이 바뀌었어요. 교사로서의 제 위치를 깨달을 수 있었어요 (My self-image as a teacher has been changed a lot through the Korean teachers' workshop. I was able to understand my status as a teacher).” Another teacher related the following about her workshop experience:

저는 엄마고 한국어교육이나 문학을 전공하지도 않았잖아요. 그래서 교사로서 어떤 위치에 있다고 생각해 보질 않았어요. 그런데 한국어교사연구회에 여러번 참석하면서 저는 다른 한국 엄마들과 다르고 그 사람들과 비교해서 교사로서 더 자격이 있다는 게 느껴지더라고요. 제

자식에게 한국어를 잘 가르치고 싶은 마음에 교사가 되었는데
한국학교에서 교사의 역할을 더 이해하게 되면서 교사로서의 정체성도
향상된 거 같아요.

I am a mother, and I didn't study Korean education or literature. Therefore, I
have never thought I had a certain status as a teacher. However, after I attended
several Korean teachers' workshops, I feel that I am different from other Korean
mothers in that I am more qualified to be a teacher compared to them. I became a
teacher because I wanted to teach my own kids well. My professional identity
improved when I understood the role of teachers in heritage schools.

Another teacher added her opinion about the teachers' workshops, mentioning, “5 년

전만해도 강사들이 주로 자신들이 했던 거에 대해서 말하든지 자신들이 얼마나

대단한지 자랑하는 게 다였어요. 그래서 가르치는 데 별로 도움이 안 되었어요.

그런데 요즘에는 많이 배워요 (Five years ago, there were no good opportunities for me
to improve my teaching ability since the lecturers only talked about what they did and
showed off their accomplishments. However, these days I learn many things).” Another
teacher in the focus group interview asserted that the workshop experience was beneficial
for her as a new teacher:

교사연수 워크숍에서 정보를 많이 얻었어요. 혼자 그런 정보를 얻으려면
힘들잖아요. 한국어교육법에 대한 지식을 얻으려고 했는데 이 분야를 잘
모르니까 힘들더라고요. 워크숍에서 교수법, 웹사이트, 게임 등 여러
정보를 얻었어요. 새로운 교사들에게는 정말 유용하죠. 그런데 경험 있는
교사들에게도 도움이 되는지 모르겠어요.

I got a lot of information through the workshops. It was hard for me to get this information by myself. I tried to get information regarding Korean teaching, but I didn't know enough about the field in general. I received a variety of information from the workshop, such as teaching methods, websites, games, and so on. These are very useful things for new teachers. However, I am not sure whether experienced teachers get benefits from them.

On the other hand, many experienced teachers argued that the speakers or workshop leaders didn't have enough knowledge or experience about Korean heritage schools in the U.S., so the workshops were not very helpful for them to improve teaching practices that could be used in the classroom. Their main dissatisfaction regarding the workshops was they felt that the programs of the workshop are all same all the time and invited community leaders for workshop leaders rather than educators who could motivate them.

Volunteering in a public school - experience from the U.S. educational system. Among those who participated in the interview, several teachers had ever experienced volunteer work in the school their children attended. Most of them told me this volunteer time was the only chance for them to explore the U.S. educational system:

처음에 한국학교에서 가르치기 시작했을 때는 그 전에 가르친 경험이 전혀 없었거든요. 그래서 제가 가르치고 싶은 것을 칠판에 쓰고 그걸 설명한 후에 아이들에게 따라서 쓰라고 했어요. 잘 안 되더군요. 아이들이 제가 가르치는 방식에 불만을 갖더라고요. 그래서 우리 아이 학교 교실에서 자원봉사를 할 때 미국교사들이 어떻게 가르치는지 유심히 살펴봤어요. 활동 위주의 테마 중심으로 가르치는데 학생들이 아주 자유롭게 배우더라고요. 그 미국교사들의 방법이 제가 가르치는 방법보다 더

효과적인 것 같더라고요. 제 학생들과 더 많이 대화하고 소통해야 한다는 것을 배웠어요.

I didn't have any teaching experience when I started teaching at a heritage school.

So, I wrote what I wanted to teach, explained it in class, and asked students to copy what I wrote. It didn't work. Students complained about my teaching style.

During my volunteering in classrooms at an American school for my kids, I observed how American teachers taught. I was impressed by their teaching style, which was theme-based teaching focusing on one task and giving a lot of freedom to students. The American teacher's methods I observed were more effective than mine, I think. I learned from the observations that I had to communicate and interact with my students.

A teacher also added what she learned from the experience with American teachers in a public school:

미국학교에서 자원봉사할 때 배운 방법으로 가르치려고 노력하는데 실제로는 한국에서 제가 한국에서 배운 방식으로 가르치고 있더라고요. 미국학교에서 봉사하면서 자유로운 분위기를 배운 것 같아요. 제 학생들은 여기 미국에서 학교생활을 시작했으니까 자유를 좋아하죠. 이야기를 읽은 후에 아이들끼리 서로 말해 보게 해요. 그리고 이야기를 통해 다른 과목도 가르치려고 노력해요. 미국교사들은 수학을 가르칠 때 과학도 같이 가르치잖아요. 그래서 저는 학생들에게 스토리텔링 시간에 동물의 색과 크기에 대한 질문을 해요. 우리 학생들은 미국인이잖아요. 그런데 왜 교장선생님에게 내는 일일교육안은 한국식으로 짜야 하는지 모르겠어요. I try to teach the way that I observed and learned from class volunteering in the U.S., but I find that I actually teach the way I learned in Korea. Working as a volunteer in American schools, I learned about 'freedom.' My students started

their schooling here in the U.S., so they like the freedom. I try to let them talk each other after they read a story. I also try teaching other subjects with the story. I think American teachers teach science when they teach math. Therefore, I ask my students the size and color of the animals during story telling times. My students are American, then why do I have to write a Korean style lesson plan to submit to the principal?

Korean heritage school teachers have a hard time managing students in school, and they believe students show a lot of off-task behaviors since they don't take heritage schools seriously. When the teachers have the opportunity to observe the public school classes as a volunteer, they focus on learning how American teachers manage the class, dealing with the students who need special attention, as well as the teaching methods they use for the students' learning. A teacher stated that she applied the methods she learned from the observation and that they worked, saying, “우리 아이 학교에서 자원봉사할 때 미국인 선생님이 학생들을 집중시키는 법을 유심히 관찰했어요. 미국교사들이 주로 쓰는 방법을 따라서 우리 수업에 적용해 봤더니 익숙해서 그런지 아이들이 좋아하더라고요 (When I volunteer at my kid's classroom, I specifically observe how an American teacher draws the students' attention. I found the common methods the teachers use, and I follow the methods, and my students like it because they are used to it).” The other teacher mentioned she learned from the observation of an American class that there are the differences in teachings between American and Korean teachers.

자원봉사할 때 미국교사들을 관찰했어요. 한국교사들은 강의 위주고 학생들이 외울 것을 기대하는데, 반면에 미국교사들은 배우는 과정과 방법을 가르치는 것 같아요. 한국교사들은 강의를 통해서 학습 시키는데, 미국교사들은 학생들과 대화를 통해서 가르치더라고요. 심지어 교사가 아주 어린아이들에게 피드백을 받는 걸 보고 놀랐어요.

I watched what American teachers taught when I volunteered. I realized that Korean teachers lecture and expect students to memorize the things the teachers teach. Contrarily, American teachers teach the methods and process of learning. Korean teachers give information with lecture style, but American teachers interact with students by talking with them. I was surprised when the teachers got feedback from even small children.

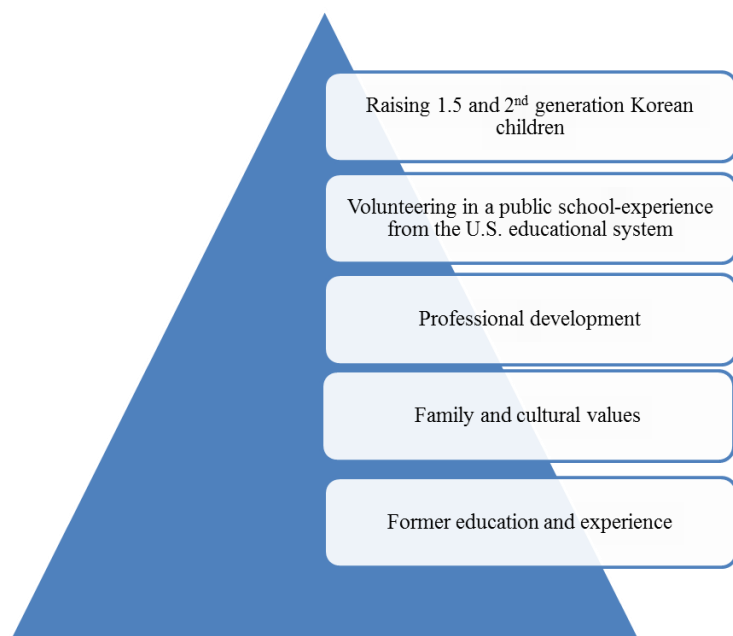


Figure 3. The shaping of the Korean HL teachers' professional identity.

Research question 3: How are the identities and ideologies of Korean heritage school teachers (re)produced and constructed through the practices in place at heritage language schools?

‘Habitus’ is an important factor contributing to social reproduction (Wacquant, 1998). Therefore, understanding the teachers’ habitus (beliefs and practices) can help us understand how the dispositions (teaching beliefs and teaching practices) of the teachers can be changed in schools in Korean immigrant communities and the foreign/second /heritage language educational field in the United States. The Korean heritage schools can be the social space (e.g. inherited social structure) where the identities of Korean heritage school teachers are constructed. Coldron and Smith (1999) pointed out, “Identity as a teacher is partly given and achieved by active location in social space” (p. 711).

Meanwhile, teachers have a central role as agents of social reproduction. The teachers’ disposition from their educational experience plays the role to perpetuate the values of their own cultures and transmit them to students favoring the students who share the same values (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Language teaching and learning are sociocultural phenomena, so teachers and students bring their identity and negotiating various identities in the classroom. The sociocultural identities, which teachers and students are bring to the classroom, are not static or deterministic but dynamic and changeable by engaging in identity construction and negotiation (Kramsch, 1993). In this notion, the identities of Korean heritage school teacher are (re)produced and constructed in the schools and classrooms through the negotiation of the identities in the relationship with students and other adults.

The focus group and in-depth interviews indicated that the professional identity of Korean heritage school teachers is shaped from their own academic experience in Korea and several other experiences (e.g. volunteering in a public school, professional development workshops) and is (re)produced and constructed through their practice in the heritage schools. The teachers have gained a strong sense of understanding about heritage learners from their practical experiences with the conflicting teaching and learning styles as well as the conflicting value system between students and teachers.

On the other hand, many teachers maintain (reproduce) their traditional teaching styles (*habitus*) regardless of the conflicts with their U.S. born or 1.5 generation students, and they try to reduce the conflicts by disciplining students to force them to adapt to the traditional way. In addition, traditional teaching methods are supported by parents in the schools because the parents were also mainly educated in Korea and they are familiar with them. The data also showed that the more teachers work in Korean heritage schools, the more they feel isolated from mainstream foreign/second language education as taught in U.S. schools.

In the case of the current teachers' workshops (e.g. WAKS and NAKS workshops) the teachers can attend, stakeholders decide what issues and areas they will educate the teacher in, instead of trying to understand the needs of the teachers. For this reason, the workshops not only do not meet the teachers' immediate needs for teaching in the classroom, but also do not provide any space where the teachers can reflect and share their issues with colleagues to collaboratively work for solutions. The sociocultural perspective in L2 teacher education focuses more on teachers' cognitive processes and

development (self-reflection), and how this internal activity transforms the understandings of self, students, and teaching activities (Johnson, 2009, p.13). From the sociocultural epistemological perspective, teacher education should focus on the teachers' reflection in their search for professional identity.

Understanding heritage learners vs. native Koreans. The teachers' learning experience is based on only their experiences from attending schools in a Korean speaking- society. Through experiences in teaching Korean heritage learners, their thoughts about their identities as teachers have shifted from that of a traditional teacher into a foreign language teacher. The teachers, at the beginning stage of teaching in the heritage schools, considered bilingualism to be nothing but double monolingualism (Kramsch, 2014). They begin to understand how their students are different from the students in Korea in terms of linguistic development and cultural awareness. The students' demographic changes have influenced the teachers' beliefs about teaching, as Yoo mentioned, “제가 14 년 전에 교사를 시작했을 때는 아이들이 1.5 세였는데 지금은 주로 2 세고 부모가 1.5 세예요. 그러니까 우리 아이들이 한국인이라기 보다는 외국인이라는 생각으로 외국어교수법을 사용해서 가르쳐야 된다고 생각해요 (When I started teaching Korean 14 years ago, the students were 1.5 generation, but now they are 2nd generation and their parents are 1.5 generation. I think I have to use foreign language pedagogy, considering my students are foreigners to Korean).” We can understand the change of the teachers' position through the framework of socio-cultural identity. Teachers' identity is dynamic – it changes depending on the context in which

they are teaching. As Varghese, et al. (2005) indicate, teachers are not a neutral player in the classroom, but their positionality in relation to their students and to the broader context are vital.

Learner differences. The teaching methods the teachers use are based on traditional approaches, such as grammar translation and audio-lingual methods. These methods were very popular for English education when the teachers studied in Korea around 20 years ago. Kyong remembered her early years of teaching at a Korean heritage school:

한국학교에서 처음 가르기 시작했을 때 왜 학생들이 한국인인데도 한국말을 잘 못하는지 이해가 안 갔어요. 3 년이 지나고 나니까 생각이 바뀌더라고요. 학생들이 한국인이 아니고 미국인이구나. 제 남편이 영어를 전공했는데 영어를 쓰는 학생들은 구강구조가 달라서 한국어를 말할 때 정확하게 발음하지 못한다고 하더라고요. 미국인들에게 한국어는 배우기 어려운 언어인 것 같아요. 저한테는 쉽지만 학생들에게는 어려운 거죠. 학생들이 한국어로 말하고 쓰게 하려면 다 가르쳐야 해요. 그리고 학생들은 잘 외워야 하는데 어떻게 쉽게 외우는 법을 가르칠까, 한국어 문법을 어떻게 쉽게 설명할까 고민해요.

During the early years when I taught Korean at a heritage school, I wondered why the students couldn't speak Korean well even although they were Korean.

After three years of teaching, my perception had changed. They were not Korean but foreigners. My husband, who was an English major, told me that the English-speaking students have a different speech system, so they were not able to use proper pronunciation in Korean. I realized Korean was a hard language for Americans to learn. It is very easy for me, but I think it is hard for my students. I

should teach everything if I want them to speak and write Korean. They should memorize, so I try to find easy rules to memorize and find how to explain Korean grammar to the students.

The experienced teacher shared the challenges they had when they started teaching around 20 years ago:

한국학교 학생들을 위한 책이 없었어요. 그래서 한국에서 만든 국어교재를 썼었어요. 온라인 한국어교사양성 수업을 들을 때 ‘외국어로서의 한국어’라는 수업이 기억나는데요. 그때 제가 국어교재로 학생들을 가르치고 있었거든요. 그런데 그 책은 한국에 있는 학생들이 교과목으로 국어를 배우도록 고안된 책이라서 좀 난해했어요. 게다가 우리가 국어교육과 출신이 아니니까 가르치기가 힘들었어요. 지금 제 생각은 우리 학생들이 한국인이 아니고 미국인이니까 (우리 교사들이) 모국어로서가 아니라 외국어로서의 한국어에 대한 인식을 갖고 있어야 한다고 봐요. There was no Korean language textbook for heritage learners, so they used the textbooks that were developed for Korean native speakers, as a language arts subject in Korea. When I took an online course for Korean teaching, I remember there was the subject called ‘Korean as a foreign language’. That time, I taught Korean with a Korean language arts textbook. It was very confusing because it was designed to teach Korean to native speakers learning it as a school subject. In addition, it was difficult to teach since we were not from the Korean language arts teaching major. Now, I am thinking that my students are not Korean but American, so we should recognize Korean as a foreign language and not the native language of the students.

The Korean teachers' educational programs offered by Korean universities target teachers in Korea, therefore it is hard for the teachers to apply the methods they have learned through the programs to their instruction in the heritage school. The teachers were aware of the differences among the learners in heritage schools and the learners in Korea in their practice, as demonstrated in Jung's comment:

한국대학교 온라인수업을 들었을 때 가르치는 법에 대해서 도움을 받은 면도 있었어요. 하지만 그 프로그램은 한국에서 가르치는 교사들을 위주로 하고 있기 때문에 커리큘럼이 한국 중심이고 한국식으로 되어있어요. 그래서 한국학교에 적용하기 힘들었어요. 3 년 전에 나온 교재는 가르쳐야 할 문법이 줄어들었고 말하기 능력 중심의 교재라서 전 것에 비해 더 좋아요.

The online courses provided by a Korean university were helpful in improving my teaching skills on certain points. However, they target the Korean teachers in Korea, so the curriculum is done from a Korean perspective and is Korean oriented. Therefore, it has some limitations when I try to apply what I learned with my heritage school class. A new textbook came out three years ago which is much better than the previous one, because it reduced the number of grammatical concepts that we need to teach, and instead emphasized conversational skills.”

Conflicting teaching and learning styles. Heritage language teachers understand the students are not Korean natives when they feel they have a different value system regarding teaching and learning. Sometimes the learning styles of the students, which are developed in American schools, came into conflict with the teachers' teaching style. Excerpts from classroom observation field notes (February 22, 2014) illustrate how

teachers' traditional teaching style conflicted with students and caused the students to resist instruction:

Classroom Vignette: The teacher is standing in front of the classroom, and students, from 5th to 8th grade, are sitting together in groups of three to four. There are three groups of students and each group sits at a table together. During class, students talk to each other in English and the teacher can't control the students.

T: "I will give you 20 vocabulary words today, and when you memorize all of them, I will give new ones. Please do it at home."

S: "Why do we have to memorize these words? I will purposely not do it and then I can stop memorizing."

T: "If you don't want to memorize, why do you come to school? (with angry voice)"

S: "I don't want to come here, my mom forced me to come. I don't get any credits or grades from memorizing vocabulary words, right? That's why I don't want to do this."

Due to this conflict, classroom management issues occurred. The teachers often blame the parents, who don't teach Korean values about how people should respect seniors. The teachers believe that the students don't appreciate them for teaching because they didn't learn the values about respecting seniors. In the classroom vignette above, the teacher interpreted the student's behavior (not following the given instructions), as a sign of disrespect.

The teachers sometimes reflect on their teaching while they are observing other teachers. For instance, Jung commented that, “저는 한국학교 교사들의 자질이 의심스러워요. 교사들이 학생들을 이해하지 못 하고 있는 것 같아요. 학생들이 어떤 교육 방법에 익숙한지 전혀 몰라요. 여기는 전혀 딴 세상이에요. 교사들이 책상을 두드리며 ‘왜 내 말을 못 알아들어, 써,써 그러면서 소리를 질러요. 교사들이 그렇게 소리지르는 것을 듣는 게 고통스러워요 (I don’t think the teachers in the heritage school are qualified. They don’t understand the students. They don’t know what learning methods their students are used to. This school community is an entirely different world. Teachers knock on the table loudly and shout “Why you don’t understand what I am saying”, “Write it down, write it down”. I feel pain when I heard the loud voice of the teachers in the school).”

Korean language educators in Korea are critical of the heritage language school teachers that they got behind of new pedagogy that recently used in Korea (Im, 2013). Some teachers who took the online course programs provided by Korean universities also commented negatively about the teachers who use against traditional methods which conflict with Korean American students’ learning styles. Jung argued about the old teaching methods:

여기 교사들은 한국에서 20 년 전에 자신들이 배웠던 방식으로 가르쳐요. 하루는 학무보가 4 살짜리 아이들에게 한국어로 이름을 20 번씩 쓰라고 한 교사에게 항의한 적이 있었어요. 그 선생님은 자신의 방식이 최고라고

생각하기 때문에 그런 항의에 전혀 신경쓰지 않았어요. 그 선생님이 반 학부모들에게 “우리 수업이 일주일에 한 번 밖에 없는데 그걸로 충분하다고 생각하세요? 저는 그렇게 생각하지 않기 때문에 학생들이 몇 시간씩 숙제를 하도록 하는 겁니다.”라고 이야기했대요.

Teachers develop their way of teaching from their own learning experiences as students from two decades ago in Korea, and believe that it is the right way. One day, some parents complained about the homework that had four-year old students writing their names in Korean 20 times. The teacher didn't care about the negative comments because she believed that her way of teaching was the best. She also told the parents in her class, “Our class meets only three hours per week, do you think that is enough? I don't think so. It is because of this that I give several hours of homework to the students.”

Teachers' beliefs may have an influence on their instruction in the classroom. When the teachers treat the students in the heritage schools as native Korean speakers, not only their pedagogy but also their expectations and learning goals are affected. Once the teachers set the goal, they try to achieve the goal regardless of students' level. As Jung commented, “(교사들이) 짧은 시간 목표를 이루기 위해서 아이들을 강압적으로 끌고 나가요. 목표도 문제예요, 너무 높아요. 교수법도 문제고요. 아이들이 실제로 수업에서 무엇을 배우는지 생각하지도 않고 이해하지도 못 해요 (Teachers are very strict and oppressive in order to make students achieve the goal in a short time. I think the goal is the problem since it is too high, and the teaching methods are also problematic. Teachers don't think about or understand what students actually learn from the class).”

One of the challenges the teachers face in the classroom is difference between learners. Students assigned in the same class have different Korean proficiency levels depending on when they came to the U.S., or what language their parents use at home. The field notes from observation of a 5th-8th grade combination class (February 15, 2014) showed how students felt about a student with high proficiency level of Korean than them.

Classroom Vignette: After 20 minutes have passed due to administrative tasks, the teacher starts the lecture. Students talk aloud in English and do not pay any attention to the teacher. The teacher teaches vocabulary for a competition. The teacher asks the students to write the vocabulary words by copying them from the board.

Student A: I won't come here next year. I come here to meet my friends but they told me that they won't come back.

Student B: (pointing a student): He is good at Korean since he speaks Korean with his parents, but I speak English at home.

Maintain their traditional teaching methods. Even though the teachers understand the difference between the heritage language learners and students in Korea through their teaching experiences in the heritage schools, it is still not easy for the teachers to change their teaching styles. There is dissonance between what teachers 'think' and what teachers 'do'. Unlike the psycho-cognitive paradigm that assumes what teachers think translates directly into behavior, several studies show what teachers know, think, and even believe can contradict their practices in classrooms (Cross, 2010, p.439). In this notion, even though teachers conceptually understand the differences of heritage learners

in the context of heritage schools, it is not easy for them to change without any teacher education training, which can help guide them in adapting their teaching practices.

Field notes and in-depth interviews showed that the teachers keep using the Korean traditional methods from their learning experiences more than 20 years ago. No one challenges the teachers' teaching practices since there are not only not enough professional development opportunities to see to their needs, but also no evaluation mechanism for the teachers. The only evaluations they receive are informal comments from the parents. The parents, mostly first generation immigrants, expect that the teachers give more homework and help their children develop good studying habits. The teachers understand that if a student learns Korean, he or she should follow Korean societal values, and that this can lead to the type of academic success Korea as a nation is known for. For heritage language teachers, teaching Korean values means persevering in helping students understand Korean culture, working to accommodate the values of the parents, and helping students develop their identities as Koreans.

Being a more traditional Korean teacher. For teachers who have studied in Korea and have academic experience in the U.S., the only opportunity for them to explore other methods to improve their teaching is through professional development workshops. However, the format of the current workshop for Korean heritage school teachers is lecture-based, and there is no space for teachers to exchange their thoughts to solve problems that occur in their own classrooms. Through the field observation, I realized that teachers participated in the workshops passively, just listening to the lectures.

For this reason, there is little chance for the teachers to reflect on their own teaching and adapt their practices to the learners' needs.

From classroom observations, I found that the heritage school teachers' teaching styles were traditional. There is little pair or group work, even though the pedagogy has been changed in language education in Korea to a more Western style (Littlewood, 2007). The teachers explained lesson content in English when the students did not understand. This means that students were not fully exposed to Korean during the class. Instead of using non-verbal instructional methods such as TPR (Total Physical Responses) or visual images to promote the students' understanding of the lesson, the teachers spent most of the class time on explaining grammar in English.

Consequently, there is too much time spent by the teacher speaking, and not enough time for the students to practice speaking. This is not ideal for a language class. The field notes (March 8, 2014) for the four-year-old class illustrated how the class is managed in Korean traditional ways:

Classroom Vignette: Korean alphabet and songs were taught. The music teacher came and taught a song and told the students that they should memorize the lyrics. There were 20 minutes for a whole class activity about transportation lead by the homeroom teacher. Then, the four-year old students worked individually on several pages in the workbook for two hours without a break. They had to sit very quietly and do their individual work.

Since the teachers don't have knowledge about foreign/second language education, the main methods they use rely on the ways they are familiar with. The

classrooms' aura was influenced by the teachers' expectation about students' attitudes in the class. From observing the class for four-year-olds, I found that students were expected to be quiet, complete their work, and be able to read the Korean alphabet (Hangul) in order to succeed in class. The students the teacher didn't favor were those who had non-Korean parents. Since the students did not speak Korean well, they did not receive the same amount of attention in class. The teacher told me that Korean speaking level is a key factor for a student to be successful in class. She argued that if a student cannot speak Korean well, she or he cannot pay attention in the class and will fail to learn the Korean alphabet, which is the main goal of the class. The teachers acted very strict to make students concentrate on their individual work for a long period of time and to pay attention to the teacher-centered lecture. The field observation note (April 6, 2014) for the five and six year-old class also illustrated the how much the teacher controlled the students to make them engage in the class:

Classroom Vignette: T: Greetings are important. Say 'thank you' all the time.

'Thank you for teaching, teacher.' 'Thank you for cooking, mother.' You come to the school to learn how to speak Korean and you will learn Korean to talk with your friends. So you should practice speaking Korean.

(to a shy student who doesn't talk) T: Why don't you pay attention? Why don't you listen to me? What did I say? If you don't pay attention, how can you do your group work? If your group does poorly, you will feel sorry to your group members. (the teacher is speaking quickly)

When the teacher gave feedback on a student's incorrect grammar usage, the teacher explicitly explained the grammar rule to whole class. The teacher points out every time students make a mistake and corrects them simultaneously.

Isolation. One of the prominent challenges the teachers face is the isolation from mainstream foreign/second language education. Their Korean identities (e.g. first generation immigrants, patriotism, Protestants, members of Korean churches) may have the cultural and social capital in the field (heritage schools), but it is hard to be recognized in the mainstream foreign/second/bilingual educational field due to the lack of knowledge of U.S. society or cultural context. In addition, there is no opportunity for these teachers to connect with other heritage language teachers since each heritage school is based in its own ethnic community.

No capital. The teaching experience in heritage schools should be a way to gain experience in one's career. However, the teachers complain that no matter how long they teach, their experience is not counted as teaching experience in the foreign/second language teaching field. They believe that Korean heritage education is not taken seriously in mainstream society.

Bourdieu (1997) argues that some forms of cultural capital have a higher exchange value than others in a given social context. The Korean teachers' teaching experience in the heritage schools as well as their academic experience in Korea is of 'lower value' in U.S. society. In addition, the wage for the teachers is not enough to compensate for attending professional development workshops provided by local or national foreign language teacher associations in order to 'acquire a wider range of

symbolic and material resources' (Norton Peirce, 1995, p.17). For this reason, teachers lose the opportunity to develop social capital (e.g. networking with other foreign/second language teachers or heritage school teachers) in order to empower their abilities as a teacher, as well as economic capital in terms of their future career prospects.

Economic capital. Korean heritage school teachers, especially those who want to work outside of heritage schools, such as in U.S. public schools or adult educational settings, understand that they need to have more academic experience (e.g. college or professional development workshops) in order to meet the U.S. foreign language education standard. However, it is very hard for these teachers, who are mostly housewives with children, to have money for tuition and time to study in a graduate program and engage in professional development. Kyong argued, “대다수 한국학교 교사들은 주중에는 풀타임이든 파트타임이든 일을 하고 있어요. 미국에서 살려면 얼마나 많은 돈이 필요한지 아시죠? 교사들이 연수회에 시간을 쓰는 것이 쉽지 않아요 (Many Korean teachers have a main job, either part time or full time, during the week. You know how much money we need to make to live in the United States. It is hard for the teachers to spend time on professional development).” Soo’s comments supported Kyong’s argument. Soo argued, “아이들 키우는 데 돈이 많이 드는데, 엄마로서 우리 교사들이 자기 발전을 위해 돈 쓰는 것이 어려워요 (As a mother, it is

hard for heritage school teachers to get funds to support their teaching career since they need to spend a lot of money to support their children).”

A teacher complained about how principals asked them to improve their teaching abilities by attending professional development workshops, but did not provide any support or time off from the school to do so. A teacher in the focus group interviews talked about this issue:

1 년에 두 번 연수회에 참석할 때에도 오전에는 수업을 하고 가야 해요. 연수 받는 시간은 일하는 시간으로 계산도 안 되는데 3-4 시간 수업하고 가서 5 시간 이상 연수회에 참석하면 너무 피곤해요. 그래서 집중하기도 힘들어요. 계속 가르치려면 연수회에 반드시 참여해야 한다고 알고 있는데 학교가 우리에게 너무 많은 것을 바란다는 생각이 들어요.

When we need to attend the semi-annual workshops, we still have to work in the morning and attend the workshop in the afternoon. They don't charge us for professional development, but after three to four hours of teaching, I feel too tired to attend the workshop for five hours. Therefore, it is hard for me to concentrate. I understand that attending the workshop is one of the requirements for teaching, but our school asks us to do too many things.

A teacher in the focus group interviews shared her story about attending an East Coast foreign language teachers' association workshop, emphasizing it was very helpful for her to apply and use what she learned for her class right away, unlike the workshops the Korean heritage school teachers attend.

이 지역의 미국 외국어교사 워크숍에 참석할 기회가 있었어요. 가르치는 방법을 순서대로 차근차근 가르쳐줘서 정말 도움이 많이 되었어요. 그 때문인지 영어로 한 강의였는데도 이해할 수 있어요. 한국학교 언어교육이

뒤쳐져 있다는 걸 느꼈어요. 학교는 우리가 외국어교육 관련 여러 미국학회에 참여하는 데 전혀 도움을 안 줘요. 우리 학교가 충분히 지원해줄 경제적 능력이 있다고 생각하는데 안 해 줘요. 제 남편도 왁스, 낙스 연수회도 있는데 왜 돈을 내고 그런 데 가는지 이해를 못 하더라고요. I had a chance to attend the regional workshop for foreign language teachers. It was very helpful for me because the lecturers at the workshop taught us the way of teaching step by step. Although they spoke English, I could understand. I felt that Korean language education in heritage schools is behind. There is no school support for us to attend local or national workshops or conferences related to foreign/second language teaching. I know that our school can support us financially, but it does not. In addition, my husband doesn't understand why I have to spend money to attend workshops other than the workshops offered by WAKS and NAKS.

The limitation of funding impacts the choice of teaching materials in classrooms. The teacher can't access any technology for effective teaching, as a teacher mentioned, “한국학교 상황이 열악해요. 컴퓨터가 없어서 멀티미디어를 사용한 수업은 하기 힘들어요. 가르치는 걸 정말 좋아하지만 자료나 도구가 부족할 때 기운이 빠져요 (The environment in heritage schools is very limited. We can't teach with multimedia since students can't access computers here. I love teaching but the limited resources make me feel down).”

Cultural capital. Cultural capital is knowledge of the dominant culture, the knowledge that counts (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Therefore, knowledge of U.S.

culture constitutes cultural capital for Korean heritage school teachers. On the other hand, Korean teachers' extensive knowledge about Korean culture and language, as well as their teaching experiences in heritage schools, are not recognized as cultural capital in U.S. society. Through interviews I conducted during data collection, I found that many of the teachers want to work not in Korean immigrant communities, but work in schools in the broader American society. They have confidence in their teaching ability developed in heritage schools. However, they also accept the reality that both their teaching experience in the heritage schools and the academic knowledge from Korean education can't be converted into cultural capital for a teaching career in mainstream society. It is hard for them to get a job outside of heritage schools since their experience as teachers in heritage schools is not valued by the U.S. foreign/second language education community.

A teacher informed me, “외국어로서의 한국어교육 대학과정을 4 년동안 해서

끝냈는데 미국에서는 소용이 없어요. 여기서 공립학교 교사가 되고 싶은데

어디서부터 시작해야 하는지 모르겠어요 (I finished four years of college (online

program) for teaching Korean as foreign language, but it is not recognized here in

America. I want to be a public school teacher, but I don't know how to enter the field).”

In my opinion, the teachers seek to have an opportunity to connect with American society in their language of expertise teaching Korean. Soo explained about her wish for a future career:

미국학생들을 가르치고 싶어서 여기 공립학교 교사가 되고 싶어요. 그런데 제가 풀타임으로 일해서 교사자격증 딸 시간이 없어요. 한국하고 미국에

연계 프로그램 같은 것이 있으면 한국 대학교 온라인 과정에서 받은 학점을 여기서 인정 받을 수 있을텐데요. 제가 한국학교에서 9 년 동안 일한 경험도 있고 한국교육을 통해 배운 지식도 있으니까 여기 공립학교에서도 좋은 한국어 선생님이 될 수 있을 것 같아요.

I want to be a public school teacher since I want to interact with American students. However, I am not able to devote my time to get the license since I have a full time job. If there were a collaborative program between Korea and the U.S., the credits I had from online courses offered by a Korean university could be transferred to a U.S. program. I believe that I could be a good Korean language teacher in public schools with my nine years of teaching experience in heritage schools and knowledge from the Korean educational system.”

Jung’s arguments described how in addition to the societal barriers preventing heritage school teachers from working in American communities, sometimes the teachers themselves do not have the intention to get information to connect with educators outside of Korean communities. Jung’s comments reflect that the teachers suffer from a lack of confidence and do not make the effort to be an agent to change the status quo by emphasizing their knowledge and experience as a capital.

한국학교에서 10-20 년 일한 선생님들은 여기서 가르치는 것에 대해서 많은 지식을 가지고 있어요. 하지만 한국학교 이외에 다른 곳에서 가르쳐 본 경험이 없어요. 그래서 한국학교 밖이 어떻게 돌아가는지 모르고 본인들이 잘 하고 있다고 생각하죠. 우리 학교는 매년 같은 교사에게 같은 반을 맡겨서 몇 년 동안 계속 같은 반을 가르쳐요. 교사들도 환경이 바뀌는 걸 안 좋아하고요. 스스로 변하는 걸 싫어해요. 아니, 어떻게 변화하는지 방법을 몰라요.

The teachers who have been working in heritage schools for 10-20 years have strong knowledge about teaching here. However, they don't have any other teaching experience beyond the heritage schools. They don't know what's going on outside of the heritage schools, so they think they are doing well. Our school assigns the same teacher for the same level every year, so the teachers teach the same level class for several years. The teachers don't want the teaching environment to be changed. They don't want to change themselves, I mean, they don't know how to change.

Yoo also brought up the issue on the qualifications of Korean heritage school teachers, saying, “자질이 안 되는 교사가 너무 많아요. 한국어 혹은 교육방법에 대한 지식이 충분하지 않아요. 교사를 뽑을 때 정해진 자격조건이 없으니까 아무나 한국학교 교사가 될 수 있어요. 교사 자질 향상을 위해서 자격증이나 인증서 같은 것이 있었으면 좋겠어요 (There are so many teachers who are not qualified. They don't have enough knowledge about Korean language and teaching methods. There is no specific hiring standard, so anyone can be a teacher for the Korean heritage schools. I hope there is a license or certification to improve the teachers' qualifications).” An experienced teacher in the focus group interviews commented that she thought young teachers had to attend professional development workshops, but they didn't. According to her, the reason why the young teachers don't do their best in teaching is they have the

opportunity to find other jobs besides teaching at heritage schools, thanks to their English ability:

한국학교에서 몇 년 동안 일한 교사들은 다른 직업이 없거나 다른 데서 육체노동을 하는 사람들 이에요. 한국에서는 교사가 존경 받는 직업이잖아요. 그래서 교사들이 이 일을 계속하는 거예요. 하지만 젊은 교사들은 학교보다는 가족모임이나 자기 아이들이 더 중요하다고 생각해요. 한국어와 영어를 동시에 할 수 있는 젊은 교사가 많이 필요한데 말이죠.

The teachers who have been working in heritage schools for several years are either those who don't have any other job or those who have a blue collar job (which is not as much valued as white collar jobs) outside of school.

Traditionally, teaching is a job respected by people in Korea, so teachers keep this job. However, the young teachers think family gathering or their children are more important than schools. We need young teachers who speak both English and Korean.

The teachers agreed that English is a critical factor that makes possible for them to work in American society. Soo asserted, “여기 교사들 중에 많은 분들이 공립학교

교사가 되고 싶어하지만 영어가 충분하지 않아요. 한국어를 가르칠 때는

수업시간에 계속 한국어를 쓰겠지만 학교 행정 업무를 하려면 영어가

필요하잖아요 (Many teachers here want to be a public school teacher, but their English is not advanced enough. When they teach Korean, they can speak Korean all the time in the class, but they still need to know English for the school administrative work).” They

also know that understanding American culture is important to work with American students in public schools. As a teacher mentioned, “제가 미국학생들과 문화가 달라서 가르치기 힘들다는 것을 알고 있어요. 공립학교에서 봉사를 한 적이 있는데 어렵더라고요. 미국학생들을 다루기가 너무 어려웠어요 (I understand that I can’t teach American students since we have different cultures. I worked for a public school as a volunteer and it was hard. It is very hard to control American students).”

However, it is not easy for them to acquire linguistic and cultural competence since they keep themselves in Korean immigrant communities. Korean heritage schools teachers do their best regardless of the low wage, limited teaching environments, and commitments outside of classroom teaching in the schools. However, their efforts are not sustainable, as a teacher complained, “적은 돈을 받고 토요일에 가족과 시간도 못 보내면서 우리 자신을 희생하고 있는데, 교장이 어느날 우리들에게 ‘선생님들은 공립학교 교사가 절대 될 수 없습니다. 공립학교 교사들이 얼마나 열심히 일하는지 아십니까? 라고 하는데 정말 실망스럽더라고요 (We sacrifice ourselves even though we receive very low wages and we can’t spend time with our family on Saturdays. I was very disappointed when my principal told us one day, “You all can’t teach in public schools. Do you know how much effort it takes to be a public school teacher?)” Several teachers expressed their hope of being a public school Korean language teacher in the future. They put in effort by ‘sacrificing’ themselves in heritage schools, but are also

discouraged by social assumptions about what public school communities are like. Their negative self-perceptions, such as a ‘lack of English ability’, ‘hard to manage American students due to cultural differences’, and ‘unrecognized teaching experience’, with regard to an imagined communities (public school teachers) may lead to nonparticipation (Norton, 1997, 2010; Wenger, 1998). Wenger (1998) argues, “We not only produce our identities through the practices we engage in, but we also define ourselves through the practices we do not engage in. Our identities are constituted not only by what we are but also by what we are not. To the extent that we can come in contact with other ways of being, what we are not can even become a large part of how we define ourselves” (p.164).

At the same time, the teachers value their teaching and have confidence in their abilities as a teacher. For this reason, they believe that they could be a good foreign language teacher if they have the opportunity. Young argued about Korean heritage school teachers’ capabilities, comparing them with English native speaker teachers who teach in Korea. She seemed to emphasize language ownership and the position of native language teachers in comparison to English teachers in Korea (Parmegiani, 2008):

제 생각에는 한국학교 교사들이 공립학교에서도 좋은 외국어 교사가 될 수 있을 것 같아요. 이런 어려운 환경에서도 최선을 다하니까요. 한국학교가 일반 학교가 아니기 때문에 우리가 교사가 되는 공식적인 교육을 받은 적은 없지만요. (대신에) 여기서 경험을 충분히 쌓잖아요. 한국에서 보면 영어 선생님들 중에 교육을 전공하지 않은 사람도 많아요. 단지 원어민이라는 이유로 가르치잖아요. 우리도 원어민 교사이고 경험도 풍부하잖아요. 원어민 영어교사보다 못 할 것이 뭐 있습니까?

I believe that Korean heritage school teachers can be good foreign language teachers in public schools. They do their best in this limited environment. Since

heritage schools are not regular schools, we were not formally trained as teachers. However, we have a lot of teaching experience here. In the case of Korea, there are many native speaker English teachers who are not trained as teachers. They just teach because they are native speakers. We are native speaker teachers and we have teaching experience as well. How can't we do better in comparison with these English teachers?

One of alternative ways the teachers suggested to connect heritage education to public education is for heritage schools get accredited by the state education department. The teachers think if mainstream education does not recognize heritage education, they should attempt to adapt the curriculum used in American education. Soo planned a curriculum adaptation from public schools, but she worried that individual teacher's effort won't get credit in the collectivist community (the heritage school). She argued that any individual teacher's work would be recognized as the school's overall performance and not the teacher's work:

우리는 한국어에 대한 충분한 지식이 있다고 생각하지만 만일 공립학교 교사가 된다면 미국학교 시스템을 몰라서 쉽지 않을 것 같아요. 공립학교 교사가 되는 것보다 동료들과 같이 공립학교와 연계할 수 있는 교육안을 짜는 것이 좋겠다고 생각해요. 우리 학교가 정부로부터 인가를 받으면 교사의 위상도 높아지고 학생들에게도 동기부여가 될 거예요. 그렇게 되면 학생들은 외국어크레딧을 받을 목적으로 여기 오겠죠. 우리는 미국인들과 일하길 원해요. 미국인들이 한국학교 교사를 더 존경하는 것 같아요. 우리 교장선생님은 우리가 이렇게 하는 것을 별로 안 좋아하시고 더 인정해 주지도 않으시는 것 같아요. 학교에서 인정을 안 해주면 우리도 시간낭비하고 싶지 않아요.

I think we have enough knowledge about Korean, but if we become a public school teacher, it wouldn't be easy because we don't understand the U.S. school system. Instead of being a public school teacher, my colleagues and I would like to develop a lesson plans which incorporates the Korean program from public schools. If this school can become an accredited school, it promotes not only the status of the teachers but also students' motivation. If so, students would come here with the motivation of receiving foreign language credits. We want to work with Americans. They have more respect for teachers in heritage schools. However, I don't think our principal will like it or give us any credit. If we can't get any credit from our school, we don't want to waste our time.

Disconnecting from mainstream education. Korean heritage schools were initiated by Korean immigrants and developed with the support of the Korean government and community leaders. In addition, they are mainly affiliated with Korean churches. Therefore, the school administrators are not necessarily related to Korean education. Although the schools have been increasing along with the numbers of students in Korean immigrant communities, the numbers of the schools are not feasible in the U.S. foreign/second language education field. By the same token, the Korean heritage school teachers are “marginalized” in the mainstream U.S. educational field which devalues their qualifications as a teacher. The perception that these teachers have a lack of professionalism has promoted top-down professional development methods where the “other voice” and not their own voice is dominant (Lee & Bang, 2011). This top-down

professional development style is also the norm in the teachers workshops designed by WAKS and NAKS.

No connection with outside FL /HL teachers. Along with cultural capital, social capital should be examined in conjunction with the status of the teachers. Social capital is an issue of developing a human network for one's social mobility (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In this notion, what social groups the Korean heritage school teachers belong to impacts their professional identity and ability to use their network as a ladder for social mobility. The data indicated that their professional circles are limited to the Korean community. It is difficult for them to connect with other foreign or heritage language teachers in mainstream education. The teachers want to know about the educational field outside of heritage schools. As one teacher in a focus group interview commented, “미국 학교 수업에서 쓰는 방법을 배우고 싶어요. 저는 한국에 안 돌아가고 미국에 계속 살 거예요. 그러니까 미국 교실에서 적용할 수 있는 방법을 배우고 싶어요.

미국교사들이 어떻게 교육안을 짜는지 정말 궁금해요 (I want to learn the teaching methods which are used in U.S. classrooms. I won't go back to Korea. I will live here in the United States. So, I want to learn the methods I can apply in the U.S. classroom. I am very curious how American teachers write a lesson plan).” In addition, the teachers desire to learn how to manage their U.S.-born students who are familiar with the teaching styles in American schools. A teacher in the focus group interview stated that she wanted to

learn how to manage students because she was not able to control them. Teachers complained that students talk to each other in English during class.

Another teacher in the focus group commented that even though she wanted to have a professional teaching job, but she couldn't access information on how she could become a teacher in a U.S. public school. She argued that most heritage school teachers don't have any connection or networking opportunity with educators in public schools. Therefore, it is hard for them to acquire any information regarding requirements for teacher licenses or certifications, or announcements about open teaching positions. This issue not only applies to teaching jobs in public schools but also for attending mainstream foreign language teacher conferences, as a teacher mentioned, “아무도 저희한테 안 알려줘요. 여기 한국학교 이외에 밖에 있는 교사들은 전혀 모르니까요. 외국어교사 연수회 같은 데 참석하면 그 분들과 네트워트를 형성할 수 있을텐데요 (No one told us. We don't have any connection with teachers outside of the heritage schools. If we attend workshops for foreign language educators, we can build a network with them).” Kyong shared her experience asserting how networks play a role in creating new opportunities:

제가 이 학교에만 있을 때는 다른 데 얼마나 많은 일이 있는지 몰랐어요. 연구를 위해 우리학교에 왔던 선생님이 정부 컨트랙으로 외국어 가르치는 회사에서 임시로 한국어를 가르칠 수 있게 해주셨는데요. 거기서 일할 때 비록 잠시지만 한국학교 이외에도 다른 기회들이 있다는 것을 알게 되었어요. 이런 데 취직하려면 미국에서 공부를 좀더 했어야 했는데요.

When I am at this school only, I didn't know how many teaching jobs are out there. A teacher who visited our school for her research introduced me to a substitute teaching position at a government contract language training company. During my time working there, even for a short while, I found there were more opportunities than at heritage schools. I should have studied more in the U.S. and pursued a higher degree to apply for those jobs.

Gap between classroom practice and the national standard. The teachers feel that they are behind the standard of foreign language teaching whenever they face challenges in their classroom. The teachers want to know how foreign language teaching is practiced in the public schools, especially when the students in their class compare them with the teachers in their home schools. They do not have sufficient knowledge on national standards for foreign language education, which promote students' learning outcomes to meet the societal needs for foreign language skills (www.actfl.org). The teaching materials they use in the classroom, which are provided by the Korean government, are sometimes not applicable to the students' level. A teacher in the focus group interview argued that the publishers of Korean textbooks for heritage learners don't know the situation in the U.S., saying, “그 책을 쓰신 교수님들은 한국에서의 외국어 교육밖에 모르시잖아요. 여기 학생들이 실제로 할 수 있는 능력보다 더 높게 학습 목표가 잡혀 있어요 (The professors who write the books only know about foreign language learners in Korea. The expectations and achievement goals are much higher than the actual possible outcomes for the students here).”

The teachers strongly indicated a desire to have the opportunity to participate in the writing process of the textbooks with scholars in Korea. Jung gave her opinion about the teaching materials for her students:

제 의견으로는 한국학교 교사들이 교재 만드는 데 참여해야 돼요.
한국정부에서 새로 만든 교재는 그림이나 내용으로 보자면 낮은 레벨에만 집중되어 있어요. 한국어 능력은 떨어지지만 지적 수준은 높은 아이들용 교재가 필요해요. 여기에 계신 선생님들이 이곳 학생들을 제일 잘 이해하고 계시니까 그 분들이 교재를 써야 한다고 생각해요. 그래서 저도 제 학생들을 위해 교재를 쓰고 싶었는데 교장선생님이 반대하셨어요. 한국정부에서 정한 교재를 써야하는 기준이 있어서 결정은 한국에서 해야 한다고 말씀하셨어요. 제가 교장선생님께 미국 공립학교에 있는 다른 외국어 교육을 보면 과제 및 내용 중심으로 수업을 하는 등 아주 발전해 있는데 우리는 아직도 짧은 문장을 만들기 위해 단순한 문법을 가르치는 수준이라고 말씀드렸어요.

I believe that the heritage school teachers should participate in writing textbooks.

The new textbooks the Korean government provided focused on only lower grade level students (e.g. pictures, content). Therefore, we need more books targeted at the students who have a high cognitive level but a low Korean proficiency level. I believe that the teachers here should write the textbook because they understand the students the best. For this reason, I wanted to write a book for my students as well, but the principal was opposed. She told me that there is a standard for the books set by Korean government, so all decisions are made in Korea. I told her that other foreign language educators in U.S. public schools practice very advanced teaching methods focusing on tasks and content-

based approaches, but we are only teaching our students simple grammar rules to make short sentences.

On the other hand, Soo, as mentioned below, argued that if heritage schools adapt the textbooks published in the U.S. and meet the national standard for foreign language learning, it would be more beneficial for the students to connect their learning to Korean programs in public schools:

공립학교에서 쓰는 한국어 교재를 쓰고 싶어요. 고등학교에 크레딧시험이 있는데 그게 에세이 시험이라서 우리 학생들은 통과하기 상당히 어려워요. 제가 공립학교 교재를 본 적이 있는데 충분히 좋았어요. 한국정부에서 한글학교 교재를 더 이상 안 만들었으면 좋겠어요.

I want to use the textbooks that public schools use in our county. There is an exam for high school foreign language credits. It is very hard for our students to pass it since it is an essay test. I looked at the textbook (which is made by K-12 Korean public school teachers in the U.S.) and it was good. I hope the Korean government stops making new series of textbooks.

Other teachers in the interviews agreed with this argument saying that the textbooks and the curriculum the Korean government provides do not fit in their schools. They believe that the teachers who understand their students and the education environment of heritage schools should make the curriculum for the students. The teaching materials the Korean government provides are designed for Korean heritage learners all over the world.

Therefore, the teachers think materials customized for the students in the U.S. are needed.

In addition, when making a good textbook, as the teachers argued, writers should know

the difference between Korean and English, and the students' level in Korean heritage schools.

Professional development. The habitus of Korean teachers resists change in the field of heritage schools, and it is hard for them to have the second habitus as well. This might be because the current catalysts for change, such as teachers' workshops and top-down knowledge-based programs, do not help them to change in the ways they need. The professional development workshops the Korean heritage school teachers can attend are not helpful for them to improve their instructions in terms of learning how to change their traditional teaching styles to adapt to the needs of students with different backgrounds. However, traditional knowledge-based L2 teacher education has been grounded in the positivist epistemological perspective where it is common for teacher educators to lead the theory and pedagogy. If it shifted to a sociocultural teacher education perspective for the "dynamic process of reconstruction and transforming a teacher's practice to be responsive to both individual and local needs" (Johnson, 2009, p. 13), it would satisfy the teachers' needs.

The teachers argued that there is a mismatch between the stakeholders planning the workshop programs and the needs of the teachers. For instance, workshop presenters are either their colleague teachers from heritage schools or scholars from Korea. However, the leaders are invited by administrators and not by the teachers, therefore, teachers feel that they are excluded from the decision-making process. Kyong's comments showed why the teachers feel that way:

워싱턴지역 한국학교 교사연수회에 참가한 후에 피드백을 쓰도록 되어있는데 임원들이 우리 의견을 반영하지 않아요. 교장선생님들도 학생들을 직접 가르치지 않으니까 우리에게 뭐가 필요한지 몰라요. 한국대학교의 교사양성과정에서 배운 내용은 미국 현지 상황에 맞지 않고요. 그 수업을 가르치시는 교수님들이 모두 한국에서 국어교육을 전공한 분들이라서 한국 모국어 화자 학생들이 필요한 것을 가르치더라고요. 그 과정을 마친 후에 거기서 배운 많은 문법용어를 사용해서 제 학생들을 가르쳤더니 전혀 이해를 못 하더라고요.

Teachers write feedback after they attend the semi-annual workshops for DC

Korea heritage school teachers, but they (administrators) do not listen to us. The principals of the heritage schools do not understand our needs either since they don't teach students, so they don't understand our demands. In addition, the concepts I learned from a teacher preparation course from a Korean university do not match with the actual situation in America. Since the teacher trainers all studied Korean education (language arts), they taught us what Korean students (native speakers) know. After I took the course, I taught my students the way I had learned using a lot of grammar terminology, but they didn't understand it at all.

Soo also agreed with the notion that workshop leaders should be persons who understand Korean heritage learners in the U.S. as well as those who have knowledge or experience in U.S. education. According to Soo, the NAKS conference invited famous people from Korea, supporting their airfare, accommodation, and honorarium. She opposed the idea that well-known individuals (either scholars or politicians) from Korea can provide useful knowledge or effective teaching methods to teachers within the U.S. context:

저는 왜 협의회가 그 많은 돈을 쓰면서 그런 분들을 초대하는지 모르겠어요. 한번은 주제강연에 저명한 국어학자를 초대했었는데 배울 게 없었어요. 우리가 속해 있는 이 사회에 대한 정보를 줄 수 있는 사람이 왔으면 좋겠어요. 협의회는 왜 우리에게 별로 도움이 안 되는 분들을 초대합니까? 여기 교사들은 미국의 외국어교육에 대한 정보가 없어서 부모님들이 물어보면 대답하기 힘들어요. 변화하는 사회에 부응하기 위해서 새로운 정보를 얻어야 합니다. 우리 협의회가 미국의 주요 외국어학회와 연계해서 일했으면 좋겠습니다.

I don't understand why the association invites those people and spends all that money. One day, they invited a distinguished Korean linguistic scholar as a keynote speaker, but I didn't learn anything from him. I hope to meet someone who can give us useful information about the society we belong to (U.S.). Why does the association invite a person who cannot benefit us? Teachers here don't have enough information regarding foreign language education here in order for them to answer the questions parents ask regarding education. I don't think the association does any networking to find American scholars to invite. We need to get new information to adapt ourselves to the changing U.S. society. I wish the association would work with mainstream foreign language conferences or workshops.

National or local foreign language education conferences and workshops, such as ACTFL (American Council on The Teaching of Foreign Languages), NECFL (Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages) or FLAVA (Foreign Language Association of Virginia) can be a good place for Korean heritage school teachers connect with each other. The teachers can not only learn about the latest pedagogical knowledge,

but also have the chance to network with other foreign/second /heritage language school teachers while attending workshops. Specifically, ACTFL has a SIG (special interest group) for heritage language educators in order for them to pursue collaborative work in developing heritage education.

Low autonomy and self-efficacy. The Korean heritage school teachers have limited autonomy in terms of instruction, assessment, or decision making due to traditional hierarchical relationships in Korean communities. This low autonomy in their profession lowers their self-efficacy as a teacher. Holland et al.'s argument about "positionality" is a very important concept in understanding the identity of Korean heritage school teachers because "when people are positioned, they are not engaged in self-making, rather, they accept, reject, or negotiate the provided identities " (Urrieta, 2007 p. 109).

The teachers don't have confidence about their students' progress since they can't see the how the current levels of the students are connected with next level, nor do they understand what the ultimate goal is for the students when they graduate. Hee commented on the challenges she faced in the school:

우리 학교에 여러 단계가 있는데 단계별 실력 수준이 좀 모호해요. 게다가 여기서 4 살부터 시작해서 고등학교까지 다닌 학생이 없기 때문에 여기 학교 수업을 통해 학생들의 실력이 얼마나 향상되는지 측정할 수 없어요. 저는 여기 수업과 학교 커리큘럼을 신뢰할 수 없기 때문에 우리 아이는 집에서 한국어를 가르쳐요. 저는 제 딸이 한국어 잘 하게 된 것이 한글학교를 다녀서라고 생각하지 않아요.

There are several levels in our school, but the proficiency level for each level is very ambiguous. In addition, we don't know how to measure an individual

student's progress through the schooling here since there are no students who started schooling here from four years old to the high school level. I am teaching Korean to my own kids at home since I don't trust the school curriculum and the teachers' instructions. I don't believe my daughters' improvement should rely on the heritage school.

Top-down management and hierarchical relationship. Even though the teachers have limited autonomy within their class, there is a strict hierarchical order the teachers should follow. One of the issues the teachers talked about is that there are many local level official events that students should participate in, offered by WAKS. The principals in each school pressure the teachers to recommend students and help students who have potential to get awards at the events. Winning awards is very important for principals because parents measure the ranking and prestige of the schools.

These numbers also impact the registration numbers for the next school year. However, these extra duties are a burden for the teachers since they need to help these students after school hours. In addition, only a few students whose Korean proficiency level is high enough can become finalists and attend WAKS events. Therefore, most of the students are excluded from several events. Kyong complained about the events because they don't help the average students' progress:

한국학교들이 같이 참여하는 한국어 경연대회가 너무 많아요.
한국정부에서 지원을 해 주기 때문에 임원들은 그 지원금으로 뭘 하는지
그리고 학생들 실력이 얼마나 향상 되었는지 보여줘야 하잖아요.
단어경연대회의 경우 교사들이 200 개 단어를 가르치고 학생들은 그걸 다
외워야 돼요. 이건 별로 효과가 없다고 생각지만 아무도 대회에 나가지

않으면 교장 선생님이 우리에게 뭐라도 하니까 수업 끝나고 대회 나가는 학생들을 도와줘야 해요.

There are so many Korean language competitions among the heritage schools.

Since the Korean government provides some funds for heritage schools, the administrators want to show what they do with the funds and how the students' performance has improved. For vocabulary competitions, teachers should teach 200 vocabulary items and ask students to memorize them all. I don't think it is effective, but if there is no student who wants to participate in the competition, our principal blames us. Therefore, we must help the students who participate in the competition after school ends.

This top-down process in the schools influences not only the teachers' instruction but also the teachers' professional development. I found through observation of the morning teachers' meeting before the class starts that the principal's decision impacts which workshops the teachers should attend. There was an opportunity for teachers to attend regional foreign language teachers' conferences and workshops with special rates, but the principal only emphasized the NAKS workshop and encouraged the teachers to attend, offering financial support.

Relation with other adults. The teachers' self-efficacy is related to other adults in schools such as parents, colleague teachers, or principals. The teachers' position in their social space (Korean heritage schools and local Korean communities) is relational (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), which means that teachers know where and who they are by knowing their proper relation to others (Coldron & Smith, 1999, P. 713).

When parents acknowledge and respect the teachers as professionals, the teachers can have authority in class. Conversely, if parents have little regard for the teachers' teaching methods, the teachers have difficulty establishing authority over their 1.5 and 2nd generation students. Jung argued, “수업시간에 말 안 듣는 학생이 있으면 선생님이 부모님들한테 말하는데 부모님들이 심각하게 생각하지 않아요. 한국학교 교사들이 교사로서의 권위가 없다고 생각해요 (If a teacher can't handle a student in class, the teacher will report that to the parents. However, the parents don't take it seriously. I don't think teachers in heritage schools have any authority as a teacher).” Soo also stated, “한인사회에서 한국학교 교사들이 좋은지 안 좋은지 어떻게 아나요? 부모들이 판단하기에 숙제를 많이 내주면 좋은 교사라고 생각해요. 한국에서는 아이가 선생님에 대해서 나쁘게 말하면 부모들이 혼내는데 여기에서는 아이가 선생님을 좋아하지 않으면 부모들도 그 선생님이 나쁘다고 생각해요 (How do people in the community know whether a teacher is good or bad in heritage schools? Parents are the judge and they think if a teacher gives a lot of homework, they think the teacher is good. In Korea, when their kids talk negatively about their teacher, parents say not to. However, here, if students don't like the teacher, parents think the teacher is bad).” Being a teacher is a way to have social status in Korean immigrant communities, as Jung commented, “한국학교 교사들 중 상당수가 한국에서는 사무직 일을 했는데

여기에서는 이민자로서 일할 기회가 많이 없으니까 주로 노동일을 해요. 그런 거에 비하면 한국학교에서 가르치는 것이 좋은 게 한인사회에서 어떤 지위를 갖게 되는 거잖아요 (Many teachers in the heritage schools had white collar jobs in Korea, but as immigrants, they have very limited options for their careers and most of them are laborers. Teaching jobs in heritage schools are relatively good because they give you a certain status (white collar job) in the community).”

Burden of teaching. The teachers must follow the direction of the principals if they want to keep their jobs. However, the teachers have the burden of not only making teaching materials to meet the students’ needs and levels, but also other duties besides teaching, such as volunteering for several schools, WAKS, or community events. Young explained about the kinds of events teachers should help at.

행사가 너무 많아요. 낱말, 짧은 글짓기, 나의 꿈 말하기, 동시 동요, 에세이 경연대회 및 설날 추석 행사 등등. 일년에 두 번 학부모 미팅, 한달에 한 번 교사회, 일년에 한 번 낙스연수회, 일년에 두 번 왁스연수회, 왜 우리가 이런 행사에 시간을 다 보내야 하나요? 저는 이런 행사들이 학생들의 한국어 능력 향상에 도움이 안 된다고 생각해요. 이런 행사는 몇몇 잘 하는 학생들을 위한 행사입니다.

There are many events such as vocabulary competitions, making short sentences, talking about my dream, poetry and traditional story presentations, essay competitions, and traditional holidays celebrations. Parent meetings (twice a year), teacher meetings (once a month), NAKS workshops (once a year), WAKS workshop (twice a year); why do we spend our time for these events? I don’t

think these events help students improve their Korean proficiency. These events (competitions) are only for privileged students.

The other burden the teachers have is pressure from parents' unrealistic expectations for their children's progress. The teachers complained that parents in the heritage schools do not support or help their children complete homework, but they still expect their children to show progress. As Soo mentioned;

하루에 겨우 4 시간의 수업으로 한국어가 향상될 수 있다고 생각하지 않아요. 조부모하고 같이 사는 아이들은 그나마 집에서 한국어를 쓰니까 높은 레벨로 갈 수 있지만요. 다른 학생들은 읽고 쓰는 게 되면 대다수 학교를 그만둬요. 저는 수업에서 학생들이 한국어를 잘 이해 못하니까 한국어하고 영어 둘 다 써요. 말하기 듣기 능력 향상을 위해 한국말만 써야 하는데 그렇게 하지 못해요.

Only four hours per week in Korean schools is not enough for students to develop their language skills. The students who live with their grandparents can reach a high proficiency level since they speak Korean at home. Other students usually just quit when they learn how to read and write. I speak both Korean and English in the class because they don't understand Korean well. I don't think I provide with students full immersion lessons which maximize students' listening and speaking abilities.

Regardless of the burden of working inside and outside of classroom, the teachers have a strong desire for self-improvement as a teacher by learning the required knowledge for language teachers. Hee said, “아이들하고 있는 게 너무 좋아요. 가르치면 가르칠수록 좀더 잘 가르치는 법을 배우고 싶은 욕망이 생겨요. 교사연수를 통해서 언어를

가르치는 교사로서의 자신감을 갖고 싶어요. 이 일이 그냥 봉사가 아닌 전문직이 되었으면 좋겠어요 (I love to be with the children. As I teach more, I have more desire to learn Korean pedagogy more systematically. I want to have self-efficacy as a language teacher through professional development. I don't want this job to be a volunteer job but instead I want it to be a professional job).”

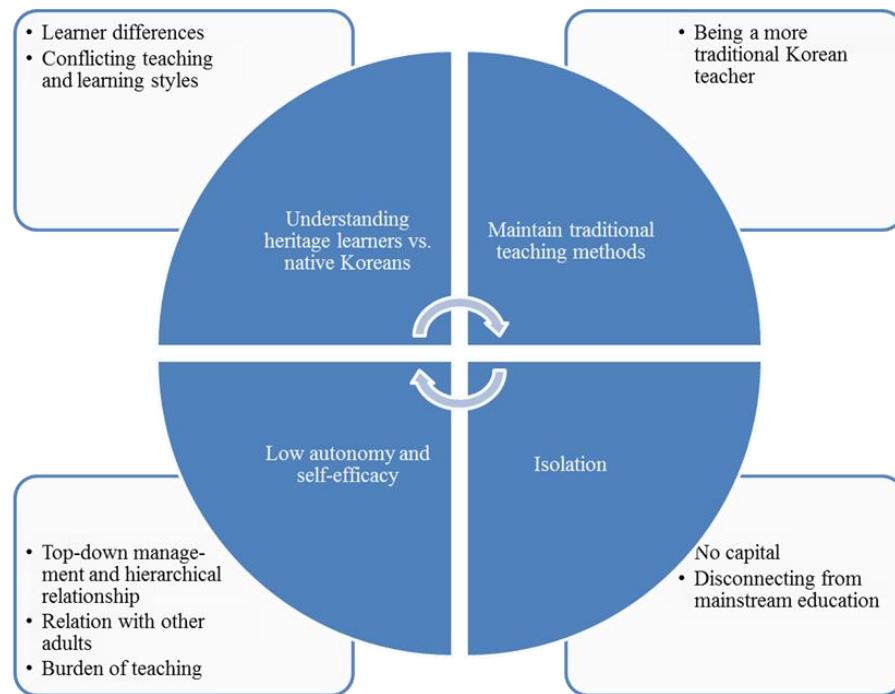


Figure 4. (Re)production (construction) of the Korean HL teachers' professional identity in heritage schools.

Summary

Chapter Four presents and discusses the research findings in the order of the three research questions. The questions are 1) What is the professional identity of these Korean heritage school teachers? 2) How were their identities shaped? 3) How are the identities and ideologies of Korean heritage school teachers (re)produced and constructed through the practices in place at heritage language schools? The findings of this study suggest that the Korean heritage school teachers perceive of themselves as traditional Korean teachers, foreign/second language teachers, members of Korean immigrant communities, volunteers, and mothers. The identity of the teachers was formed through many dimensions of lived experiences such as former education and experience, familial and cultural values, raising 1.5 or 2nd generation Korean children, professional development opportunities, and time spent volunteering in U.S. public schools. The findings further reveal that their beliefs as teachers were reproduced/constructed in heritage schools by maintaining traditional teaching methods, developing an understanding of heritage learners, feeling isolated from mainstream education, and having low autonomy and self-efficacy. The next chapter of this study illuminates these findings and their implications and provides recommendations based on the results.

Chapter Five

The purpose of the study was to map the identity of Korean HL educators, and a secondary benefit of doing this would be to find ways to increase the quality of HL education. The teacher's role is very important in Korean heritage schools, as there is a lack of a structured curriculum and institutional guidance. However, the prominent issue for teachers is that there are limited opportunities for them to improve their qualifications. The current professional development opportunities offered by national and regional Korean heritage school associations do not satisfy the emerging needs of the teachers. In addition, demographic changes among students, with growing numbers of non-Korean speaking parents (Lee & Shin, 2008), are also a challenge for teachers in heritage schools. As a result, there are often conflicts over educational goals and learning methods between the first generation of immigrant teachers educated in Korea and the U.S.-born learners.

In this paper, three main relationships were examined within the context of Korean heritage schools where traditional culture and norms are transmitted: 1) the relationship between the teachers and administrators or stake holders 2) the relationship between the teachers and other mainstream foreign language/second language/heritage language teachers, and 3) the relationship between the teachers and students. In addition, a critical view was adopted, probing the teachers' positionality as "marginalized" in the

mainstream U.S. educational system. The perception of Korean heritage school administrators that heritage language teachers lack professional qualifications has promoted top-down professional development methods where the “other voice”, and not their own voice, is dominant (Lee & Bang, 2011).

The study, which took place in the northeastern region of the United States, employed a qualitative research method that included participant observations, in-depth interviews, focus group interviews, and autobiographical self-study. The method provided a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the professional identity of the teachers in the context of Korean heritage schools in the United States.

This final chapter begins with conclusions based on the research findings discussed in Chapter Four. Implications and recommendations for teacher educators and stakeholders, policy makers, developers of curricula and teaching materials, Korean heritage teachers, and future research endeavors are provided.

Conclusions

In Chapter Four, I used the three research questions of this study as filters through which I sifted the data collected to examine how Korean heritage school teachers perceived their jobs and their identity, and how these perceptions influenced their teaching. The study was framed by the following questions:

1. What is the professional identity of these Korean heritage school teachers?
2. How have their identities been shaped?

3. How are the identities and ideologies of Korean heritage school teachers (re)produced and constructed through the practices in place at heritage language schools?

Using an insider's perspective as a native Korean language instructor and the outsider's perspective as a researcher (Glesne, 2010), I will summarize three principle conclusions drawn from this study and address them in the following sections: the professional identity of the teachers, the process of shaping identity, and (re)production and construction of identity in heritage schools. I will then discuss the implications for teacher education and future study.

The professional identity of the Korean heritage school teachers.

Representative themes drawn from data are presented below, indicating how Korean heritage school teachers perceived their professional identity. The teachers perceive their professional identity as a mixture of being a traditional Korean teacher, foreign language instructor, a member of the local Korean immigrant community, a volunteer, and a mother.

Role of traditional teachers. The Korean heritage school teachers' identity is rooted in their experiences as a traditional Korean teacher in Korean society. The Korean heritage school teachers in the study indicated one of their main roles as a teacher is to dispense knowledge to students. They believed Korean was a subject that they needed to teach to the students for their academic development. The teachers expressed the importance of grammar in Korean language learning. In addition, placement and proficiency tests in heritage schools are stressed. Along with grammar, enhancing vocabulary knowledge was considered as a primary method to improve students' writing

skills. Teachers encourage students to copy vocabulary, sentences, and paragraphs, which is a method of traditional learning passed down over hundreds of years in many Asian educational traditions. The other teaching and learning method that the teachers prefer is rote memorization. Rote memorization is a popular learning method in Asian countries which have been influenced by the Confucian education philosophy. However, students in Korean heritage schools who are familiar with the methods in the U.S. educational system often have conflicts with the teachers' preferred methods.

Teachers in the study also believed that they should not only guide students' academic success, but also discipline students. Since the society that the teachers grew up in was a more homogeneous and collectivist society, students should show respect to teachers as a matter of seniority inside and outside of the classroom. Disciplining students meant helping the students understand the hierarchical relationship and communicate respect through Korean traditional discourse forms. The main reasons why the teachers emphasize disciplining the students is because they seemed to want to be respected by students. Teachers believed that when students respect teachers, the authority of teachers would be increased enough to make the class focus on studying.

Korean heritage school teachers agreed that the students in their schools need moral education and it is the one of the duties the teachers should perform for the students. Since moral education in addition to regular school subjects, as Samovar, Porter, and Stefani (2000) mentioned, are emphasized in Korean schools, teachers are expected to assume leadership in these areas, and parents hold teachers responsible for disciplining their children.

Role and image of foreign/second language teachers. While the teachers gained understanding about the teachers' role from their educational system in Korea, they also gained a new perspective about being a foreign/second language teacher through teaching U.S.-born Korean heritage students. Teachers in the study understood how Korean native speakers and their students were different in terms of linguistic performance. On the other hand, according to the teachers, the leaders in Korean communities expected the students to perform like native speakers of Korean. The teachers explained that they are more qualified than a native speaker of Korean who doesn't have content knowledge about Korean or any teaching experience with English speaking students. In addition, Korean heritage school teachers acknowledged their position as foreign language teachers when Americans recognized them as foreign language education professionals specializing in Korean.

Membership in the Korean community and a sense of belonging. Korean heritage school teachers are mainly the first generation of Korean immigrants, and they thought, as the data indicate, they were Korean regardless of their citizenship. For this reason, they showed pride in their mother country and believed that they had to teach Korean identity, traditions, and values to their students in the heritage schools. The teachers agreed on the opinion that if a language is not spoken, the ethnicity won't exist. They expressed one of the goals of Korean teaching for them is to help students have a Korean identity since they believed that language ability is strongly related to one's identity.

Volunteer. It is a common perception that being a Korean heritage school teacher is not a profession, but simply a volunteer job in Korean immigrant communities. The data showed that teachers themselves also feel that teaching in the heritage schools is a volunteer job due to the hardship of the work and the low economic benefits.

Mother's role. Korean heritage school teachers are mainly mothers of current students in the schools or former students. The term 'sacrifice' is often used to express a valuable norm for mother's love in Korean society. Confucianism has influenced Koreans' perception about the role of teachers, establishing that teachers have the same authority and role as parents and should act as mentors to students. In addition, since mothers mainly take care of their children and are responsible for their children's education in Korean society, the teachers saw their work in the schools as an extension of their family work. The teachers believed that Korean culture and language learning could promote students' self-esteem, and help students be a good member of Korean immigrant society.

The shaping of professional identity. The professional identity of Korean heritage school teachers is shaped from former education and experiences in Korea and the U.S., family and cultural values, raising 1.5 or 2nd generation Korean children, attending professional development sessions provided by WAKS and NAKS, and experiences in the U.S educational system through volunteering in public schools. The beliefs and identity shaped from one's own experience are brought by teachers when they attend teachers' education training, and they are not easily changed (Valcke, Snag, Rots and R Hermans, 2010).

Former education and experience. Teachers in the study explained that they developed a teaching method based on their own learning experience. The teachers believed that the traditional Korean teaching method, such as rote memorization, a focus on grammar, and paper-based tests didn't work well for the improvement of students' overall Korean proficiency. However, they expressed that it was not easy for them to change the methods because not only they are very familiar with the methods but also they did not have any opportunity to learn and practice alternative teaching methods.

Family and cultural values. Gender roles in Korean society influence individuals' decision to become a teacher, indicating what motivation they have to enter the teaching professions. The role of women was emphasized in Korean society and raising a child was the number one priority for the teachers as women. They believed that teaching was one of the jobs they could balance between family and work.

Professional development. The main workshops teachers attend are the semi-annual workshop provided by WAKS, or the annual workshop by NAKS. Teachers in the study responded that they had developed their professional identity as a teacher since they gained confidence about the content of what they teach and improved self-assurance regarding their job. In addition, the workshops also help the teachers improve their pride, dignity, and positive self-image as a teacher. On the other hand, many experienced teachers argued that the speakers or workshop leaders didn't have enough knowledge or experience about Korean heritage schools in the U.S., so the workshops were not very helpful for them to improve teaching practices that could be used in the classroom.

Raising 1.5 or 2nd generation Korean children. The teachers, educated in Korea, stated that when they taught their own children, they faced cultural differences in terms of learning methods. The teachers realized that the traditional learning methods (e.g. rote memorization or copying) they emphasized didn't work for their children who attended American schools as their learning styles (e.g. group work, projects, or presentations) were different from Korea. In addition, the perceptions of the teachers, who are predominantly first generation Korean immigrants, have been changed through observing their bilingual children's linguistic development. They understood that the efforts of individual parents at maintaining his or her child's Korean ability became difficult when the child started formal schooling in the United States.

Volunteering in a public school - experience from the U.S. educational system. Among those who participated in the interview, several teachers had experienced volunteer work in the U.S. public school their children attended. For these teachers, this volunteer time was the only chance for them to explore the U.S. educational system. They learned from observation how American classrooms were different from Korean classrooms. The teachers explained that they applied the things they learned to their own classes in the heritage school, such as methods for managing the class, ways to deal with students who need special attention, as well as new teaching methods to use to help students learn.

(Re)production/construction of professional identity in heritage school. The professional identity of Korean heritage school teachers is shaped from their own academic experience in Korea and several other experiences (e.g. volunteering in public

schools, professional development workshops). Their identity is further (re)produced/constructed through their teaching in heritage schools. The teachers have gained a strong sense of understanding about heritage learners from their practical experiences with the conflicting teaching and learning styles present in heritage schools, as well as the conflicting value systems between students and teachers. However, teachers maintained their traditional teaching styles (habitus) regardless of these conflicts. The teachers' dispositions (teaching beliefs and teaching practices) are perpetuated because there was a lack of professional development opportunities, which could provide a space for the teachers to reflect on their teaching beliefs and practices (Borko, 2004; Freeman & Johnson, 1998). They also believed they are disconnected from mainstream foreign/second language education.

Understanding heritage learners vs. native Koreans. Through experiences in teaching Korean heritage learners, the teachers' thoughts about their identities as teachers have been shifted from those of a traditional teacher into those of a foreign language teacher. They begin to understand how their students are different from the students in Korea in terms of linguistic development and cultural awareness. The teachers in the study understood the students were not Korean natives when they realized they have a different value system regarding teaching and learning. Sometimes the learning styles of the students, which are developed in American schools, caused conflicts with the teachers' teaching style. Due to this conflict, classroom management issues occurred.

Maintain traditional teaching methods. Even though the teachers understood the difference between the heritage language learners and students in Korea, as the data

indicated, the teachers couldn't change their teaching styles. There are no challenges or evaluation mechanisms to push the teachers to adopt the newest language pedagogy. For teachers who have studied in Korea and have academic experience in the U.S., the only opportunity for them to explore other methods to improve their teaching is through professional development workshops. However, the format of the current workshops for Korean heritage school teachers is lecture-based, and there is no space for teachers to reflect on their current teaching styles and experiences in order to improve their teaching practice.

Isolation. The experience of teaching in heritage schools should be a way to improve one's career. However, the teachers in the study explained that no matter how long they teach, their experience is not counted as genuine teaching experience in the foreign/second language teaching field. In addition, the teachers' extensive knowledge about Korean culture and language was not recognized as cultural capital in U.S. society. The teachers understood that they needed to have more academic experience (e.g. college or professional development workshops) in order to learn the U.S. foreign language education standard, but it is not realistic for these teachers, who are mostly housewives with children, to have the funds or time for studying and professional development.

The numbers of the Korean heritage schools are not feasible in the U.S. foreign/second language education field, although the schools have been increasing along with the numbers of students in Korean immigrant communities. On the same token, the Korean heritage school teachers are "marginalized" in mainstream U.S. educational fields, devaluing their qualifications as a teacher. The teachers accepted that they were behind

the standard of foreign language teaching since they didn't have sufficient knowledge on national standards for foreign language education, which promotes student learning outcomes to meet societal needs for foreign language skills. However, the professional development workshops offered by WAKS and NAKS which the teachers attend do not provide the opportunity for heritage teachers to change their traditional teaching styles in order to adapt to the needs of students with different backgrounds. In addition, it was hard for the teachers to attend regional or national foreign language education conferences and workshops due to lack of information and funds.

Low autonomy and self-efficacy. The Korean heritage school teachers have limited autonomy in terms of instruction, assessment, or decision making due to hierarchical relationships in Korean communities. This low autonomy in their profession lowers their self-efficacy as a teacher. According to the teachers, there is a top-down management style and hierarchical relationship between principals and teachers, as well as between experienced and new teachers. The teachers explained that they must follow the direction of the principals if they want to keep their jobs. The teachers addressed the fact that they have the burden of not only making teaching materials to meet the students' needs and levels, but also other duties besides teaching, such as volunteering for several school and community events. Regardless of the burden of working inside and outside of the classroom and limitations in their teaching environment, the teachers showed a strong desire for professional self-improvement by learning the required knowledge for language teachers.

Implications

The study is focused on understanding Korean heritage school teachers' professional identity. Several implications emerge from the study for teacher educators and stakeholders (e.g. officials from Korean government, leaders of Korean immigrant communities), Korean heritage language teachers, and world language departments in the U.S. educational system. The study also presents an opportunity to reflect on the current heritage teacher education model, which is designed as top-down with no space for the voice of heritage language teachers. Teacher identity and experience can contribute positively to teacher education. Exploration of Korean teachers' identity may help to motivate the heritage education community to redesign future teacher education programs.

For teacher educators and stakeholders in Korean society (e.g. officials from Korean government, leaders of Korean immigrant communities). The findings of the study point to a need for heritage language school teacher professional development programs which can connect to other heritage language education programs or world language education programs. It is especially important that such programs provide courses that emphasize the inclusion and integration of foreign or heritage language education based on the Standard for Foreign Language Learning in the United States. Researchers who have expertise in foreign/second/ heritage language education in the U.S. should collaborate with Korean teacher educators (including those in Korea) and the Korean government to develop programs that engage teachers in purposeful learning about language learning pedagogy, understanding language learners, the nature of foreign

language education, and learner differences between Korean heritage students and American students.

Cross's (2006) study with a Japanese teacher has revealed that "good practice" emerges from a social and cultural context. Therefore, the knowledge base of language teacher education remains mindful of the contexts within which that knowledge is to be applied. He argues, "A language teacher trained to teach Vietnamese in a community language school with large numbers students from Vietnamese-Australian backgrounds will need different skills and knowledge in comparison to a teacher of English as a foreign language at a private language institute in Tokyo for adult learners and corporate clients" (Cross, 2006. p.7). The format of the current workshops should be changed to meet the teachers' needs. The decision on the content of the workshops should be made by the teachers through surveys and research. In this way, teachers could bring up their own challenges in the classroom, have a space to reflect on their teaching experiences, and share them with the colleagues for collaboration.

For policy makers (world language department in local/state governments).

The findings from this study provide implications for educational policy makers regarding Korean heritage language education in the United States. We should understand the opinion that maintaining heritage languages and cultures is as important as learning English for immigrant children in terms of both individual and social needs. This opinion might provoke policy makers to ensure that second language education, including heritage languages, are implemented in K-16 schools. I believe that we cannot keep the

assets of heritage language and culture if they are not valued by communities and implemented in a formal school curriculum.

The results of this study reveal that even though Korean heritage schools have a long history of developing their own strong curricula and professional development programs for teachers, they are not recognized in mainstream education due to their disconnection from national or state standards of language learning. However, the curricula in heritage schools can fulfill two of “Five C’s” in the Standard for Foreign Language Learning, which are “community” and “culture.” This is based from the rich resources available in Korean immigrant communities. In addition, the schools provide their classes mainly in Korean; therefore, it would be a good model on which to base a full Korean immersion program.

Even though this study does not connect to policy directly, it might serve to inform policy makers regarding how to help schools in connecting with public education in order to collaboratively work to improve student outcomes. I agree with Potowski’s (2010) opinion that two separate curricula should be provided for the heritage language learners. She argues, “Heritage speakers are different from traditional foreign language learners in many ways, so foreign language education must accommodate instructional materials and methodologies for the increasing numbers of heritage-speaking students” (p. 3). There should also be a systematically divided, by heritage and non-heritage language, class track in K-16 education. In this way, heritage learners can develop their language skills to attain a working proficiency level in both oral and written communication. In addition, I believe policy makers should understand the benefits of early heritage

language education, which starts in elementary school, and implement a formal curriculum that focuses on literacy development for heritage learners to meet their needs.

Policy makers also might consider giving foreign language credits to the students who attend the heritage schools for certain period of time. The Fairfax County Public Schools world language department has been offering foreign language credit exams to give two credits (equivalent of two years of studying in public schools) to heritage students or advanced language learners from other contexts. However, the test focuses on writing skills (essay writing) only, and it is hard to pass the exam for heritage learners who were born in the U.S., whose speaking and listening proficiency level is much higher than reading and writing skills. For this reason, varying formats of the exam are recommended in order to better target the heritage language learners. Speaking performance tests can be an alternative model aligning with the PALS (Performance Assessment for Language Students) speaking tests for foreign language learners in Fairfax County Public Schools. In addition, cultural competence should be measured along with speaking and writing proficiency.

For developers of curricula and teaching materials. Recently, some heritage schools have sought a closer connection with mainstream foreign language education in order to collaborate for students' long term language development (Shin, 2006). They also have sought to enable heritage school students receive credits in their main schools. Development of curricula which follows the U.S. national standard for foreign language learning and incorporating standard language assessments might help the heritage schools be more competitive. For teaching materials, the textbooks provided by the Korean

government to Korean heritage learners all over the world should be revised or redeveloped by groups of experienced heritage school teachers and the scholars in U.S. foreign language education. If personnel in Korea develop the materials, they should survey not only student demographics such as proficiency levels, age, and cultural background or ethnicity, but also the teachers' needs for their instruction.

For Korean heritage school teachers. Korean heritage school teachers have a passion for teaching but lack resources for professional improvement. For this reason, even though experienced teachers remain in the heritage schools regardless of limitations and challenges in school environments, there is a high turnover rate among new teachers due to challenges in classrooms. Wu, Palmer, and Field found that teachers in community-based heritage language programs have a low sense of professional identity due to the low wage, insufficient pedagogical training, and limited collegial interactions (Wu, Palmer, & Field, 2011). Korean heritage school teachers, in the new era of the heritage education (e.g. receiving attention about importance of heritage education, changes in students' dynamics, new standards for public education), feel that they need to develop their pedagogy to catch up to changing school dynamics.

There are more than 350 teachers in Korean heritage schools in the Washington D.C. area only. They can work collaboratively to satisfy the needs for their teaching practices by using human resources as a form of social capital. The teachers can implement a "Community of Practice" to support each other by providing their own methods as solutions (e.g. classroom management, developing teaching materials, and creating learning activities). In this way, they would not need to rely solely on

professional development workshops, which sometimes do not meet the teachers' immediate need for instruction. "Community of Practice" means groups of people with a shared concern or passion that interact regularly to learn how to improve themselves through the sharing their resources, experiences, and tools (Wenger, 1998). In addition, as agents for the transformation of the status quo in heritage schools, it would be helpful for teachers to write self-reflection journals on their teaching experiences and exchange these journals with their colleagues in order to get feedback. This could help empower each individual teacher's voice. There are a variety of technologies that could facilitate this process.

Many heritage language teachers do not have any academic background in language teaching or experience as a language teacher in the educational context outside of heritage schools. Communication and collaboration with teachers in other educational contexts would enhance heritage language teachers' professional growth. The collaboration or interaction with other foreign/second heritage language teachers can be attained by attending local or national foreign language education conferences and workshops.

Further Research

This study has provided insight into what Korean heritage teachers' professional identity is and how it is shaped and constructed through teaching in heritage schools. The study contributes in-depth understanding and insights into the heritage teachers' role in teaching and learning in Korean heritage schools. Future research is suggested to investigate current professional development workshops offered to teachers, for the

purpose of suggesting what new dimensions can be incorporated into the workshops in order to promote the development of heritage language teachers as well as the adaptation of U.S. educational system standards.

In this research study, the voice of the teachers in heritage schools is heard through the qualitative research investigations, but the number of teachers who participated in the research was limited. Therefore, a future large-scale survey on the current situation of heritage school teachers would help understand the needs of these teachers nationwide. In addition, research that can explore the students' perspective on learning in heritage schools would be beneficial in understanding and suggesting how to improve the development of curricula and teaching materials used in heritage schools.

Final Thoughts

As a teacher educator, it was a meaningful experience for me to meet with the heritage teachers in this study in person and listen to their individual stories to better understand their teaching environments. Korean Heritage School administrators and Korean Language educational leaders who want to design a program which can meet the immediate needs of the teachers should understand the beliefs and identity of the teachers to promote their ability of transformation in different teaching contexts. The self-reflection I undertook while talking with other teachers during the study helped me to think about teaching experiences in many different contexts (K-12 public schools, colleges, adult programs, and heritage schools) and helped me achieve a deeper understanding about the current situation of Korean heritage language education.

The perspective of one of the teachers interviewed helped me realize the rationale as to why heritage schools should connect with other educational communities in order to foster change. She stated, “한국학교는 박물관 같아요. 박물관 전시장에 가면 언제나 진귀한 것들을 볼 수 있잖아요. 잘 보존되어 있기도 하고요. 박물관처럼 여기는 변화가 없어요. 언제나 똑같아요. 몸은 계속 커가고 있는데 형태는 계속 똑같아요. 교사들의 가르치는 방식은 계속 똑같아서 굳어져버리고 행정은 커져서 정치적으로 변해가죠. 여기 선생님들은 이 세계가 전부니까 서로 경쟁하고 싸우죠. 우리는 변화가 필요합니다 (Korean heritage education resembles a museum. When we go into an exhibition room, we can see the same valuable things all the time, and they are well-maintained. Like the museum, there is no change here, the body has been growing, but the form/shape is the same. The teachers’ teaching style is fossilized as time goes by and as the administration grows larger, it becomes more politicized. Teachers compete against each other here since this is the only world for them. We need some turning points).”

I observed that there is no space where all Korean teachers (K-12, college level, adult education, and heritage schools) can meet together. They belong to separate communities and are disconnected from each other. However, I believe that it is time to develop communication between these communities for the sake of the improvement of Korean education. Making all stages of student outcomes connected can only bring

positive benefits to all of these communities. By creating a greater educational community, the voice of minority teachers can be incorporated and empowered.

Appendix A

IRB Approval Letter



Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

Research Hall, 4400 University Drive, MS 6D5, Fairfax, Virginia 22030
Phone: 703-993-5445; Fax: 703-993-9590

DATE: January 22, 2014

TO: Shelley Wong, Ed.D
FROM: George Mason University IRB

Project Title: [520967-1] Korean Heritage school teachers' professional identity

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

ACTION: APPROVED

APPROVAL DATE: January 22, 2014

EXPIRATION DATE: January 21, 2015

REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

REVIEW TYPE: Expedited review category #7

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this project. The George Mason University IRB has APPROVED your submission. This submission has received Expedited Review based on applicable federal regulations.

Please remember that all research must be conducted as described in the submitted materials.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by the IRB prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to the Office of Research Integrity & Assurance (ORIA). Please use the appropriate reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed (if applicable).

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to the ORIA.

The anniversary date of this study is January 21, 2015. This project requires continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. You may not collect data beyond this date without prior IRB approval. A continuing review form must be completed and submitted to the ORIA at least 30 days prior to the anniversary date or upon completion of this project. Prior to the anniversary date, the ORIA will send you a reminder regarding continuing review procedures.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of three years, or as described in your submission, after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact Karen Motsinger at 703-993-4208 or kmotsing@gmu.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within George Mason University IRB's records.

Appendix B

Recruitment Email

Recruiting Email

Dear teachers,

My name is Hye Young Shin, a doctoral candidate from George Mason University, Fairfax, VA. I am inviting you to participate in a research project concerning Korean heritage school teachers. The results of this research will offer useful information to Korean heritage school teachers, teacher educators, and policy makers both inside and outside Korean communities to understand the history and current situation, challenges and instructional innovations in Korean language teaching in the U.S. By participating in this study, you may benefit as well from reflecting on your teaching practice and the nature and objectives of the subject matter through discussion with other professionals

This research project is approved by the Office of Research Integrity & Assurance at George Mason University. If you would like to participate in this study, please email me back indicating your intention of participation. I would also like to invite you for a one-hour focus group interview (4-5 people for each group) and/or one-on-one in-depth interview (2 hours interval, 3-5 times). If you would like to participate in the focus group interview and/or in-depth interview, please leave your contact information. I will contact you soon to arrange a time for the interviews. If you have any questions or concerns about this research project, please feel free to contact me. Thank you in advance for supporting this research endeavor.

Yours sincerely,

Hye Young Shin, PhD candidate

Phone: 1-703-629-7964

Email: hshin11@gmu.edu

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Office of Research
Integrity & Assurance

Project Number: 520967-1
Date Approved: 1/22/14
Approval Expiration Date: 1/21/15

Page 1 of 2

Translated version of the recruiting email (Korean)

친애하는 교사 여러분,

안녕하십니까? 저는 버지니아주 페어팩스에 위치한 조지메이슨대학교 소속으로
박사논문을 쓰고 있는 신혜영이라고 합니다. 한국학교 교사에 대한 연구에 참여할
연구대상자를 찾고 있습니다. 본 연구의 결과는 한국학교 교사분들은 물론, 교사교육자 및
한국커뮤니티 안팎의 정책입안자들이 미국 내의 현 한국어 교육 현실을 이해하는데
공헌할 것입니다. 본 연구에 참여함으로써 교사 여러분은 계승어교육 연구 및 자신의
교육법에 대한 고찰을 할 수 있게 될 것입니다.

본 연구는 조지메이슨대학교의 연구대상자보호 부서로부터 승인을 받았습니다. 만일
귀하께서 본 연구에 참여를 원하신다면 이메일을 통해 알려 주시길 바랍니다. 인터뷰는 한
시간짜리 포커스그룹 인터뷰 (그룹별 인원 4-5명) 및 2시간씩 3-5회에 걸쳐 진행되는
일대일 인터뷰로 이루어집니다. 귀하는 이 중 하나 혹은 둘 다의 인터뷰에 참여하실 수
있습니다. 선호하시는 연락처를 이메일로 알려 주시면 빠른 시일 내로 연락을 드려서
인터뷰 날짜를 잡겠습니다. 본 연구에 대한 질문이 있으면 언제든지 연락 주시길
바랍니다. 감사합니다.

신혜영 올림

전화: 703-629-7964

전자우편: hshin11@gmu.edu

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Project Number: 520967-1



Page 2 of 2

Appendix C

Focus Groups Interview Guide (Korean and English)

1. 한국학교에서 학생들을 가르칠 때 계승언어교육의 긍정적인 부분은 무엇입니까? What are the positive aspects of teaching heritage students?
2. 교사로서 자신의 위상을 어떻게 생각하십니까? How do you perceive yourself as a teacher in the U.S.?
3. 한국에서의 교육 및 교사경험이 한국학교에서 한국어를 가르칠 때 어떻게 도움/방해가 됩니까? How did your academic or teaching experience in Korea help (or hinder) you teach at heritage schools in the U.S.?
4. 학생들을 가르칠 때 어려운 점은 무엇입니까? What are the challenges when you teach students?
5. 학생들을 가르칠 때 좋은 전략이나 방법 등이 있으면 말씀해 주십시오. Could you share some strategies, techniques, ideas you have for effective ways to teach heritage students?
6. 왁스와 낙스에서 제공하는 교사연수회에 대해서 어떻게 생각하십니까? What are the strength and weakness of the current professional development provided by the Washington Association of Korean Schools, National Association of Korean Schools?
7. 교사연수회에서 배우고 싶은 내용이 있으시면 말씀해 주십시오 (예: 새로운 개념, 이론, 전략이나 활동). What kinds of professional/staff workshops do you like to have to strengthen your teaching of heritage students? (e.g. new concepts or terminology or strategies or activities)

Appendix D

One-on-One Interview Protocol (Korean and English)

1. 교사가 된 동기 Reasons why you become a teacher
2. 교사교육 경험/ 약력(한국 및 미국) Teacher education experience (either in Korea or in the U.S)
3. 외국어 교사 교육적 배경 Educational background for foreign/second language education /teaching
4. 이민의 이유와 이민이 직업적 변화에 미친 영향 Reasons why you came to the U.S (focusing on career such as immigration influence on one' career shifts)
5. 현 교육환경/ 교사로서의 어려운 점 및 요구 Current teaching context/practice (including challenges and needs)
6. 교사로서 앞으로의 계획 Career plans in the future / teacher retention
7. 개인적인 경험 (가족 및 학교 내에서의 교육적 가치 및 성역할)Prior personal experience (e.g. academic value, gender issues in family or schools)
8. 이전 경력 (아이들 교육 관련 포함) Prior professional experience (including work with children)
9. 교사로서의 자기 이미지Self- image as a Korean heritage school teacher

Appendix E

Informed Consent Form: In –Depth Interview

Appendix VI: INFORMED CONSENT FORM-IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

This research is being conducted to gain insights into the current teaching situation of Korean heritage school teachers in Washington, DC area with a focus on their existing beliefs, challenges and needs in their teaching practices. The findings from this study will provide the field of heritage language education as well as foreign/second language education with empirical evidence with respect to intercultural competence development.

If you agree to participate, Hye Young Shin will provide a schedule for an one-on-one interview. During this interview, Hye Young will ask you about your academic and teaching experience, your thoughts related to Korean heritage education and professional identity. This interview will be conducted in Korean. It will take approximately 2 hours each time, 3-5 times you will be interviewed during January and July, 2013. All the interviews will be audio-recorded.

RISKS

There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this research.

BENEFITS

There are no benefits to you as a participant other than to further research in the field of Korean heritage school teacher education.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The data in this study will be confidential. Hye Young Shin is the only researcher who will know your identity as a participant in this study. Your name will not be used in the data collected. She will assign a pseudonym to you before you start the interview. This pseudonym will be used when transcribing the audio-recorded interview. Therefore, no identifying markers or actual names will be used in the interview transcriptions or the field notes. Through the use of an identification key, Hye Young will be able to link your interview transcript to your identity to ensure appropriate data analysis practices. However, she is the only researcher who will have access to this identification key. Audio recorded interviews will be transcribed immediately after each interview and then immediately deleted.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party.

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Page 1 of 2

You, as a partisan, will receive a gift card (\$20 value) after the interview. If you don't complete the interview will receive a \$10 gift card instead.

CONTACT

This research is being conducted by Hye Young Shin at George Mason University. She may be reached at hshin11@gmu.edu for questions or to report a research-related problem. Her faculty supervisor is Dr. Shelly Wong. You may contact Dr. Wong at swong1@gmu.edu. You may contact the George Mason University Office of Research Integrity & Assurance at 703-993-4121 if you have questions or comments regarding your rights as a participant in the research.

CONSENT

I have read this form and agree to participate in this study.

Name

Date of Signature

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Page 2 of 2

Appendix F

Informed Consent Form: Focus Group Interview

INFORMED CONSENT FORM-FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

This research is being conducted to gain insights into the current teaching situation of Korean heritage school teachers in Washington, DC area with a focus on their existing beliefs, challenges and needs in their teaching practices. The findings from this study will provide the field of heritage language education as well as foreign /second language education with empirical evidence with Korean heritage school teachers' professional identity.

If you agree to participate, Hye Young Shin will provide a schedule for a focus group interview. During this interview, Hye Young will ask you about your thoughts related to Korean heritage education. This interview will be in Korean. It will take approximately 60 minutes to complete and will be audio-recorded.

RISKS

There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this research.

BENEFITS

There are no benefits to you as a participant other than to further research in the field of Korean heritage school teacher education.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The data in this study will be confidential. Hye Young Shin is the only researcher who will know your identity as a participant in this study. Your name will not be used in the data collected. She will assign a pseudonym to you before you participate in the focus group interview. This pseudonym will be used when transcribing the audio-recorded interview and in her field notes during the classroom observations. Therefore, no identifying markers or actual names will be used in the interview transcriptions or the field notes. Through the use of an identification key, Hye Young will be able to link your interview transcript to your identity to ensure appropriate data analysis practices. However, she is the only researcher who will have access to this identification key. Audio recorded interviews will be transcribed immediately after each interview and then immediately deleted. Although focus group participants will be asked to keep the contents of the discussion confidential, due to the nature of a focus group, the researcher cannot control what participants might say outside of the research setting.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time and for any

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Page 1 of 2

reason. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party. You, as a partisan, will receive a gift card (\$20 value) after the interview. If you don't complete the interview will receive a \$10 gift card instead.

CONTACT

This research is being conducted by Hye Young Shin at George Mason University. She may be reached at hshin11@gmu.edu for questions or to report a research-related problem. Her faculty supervisor is Dr. Shelley Wong. You may contact Dr. Wong at swong1@gmu.edu. You may contact the George Mason University Office of Research Integrity & Assurance at 703-993-4121 if you have questions or comments regarding your rights as a participant in the research.

CONSENT

I have read this form and agree to participate in this study.

Name

Date of Signature

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Date Approved: 1/22/14

Approval Expiration Date: 1/21/15

Page 2 of 2

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Biography

Hye Young Shin is currently teaching Korean at American University, George Mason University, and at the Fairfax County Public Schools Online Campus. She received her Master's degree in TESOL from American University. As a native Korean, she has taught both heritage and non-heritage students in a variety of settings, including colleges, U.S. government facilities, Korean heritage schools, and K-12 public schools. To complement her classroom instruction, she has developed her own Korean language educational website (www.ilearnkorean.com) and an online curriculum for upper level Korean in Fairfax County Public Schools. She has worked with Korean heritage school teachers while doing community outreach programs, providing several teachers' workshops and serving on the Education Advisory Committee for the Washington Association of Korean Schools. She is an ACTFL-certified Korean OPI test rater. Her recent conference and workshop presentations include "Applications of Standards-Based Instruction in the Korean Classroom" (NECTFL, Baltimore MD, March 10, 2013), "Critical Discourse Analysis: Analysis of a Korean Language Textbook" (NAME, Philadelphia PA, November 29, 2012). Her publications include "Awareness and Applications of Corrective Feedbacks in Korean Heritage Language Classrooms" (H.Y. Shin & C.S. Im) in the *Journal of Education Research* (2004, vol. 18: 73-84) published in Seoul, Korea. Her current research interests include retaining heritage language and culture among Korean immigrants, heritage language teacher education, teachers' identity studies, and Korean language pedagogy.

